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WITHDRAWN

SELECTIONS FROM
EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH

1130—1250

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES

BY

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PART II: NOTES

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

M CM XX

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK

TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY

HUMPHREY MILFORD

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

THE order of the vowels in the phonological sections follows Bülbring's *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, that of the consonants, Sievers' *Old English Grammar*, translated by Cook. The basis of comparison is Early West Saxon. The object of these sections has been to provide collections for the interpretation of the teacher. In accordance Sievers has been followed generally, but Zupitza's classification of the strong verbs has been adopted for convenience of use with Bülbring's *Geschichte der Ablaute*. In the literature sections books marked with an asterisk are those which the student will find more immediately useful.

This book has been a long time in preparation; it will perhaps help to excuse some lack of uniformity if it be known that a great part of the notes was in type by the end of 1915.

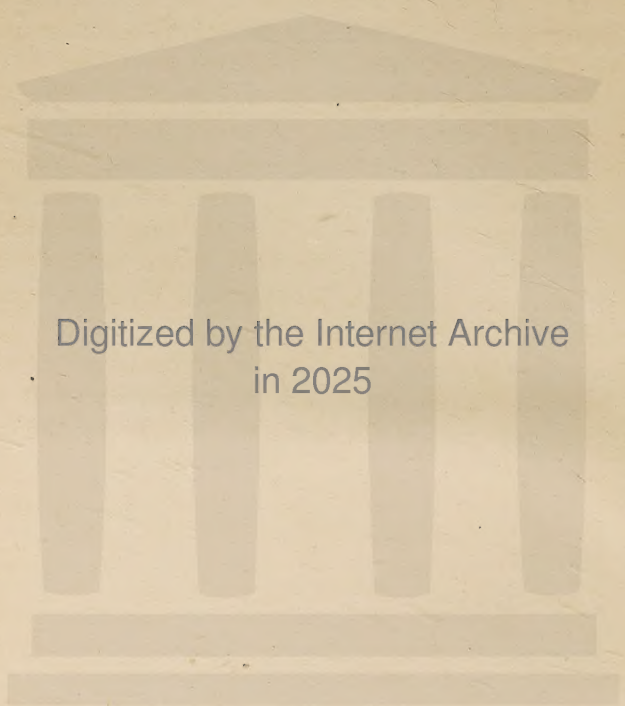
J. H.

WOODSTOCK,

January, 1920.



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NOTES

CORRIGENDA.

- 225/39. Omit stop after Orm here and elsewhere.
231/1. unseihte represents **unsæht**
249/8. After &c., add wart 122
250/31. Add wart
253/27. Omit comma after **sċi**
254/20. Dr. Bradley's restoration in M. L. Review, xii. 73, þa þestreden
sona þas landes, appears to me certain.
263/31. wile
266/26. **ālīesednesse** (but once **ālȳsendnesse**)
266/27. **ā + w**
271/13. **sædon**
312/36. After Bodleian add (D)
318/37. **gēar**
356/1. C 6
396/6. Add with before which
428/14. Add *ia* in giarked 84
428/38. **tōgēanes**
457/8. Add **hn** to *n* before nap
567/13. nyht, 160/185

plement, which is here printed within square brackets, is for the most part fairly obvious, the more so as portions of the lost letters often remain. The whole MS. is in the same large square hand, but the pieces in verse, which are written continuously, like prose, are less carefully executed. The handwriting is of the second half of the twelfth century, perhaps about 1180 A.D. The Latin headings are not in the MS.

Editions: Phillipps, Sir T., *Fragment of Ælfric's Grammar, &c.*, London, 1838; Wright, T., *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, AS. Period, p. 59, 60, London, 1842 (omits the last four lines): Varnhagen, H., *Anglia*, iii. pp. 423-25.

Phonology: The scribe is mainly faithful to the orthography of his original, which was in Anglo-Saxon script (as is shown by *Sipum* for *Ripum*) and older language. He still uses the rune for *w*. His spelling wavers between old and new, *æ* survives in *ilærde*, *lærden*, *læreþ*, beside *e* in *ilerde*, *weren*; *ea* persists in *wireceastre*, but *winceastre*, *rofecæstre*; the inflection is not levelled in *leodan*, but *leoden*, *hoteþ*, *losiæþ* (*æ=e*). *Drihten* represents an OE. form in *i*; *ie* is *e* in *derne*; *ā* is *o* in *hoteþ*, *eo* (= *o*) in *leore*. OE. *æ + g* is *xi* in *fæire*, *fæier*, *sæiþ*; *e + g* is *ei* in *lorþeines*; *ēo + h* is *i* in *liht*; *ēa + h*, *eih* in *unwreih*. *Bocare* goes back to late OE. *bōcre*; *c* is written *ch* in *wisliche*; *sé* [š] is still *sc* in *sceolen*.

Accidence: The def. article is *s. n. neut.* *þet* 17, 19; *s. a. f.* *þa* 5; *pl. n.* *þeo* 3, 17; *pl. d.* *þen* 19; *pl. a.* *þeo* 4. Noteworthy nouns are the mutation *pl. bec* 7; *diȝelnesse*, *s. a.* 5; *leoden*, *pl. n.* 3, 18, *leodan*, *pl. a.* 15 (weak forms); *leore*, *pl. n.* 17. The relatives are *þe*, *þeo* 18 (as in L 257, 2999), *þet* 3: the demonstrative *þis*, *pl. n. neut.* 22, *þeos*, *pl. n. m.* 15, *pl. a. m.* 9 (properly a *sing.* form): possessives, *ure* 9, 15, 18; *heore* 16. *Glod* 16 is a weak preterite beside strong *glēow*, but the cognate forms in other languages are weak, and this may be a borrowing from the Norse (NED *s. v.*).

French are *questiuns*, probably its first appearance, and *fep* 23, with its peculiar monophthong (OF. *teid* in which *t* was the spirant [ð]); comp. 8/91 note.

Dialect: Middle or Western South.

Metre: Alliterative long line, of somewhat rude construction, without transitional rhymes or assonances. The alliteration extends mostly to two consonants, sometimes to three, as 5, 17; l. 16 is pure syllabic verse. The scribe sometimes misplaced the pause stop, as at 9, and sometimes omitted it.

Introduction: In this scrap, some English patriot laments the wholesale substitution of foreign prelates for English under William the Conqueror. At the end of 1070 A.D. there were only two native bishops, Wulfstan at Worcester and Siward at Rochester. This may point roughly to the time, as the preponderance of names connected with Winchester to the place, of the composition. The absence of the names of Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester (1002-1016 A.D.) and Archbishop of York (1002-1023), the

author of the Homilies; of Wærferth, Bishop of Worcester (872-915), translator of Pope Gregory's Dialogues; of the later Wulfstan (1062-1095), under whose rule there was great activity in the collection and transcription of Homilies and other literature in English (Keller, W., *Die litterarischen Bestrebungen von Worcester in AS. Zeit*, p. 64); together with the writer's ignorance of the North, shows that it was not composed at Worcester. And the mistakes in Sipum 1/11 and heoueshame 1/12 would hardly be made by a Worcester transcriber.

The heading is from Numbers xxvii. 17.

2. ȝ=and: *ond* apparently does not occur in the twelfth century. [written]: Varnhagen supplies *bec*. Comp. 'þa writen me beoð to icume,' L 9131. *awende*. Bede translated into English the Gospel of S. John and some extracts from Isidore (Baedae Opera Historica, ed. Plummer, i. pp. lxxv, clxii).

3. þ . . . þurh, by which. The preposition separated from its relative and placed with the verb is common in ME. See Anklam, *Das Englische Relativ im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*, pp. 15-19, 44-6. Comp. in these texts, *bet* . . . *bi*, 72/182; *inne*, 84/45, 131/104; *of*, 38/155, 66/96, 116, 117/8, 139/11, 211/476; *on*, 96/53, 179/112; *to*, 142/75, 79, 143/98; *þe* . . . *embe*, 81/77; *inne*, 11/3, 4; *mide*, 81/79; *offe*, 85/84; *one*, 83/9, 119/73; *to*, 96/54; *uppe*, 84/71; *þer* . . . *in*, 7/59, 54/1, 147/148; *of*, 64/61; *on*, 106/210; *to*, 89/32; *wið*, 48/300. Similarly *hem* . . . *to*, 193/564; *þa* . . . *to*, 96/58.

4. C[not]ten: completed by Holthausen, *Archiv*, cvi. 347. Comp. 'sigewulf . . hine befran . . be ȝehwylcum cnottum þe he sylf ne cupe,' *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*, ed. MacLean, 58/12; 'Ich habbe uncnut summe | of þeos cnotti cnotten,' SK 1150, 1; and 202/168. With *unwreih*, comp. 'Ac Augustinus se wisa us onwreah þas deopnysse,' AS. Homilien, ed. Assmann, 5/103; 'him þa toweardæn þing unwreah 7 swytelode,' *Twelfth Cent. Hom.* 98/17; *Cursor*, 22445. *questiuns*: probably Bede's *In Libros Regum Quaestiones Triginta*, answering questions put by Nothelm (Plummer, p. cli). But there appears to have been a work known as *Bedaes Quaestiones in utrumque Testamentum* (Plummer, clv note), and there may be a reference to such of his commentaries as were replies to the queries of Acca, Bishop of Hexham. *hotep*: Wright supplies *we* after *þe* as in 6, but *hotep* may mean here 'are called,' though the passive sense is commoner in Central than in Early ME.

5. *derne diȝelnesse*. Comp. 'Þatt dærne diȝhellnesse | Þatt writenn wass þurh Moysæn,' *Orm.* 12945; and 125/296.

6. For Aelfric the Abbot see Skeat in *E.E.T.S.*, O.S. 114, pp. xxii-xliv.

The writer appears not to know his translations of Joshua, Judges, Esther, and possibly Job. His identification of Aelfric with Alcuin, who liked to call himself Albinus, is possibly due, as MacLean suggests, to the former having translated Alcuin's *Sigewulfi Interrogationes* (p. 47, and *Anglia*, vi. pp. 463, 4).

7. *bocare*. Comp. 'Beda, se mæra bocere,' AS. Hom., ed. Assmann, 22/210. [fif]: supplied by Varnhagen.

8. *Vtronomius*: probably a blunder, but possibly an original attempt at abbreviation. Or the writer may have had in mind the explanation given in *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*, 'Deuteronomium, hoc est, iterationem Legis,' S. Augustini Op., iii. App. p. 13 a. Observe that he places the title next to Exodus; he would know from Jerome's preface that it means 'secunda lex.' *Numerus*: so Ælfric, 'on Lyden Numerus and on Englisc Getel,' Grein's *Prosa*, i. p. 179.

10. *þet weren*. Comp. for the singular of the demonstrative, 80/35: 'Soðlice ða eagan þæt bioð ða lareowas, & se hrycg þæt sint ða hiremenn,' Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, ed. Sweet, 28/12; 'hwet beoð þas vii zeate? Det beoð ure egan,' OEHL i. 127/29. Sometimes the verb also is singular, as at 76/8. Similarly *hit*, *it*, 117/13, 190/450. *bodeden*: this verb usually takes an acc. as here, so 15/86; 'bodian þa soðen ileafen,' OEHL i. 97/31; but 'bodiende umbe godes riche,' id. 95/19.

11. *Wilfrid*, Bishop of York, *d.* 709. *Ripum*: Ripon; Beda's *In-hrypum* (Plummer, i. 183, ii. 104). *Johan of beoferlai*, Bishop of York, *d.* 721. He is commonly associated with the foundation of a monastery at Beverley in Yorkshire, but see *Memorials of Beverley Minster*, Surtees Society, 1898, pp. xv-xix. Beverley is Beoforlic in AS. Chron. MS. D 721 (but written about 1070 A.D.); Beoferlic in MS. E; Bevrelie in *Domesday* (see Stolze, *Zur Lautlehre der AE. Ortsnamen im Domesday Book*, p. 28, and Zachrisson, *Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names*, p. 152). *Cupb[ert]*, Cudberct, Bishop of Lindisfarne, *d.* 687. Dunholm occurs in AS. Chron. MS. D 1056 as the oldest name; Durham descends from AN. *Dureme*. The episcopal mint from Beke 1283 A.D. to Langley 1437 A.D. has Dunholm, Dunelm, and Dureme indifferently. The seal of Richard de Marisco (1217-1226) has *Dunholmensis*. Comp. Zachrisson, 133-5. *Oswald*, Bishop of Worcester, 962-91, Archbishop of York, 972-91, *d.* 992 (see Keller, pp. 11-21). For Latin books attributed to him, see Wright, *Biographia*, i. pp. 466, 7. Worcester in AS. Charters is Wigeran or Wiogeran Ceaster, also Wigernaceaster, Wigra-ceaster; in *Domesday*, Wirecestre. *Egwin*, Bishop of the Hwiccas, i.e. see of Worcester; founder of the Abbey of Evesham, *d.* 717 A.D. For

works attributed to him, see Wright, *Biographia*, i. p. 227. **heoueshame**: in Domesday Evesham; in the foundation charter Egwin writes, 'In quo loco (i. e. Ethomme) quum beata Virgo Maria cuidam pastori gregum, Eoves nomine, comparuisset (ob cuius viri sanctitatem eundem locum Eoveshamiam nuncupavi),' *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. Macray, p. 18. **æl[dhelm]**, Abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Sherborne, *d.* 709 A. D. (Plummer's *Bede*, ii. pp. 308, 9). William of Malmesbury says in his *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 336, 'nativae quoque linguae non negligebat carmina; adeo ut, teste libro *Elfredi* . . . nulla umquam aetate par ei fuerit quisquam.' He is said to have translated the Psalms. **Swippun**, Bishop of Winchester, *d.* 862. **æpelwold**, pupil of S. Dunstan, Abbot of Abingdon, Bishop of Winchester, 963, *d.* 984 A. D. In the Latin Life by *Ælfric* as revised by Wulstan, it is recorded, 'Dulce namque erat ei adolescentes et iuvenes semper docere, et latinos libros anglice eisolvere,' *Acta Sanctorum*, August, i. p. 94. His translation of the Rule of S. Benedict was edited by Schröer in the *Bibliothek der AS. Prosa*, ii. Kassel, 1885-8. **Aidan**, Bishop of Lindisfarne, *d.* 651. **Biørn**: Birinus, Bishop of Winchester, *d.* 650. The spelling with *ie* appears to be analogic with the *i*-umlaut in such words as *ierre*, and so to belong to the scribe's original. **wincæstre**: in the Chronicle, anno 744, Wintanceaster; *Venta Civitas* in *Bede*. [**Pau**]lin, Paulinus, the Missionary Bishop of York, and, after 634 A. D., Bishop of Rochester, seems more likely than the less-known Cuichelm, Bishop of Rochester, suggested by Wright. The MS. has *lin* not *lm*. **rofecæstre**: in AS. Chronicle, anno 604, Hrofesceaster; 'in ciuitate Dorubreui, quam gens Anglorum a primario quondam illius, qui dicebatur Hrof, Hrofæscæstræ cognominat,' *Beda*, i. 85. **Dunston**. S. Dunstan was Bishop of Worcester, 957-9, Bishop of London, 958, 959, Archbishop of Canterbury, 959, *d.* 988. **ælfeih**: S. *Ælfheah*, succeeded *Æpelwold* as Bishop of Winchester in 984 A. D., became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1006, and was martyred by the Danes in 1012 A. D. **cantoreburi**: a French spelling, as *Canteberi*, 10/174; contrast *Cantuarabirz*, 11/4. L has still *Cantuarie buri*, 94/15; *Cantwareburi*, 2821; where O has *Cantelburi*.

15. **on englisc**, repeating 9. The writer does not mean that all these produced works in English, but only to contrast them with French-speaking clerics.

16. Comp. 'Si ergo lumen, quod in te est, tenebrae sunt, ipsae tenebrae quantae erunt?' S. Matt. vi. 23.

17. **nu is**: so Wright and Varnhagen, but read *nu beop*; for *beo lore*, those teachings, is plural.

19. *lorpeines*, teachers, apparently an *ἀπ. λεγ.*, of which the second element represents OE. *þegn*, servant, disciple. Comp. the usual 'lar-þawes,' 15/82, 'lorþeu,' 20/68, 'lorþeawes,' 84/61, 'larðewes,' OEH ii. 41/28 (OE. **lārðēowas*), 'lareaw,' OEH i. 241/21 (OE. *lārēow*). *losiæp*, in the rarer intransitive use, perish. Comp. 'þ þa men ne losien, þe on him ilyfæð,' Twelfth Cent. Hom. 2/31, 34/1, 38/23; 'þenne losiað fele saulen,' OEH i. 117/18. *forþ mid*, together with, also with, here in the rare adverbial use. Comp. 'þenne losiað fele saulen 7 he seolf forð mid for his ʒemeleste,' OEH i. 117/18; '& him seolf þer forð mide,' L 608. It is common as a preposition, as at 40/176, 77/55, 195/611; 'his þenegas forð mid him þe he þyder brohte,' Ælf. Lives, i. 528/645; 'forswoleʒeð þene hoc forð mid þan ese,' OEH i. 123/11.

20. 'Sicut aquila provocans ad volandum pullos suos, et super eos volitans, expandit alas suas, et assumpsit eum, atque portavit in humeris suis,' Deut. xxxii. 11, spoken of God's care and training of his people. See Bozon, *Contes Moralises*, p. 60, for an elaborate application of the text.

22. *to worlde asende*. Comp. 'fram Gode hider on world sended,' BH 209/23.

23. [*festen* &c.]. Comp. 190/438, 10/154. The sense required is, That we should put our full trust in him.

B, C

Manuscript: As for A, p. 223.

Editions: Philipps, as above; Singer, S. W., *The Departing Soul's Address to the Body*, London, 1845; Haufe, E., *Die Fragmente der Rede der Seele an den Leichnam*, Gryphiswaldiae, 1880; Buchholz, R., *Die Fragmente der Reden der Seele an den Leichnam*, Erlangen, 1889; afterwards enlarged in **Erlanger Beiträge*, ii. 6. 1890.

Literature: (1) of the Worcester Fragment. Haufe, E., *Anglia*, iv. 237 (emendations); Holthausen, F., *Anglia*, xiv. 321 (emendations); Kaluza, M., *Litteraturblatt*, ii. 92; *Zupitza, J., *Archiv*, lxxxv. 78 (review of Buchholz). (2) of the Desputisoun. Heesch, G., *Language and Metre*, Kiel, 1884; Holthausen, F., *Anglia*, Beiblatt, iii. 302; Kaluza, M., *Litteraturblatt*, xii. 12; *Kunze, O., *Critical Text*, Berlin, 1892; Linow, W., *Erlangen*, 1889, edition enlarged in *Erlanger Beiträge*, i. 1. 1889; Mätzner, E., *AE. Sprachproben*, i. 90-103; Varnhagen, H., *Anglia*, ii. 225-52; Zupitza, J., *Archiv*, lxxxv. 84. (3) of the Legend in general. *Batiouchkof, Th. *Romania*, xx. 236; Bruce, J. D., *Modern Languages Notes*, v. col. 385-401; Dudley, Louise, *The Egyptian Elements in the*

Legend of the Body and Soul, Bryn Mawr, 1911; id. An Early Homily on the 'Body and Soul' Theme, Journal of English and Germanic Philology, April, 1909; Gaidoz, H., Revue Celtique, x. 463-70; Kleinert, G., Halle, 1880; Paris, Gaston, Romania, ix. 311-14; Varnhagen, H., Anglia, ii. 225, iii. 569; *Zupitza, J., Archiv, xci. 369.

Phonology: For an account dealing with all the seven fragments see Buchholz: what follows is based on the two here printed, with references, where necessary, to his text of the other five.

Oral *a* is *a*, so *ac*, *farene*, *habban*: *a* before nasals usually *o*, as *from*, *mon*, but *a* in *licame* (wavering characteristic of the Middle South): *a* before lengthening groups is *o*, as *honden*, *imong*, *longe*, *psalm-songe*. *æ* is *a* after *w*, as *was*, *watere* D 12, but *nes* D 19; otherwise *e*, as *crefte*, *þene* (OE. *þænne*), *þet*, but the traditional spelling survives in *æt*, *æfter* D 42, *goldfæten*, *igædered*, *gæderedest* (OE. *gæderian*), *þæs*, *wræcche* (OE. *wræcca*), *wrænches* G 48 (OE. **wrænc*). *Messe* is a French loan-word. *e* is regularly *e*, as *bedde*, *heui*, *met*, *þenchen*, *wel*, &c., but *i* in *siggen* F 7, *siggeþ* G 34 (characteristic of South-East and Kent). *i* is regularly *i*, as *him*, *nimen*, *willæn*; it is *u* after *w* in *nulleþ*, *wulleþ* C 35; but *i* in *wiht* D 3, *nowiht* D 19. *o* is regularly *o*, as *bodeþ*, *iboren*, *sorhliche*; before nasal, *onþean* C 6; after *w*, *woldest* D 50, *noldest*, *iwurþen* F 46; but *a* in *aþan* C 18. *eo* is written for *o* in *feorþsiþ*. *œ* (*o* + *i*) is *eo* in *seoruhfule*, *seorhful*, *seoruhliche*, &c., *neose*. *u* is regularly *u*, as *biwunden*, *cumeþ*, *ful*, *tunge*, &c., but *o* in *iworþen* F 45 after *w*. *y* is *u*, as *ifulled*, *ikunde*, *lutiz*, *sunne*, *ufel*, *wunne*, *wurmes*, but *y* is preserved in *synne* F 33: *iflūt* 2/30 is Scandinavian, OWSand. *flytja*; *drihtenes* 4/33, *kinges* E 39 descend from OE. forms in *i*.

ā is normally *o*, as *bon*, *loc*, *more*, *sor*, *woniende*; but *a* is often preserved as *þa* 2/18, *lac* 4/25, *mare* E 39, *wa* F 4. *eo* is written for *o* in *þeo* 2/2, *greoning*, *greoneþ*; and *oa* in *woaning* 2/15, *woaneþ* 2/25, is an attempt to express graphically the [a^o] sound. *þe* [3et] E 3, 36 occurs twice beside *þa*, *þo*. OE. *wāwa* gives *weowe* 2/7. *æ₁* (WG. *ai* + *i*) is mostly *æ*, *idæled*, *tæcheþ*, *ilærede*, and before two consonants, *ilæsteþ*, *æffre*; but *e* in *bideled* C 32, *ilered* G 29, *ilesteþ*, *efre* D 41, *þen* (= OE. *þēm*) 3/36. It is exceptionally *a* in *þam* C 25, *facen* (OE. *fācne*) G 10, *atterne* G 17. In *bileafen* D 6, *ea* is written for *æ*. *æ₂* (WG. *ā*) is still *æ* in *þær*, *þærof*, *wæde*, *grædie*, *wære* E 28, but commonly *e*, *þerinne*, *seten*, *beden*, *were*, *misdeden*, *gredi*. *a* is exceptional in *hwar* 3/4, 5, 7, 9, 10 (= OE. *hwār*). *ē* is usually *e*, *swetnesse*, *þe*, 2/2, *me*, *ne*, also before nasals, *fenge*, *icwemdest*. *ī* is normally *i*, *bi*, *lif*, *iwiteþ*, *liþ*, *hwile*, &c., but after *w* it is *u* in *hwule*, *swuþe*: *hwui* 4/17 beside *hwi* D 22 is an attempt to express more fully

the sound of *w*. *ō* is normally *o*, to, moder, flore, &c. *ǣ* is *eo* in *weoþinde*, 2/10. (OE. *wǣþan*). *ū* is regularly *u*, hus, wiþuten, ut, &c. *ȳ* is *u*, ifuled, luperliche, &c.

ea, breaking of *a* before *r* + consonant is *ea*, earfeþsiþ, eart, scearp, *æ* in *ært* 4/16, *e* in *ert* D 15, *scerpe* F 29, *imerked* G 39; no examples of *a*. It is *ea* before lengthening cons. groups, *earde*, *bearn*. The *i*-umlaut of *ea* (WS. *ie*) is *e* in all cases, *scerpeþ*, *erming* D 18, *yerde* *bidernan* F 6. *ea*, breaking of *a* before *l* + cons. is *a*, *alle*, also, *scalt*, *wale* G 2 (*wealh*): before lengthening groups normally *o*, *colde*, *coldeþ*, *itolde*, *holden* G 32, 45, *iwold* C 8, *isold* D 38, *monifolde*, but *e*, *heldan* C 35. The *i*-umlaut is seen in *wældeþ*, 4/41. *eo*, breaking of *e* before *r* + consonant, is *eo*, *heorte* D 49 and *o* *herborwen* C 23: after *w* also *eo*, and *weorke* F 42, OE. *handgeweorce*, and *e*, *werke* D 30: the group *weor*, in LWS *wur*, has *u*, *iwurþe* F 45, *wurþe* G 25, *unwerþ* 4/37, *o*, *beworpen* D 12; before lengthening groups *eo*, *yeorne*, *eorþe* C 5. The *i*-umlaut of *eo*, which after *w* had already become *y* in OE. is here *u*, *wurpeþ*, *deorwurþe*, *wurst* D 30, *wurþliche* G 36. *eo* before *l* + consonant gives *u* in *sulfen* C 27, *suluen* F 28 (already *syf* in LWS). *eo*, *u*-umlaut of *e*, is *eo* in *heouene*; *ā*-umlaut of *e* is *eo* in *freome*, *feole*, *weolen* (Bülbring, § 234); *u*- and *a*-umlaut of *i* is *eo*, *seouene*, *seoþþen*. *libbe* 2/13 is OE. *libban*. *ea*, palatal diphthong, is *ea*, *ea* in *isceaft* F 35, *isceæftan*; *a* in *schal*, *scal*. *ie* after *g* is *e*, *zerde*, *biþete* C 13 (Bülbring, § 151 *n.*), *i* in *ziuen* 4/21. *eo* < WG. *o* after *sc* is *o* in *scorteþ*, *scoldest* C 28, but *eo* in *sceoldest* G 42. *eo* < *u* is *u*, *onscunedest*, *sculen* C 38. OE. *heom* is *heom* and *ham* C 18; *eom*, *eam*, *am* F 14.

ēa is normally *ea*, *deap*, *heafod*, *bereaued*, *seape* E 8, &c., but *æ* in *dædan* 3/42, *beræfed* C 7, *sæpe*, and *e*, *birefedest* G 12. The *i*-umlaut of *ēa* is *e*, *alesed*, *iheren* E 26, *semdest* 4/18, &c. (Bülbring, § 183 *n.*); and *u*, *huned* D 47 (WS. *ȳ*). *ēo* is normally *eo*, *beoþ*, *teoreþ*, *leoflic*, *freonden*, &c. Its *i*-umlaut does not occur; *deore* C 47, *neowe* C 29, *neode* F 5, retain *eo* (Bülbring, § 189, *anm.* 1). *īe* is *e* in *isene*, E 40; yet C 2.

a + *g* is usually *aw*, as in *dawes* 2/14, *gnawen* C 42, *mawe* C 49, but the older *daezes* survives 3/40. *æ* + *g* is normally *eī*, *iseid*, but *isæid* G 19, and once *dai* E 13. *e* + *g* is *eī*, *ileide*: *weile* 4/19 may represent OE. *weg* *lā* (see Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-Words*, 51). OE. *ongegn* is *onþean* C 6, *aþan* C 18. *o* + *g* is *ow*, *bowe* C 4, *forhoweþ*: *o* + *h*, *douhter* G 31, *wrouhte* E 16, but *wrohten* D 25: *u* + *g*, *fuweles* 4/42: *y* + *h*, *tuhte* E 22. *ā* + *g* is *ow* in *owen* C 45, *sidwowes* C 30: *ā* + *h* is seen in *ohtest* C 8, *ahte* E 2, 29 (a survival). *æ* + *g* is *eīþ*, *iseiþe* D 8, *leiþe* D 11, *keiþe* F 16; *ei* in *clei*: *æ* + *h*, *æiht* 3/13, *bitæiht* G 52. *ē* + *g*, *sweiþe* E 24. *ō* + *g*, *h*, *inouh*, *unifouh* D 39, *souhte*, *ibrouht*. *ū* + *h* is seen in *þuþte* 3/12 (= *þuhte*). *ea* + *ht*, becomes *eī*,

istreiht, unseihte D 45. *eo* + *h* (LWS i) has *i* in riht; the *i*-umlaut is represented by *besihþ* 3/45. *ēa* + *g*, *eizen*, *heiþe* E 39, but *eþen* 3/42 and *heie* G 40: *ēa* + *h* is *eih* in *neih*, *heih* G 42, but *þauh* G 27. *ēo* + *g*, *dreizen* G 6, but *driæn* 4/36, written for *drien*, is due to the scribe and may be Mercian; *ifreoed* 4/28 is noteworthy. *ā* + *w* is usually *ow*, *sowle* C 2, *blowen* E 32, *nowiht* D 19, but *soule*, *nouht*. *ō* + *w*, *touward* F 29, but *reoweþ* C 45. *ēa* + *w*, *strau* D 14. *ēo* + *w*, usually *eow*, *cneow* C 27, *icneowe* C 27, *þeow*, *þeowdome*, but *reoulche* F 19, *heou* G 22.

In the vowels of final syllables, levelling has generally taken place, but a few older forms, *isceæftan*, *heafod*, *dædan*, *cumaþ*, *biddan*, *offrian*, *weolan*, remain from the original MS. In *lufedæst*, *willæn*, *driæn*, &c., *æ* is written for *e*. The prefix *ge* is represented by *i*.

The consonants present little of note. OE. *nā māra* becomes one word with doubled *n* and shortened *a* in *nammore* 3/34 (comp. *wumme* 2/13 note). *farene* 4/28, with *n* for *nn*, is exceptional. OE. *æfre* is *æffre* 2/14, so *næffre* C 6, but *æfre* 3/3. For *f* between two vowels *u* is generally written, *bereaued* 2/22, but *beræfedest* E 20. In *mænet* 2/7 *t* is French writing for *þ*: *schal* 2/9 is isolated, *sc* [š] is the rule, as in *onscunedeſt* 3/3: *k* is written mostly before *e* and *ie*, while *ȝ* is used initially for the palatal (*y* in *yield*) and between vowels, once finally in *lutiz* 3/2 where the original probably had *lutize*; *g* in other cases and mostly in combination with consonants. For *cw*, French *qu* is used once in *quale* 4/42.

Accidence. The *ā* and *jā* stems add *e* in the *nom.*, *blisse* 3/8, *bote* 3/11, *seoruwe* 3/8, *sowle* 2/28, *soule* 3/45, *modinesse* 3/4, *accusatives* are *hwule* 3/1, *lore* 4/29, *soule* 2/9, *sunne* 4/22, *Godnesse* 3/3. The *g.* of strong nouns ends in *-es*, the *d.* in *-e*, the *pl. n. a.* of Masculines in *-es*; of Feminines in *-e*; Neuters as *ban* 2/21 are uninflected, *pl. g.* has *-e*, *d.*, *-en*, as *honden* 3/38. *Markes* 3/6, *pundes* 3/5 have adopted masc. endings; *honden* 3/39, *isceæftan* 2/2, *goldfæten* 3/7 have joined the weak declension. Of the latter *dædan* 3/42, *weolan* 4/32 are *g.*, *heouene* 4/28 (*nom. s.* *heouene* F 38 (OE. *heofone*), *molde* 3/34, *d.*, and exceptionally *willæn* 4/33, an archaic form preserved by its phrasal character; *a.* is *deade* 3/40; *æren*, *eizen* 2/17, *lippen* 2/18, are *pl. n.*, *weolen* 4/16, *d.*, *eþen* 3/42 *a.*

The predicative adjective often shows strong declension, as *grædie* 3/13, *fuse* 4/15, *ikunde* 3/32; but *heui* 2/15, *leas*, *lutiz* 3/2, *loþ* 4/37, &c., and the *ads.* in *ig* are not inflected. Inflected attributives are *deope* 4/40, *s. d. m.*, *muchele* 2/23, *s. d. f.*; *durelease* 4/40, *s. d. neut.*; *seoruhfulne* 4/19, *s. a. m.*; *alle* 4/37, *pl. d. m.*, &c. The termination of the weak declen-

sion is -e in all cases, as *seoruhfule* 2/8, *s. a. m.*; *reade* 4/27, *s. d. neut.*; *dimme* 3/42, *pl. a. neut.*

The pronoun of the third person has *pl. d.* ham, heom. The def. art. is *s. n.* þe- þeo- þat, *d. m.* þen, *a.* þene- þeo- þat, *pl. n.* þeo- þa -þa, þeo, þe. The relative is *s.* þet, *s.* and *pl.* þe, þeo, *pl.* only þa.

The terminations of the verb are *inf.* -en (but *driæn*, *offrian*); *ind. pr.*, e -est (contr. list 4/38), -eþ (but *cumaþ* 3/44, *mænet* 2/6); contr. *sæiþ* 2/13, *biþ* 2/22, *met* 3/33, *liþ* 3/36; *pl.* -eþ. Come 3/11 is 2 *pr. s. subj.* *Ind. pt.* of weak verbs, *s.* -de, -dest (but *lufedæst* 3/4), -de; *part. pt.* -ed, *d.* *t* in *ibrouht* 4/39, *part. pr.* -inde, ende. Strong pasts are *geat* 4/27, *beden* 3/11, 4/21, *seten* 3/10; *part. pt.*; *iboren* 2/6, &c.

Dialect: The Dialect is Southern, outside the Kentish area, and probably Middle South, with forms deriving from a Saxon patois. The poem may have been written, as the preceding piece probably was, in or near Winchester. The orthography belongs to two distinct stages of development, the later showing the copyist's practice towards the end of the twelfth century, the more primitive being that of the original, which may have been fifty or sixty years earlier. The phonetic position of the scribe is in some respects more advanced than that of the Layamon MS. A.

Metre: Alliterative long line of loose construction mixed with rhymed syllabic verse. Occasionally four consonants alliterate, 2/6, 4/41, but usually three 2/5, 8, or two 2/4, 23. Crossed alliteration of consonants occurs at 2/16, 22, 27: 4/32, of consonant and vowels at 2/17; vowel alliteration at 4/37. At 2/4, read *ȝ lif ȝ soule · him on ileide*; at 3/11, *bote come*. The rhymes are sometimes perfect, as at 2/15, 25; 3/6, 8; 4/15, 27, 44, but assonances like *lif* : *siþ* 2/29; *wif* : *siþ* 3/43; *dome* : *lore* 4/29, and partial correspondences of sound like *crefte* : *idihte* 2/3; *bedde* : *libbe* 2/13; *honden* : *wenden* 3/38; *modinesse* : *lufedæst* 3/4; *wæde* : *lufedest* 3/9 are valid for this transitional verse. Sometimes alliteration and rhyme are combined, as at 2/3, 10 (read *weopinde cumeþ*), 3/4. Lines without either alliteration or rhyme must be regarded as corrupt. We may perhaps read *semeþ* for *þuncheþ* 3/39; *riht ȝ godnesse* 3/3; *beden þe fore* 4/21 : *icwemen woldest* for *icwemdcst ær* 4/42. Compare the section on metre in the introduction to No. vi.

Introduction: This poem, in which, after an introduction on the miseries of birth and death, a lost soul reproaches the body it has just left, represents the original type of one of the most popular subjects of the Middle Ages. The idea is ancient, for Kunze, p. 3, quotes a passage from a treatise ascribed to Plutarch, and Linow, p. 2, another from the Talmud, which contain it in the germ. But as it is used in Christian literature, it

originated in Alexandria under the influence of Egyptian conceptions of death and the unseen world. In England before the Conquest it had inspired (1) the poem printed in Grein-Wülker, ii. 92-105 from the Exeter and Vercelli MSS., in which a lost soul speaks; (2) the fragment from the latter MS., in which a blessed soul consoles the waiting body, id. 105-7; (3) the homily printed in Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, ed. Thorpe, ii. 396-400 (8vo ed.); (4) the homily in Wulfstan, ed. Napier, 140, 1. Versions 3 and 4 are based on a Latin original represented by an eleventh-century text, which is printed by Batiouchkof in Romania, xx. 576-8, comp. Zupitza in Archiv, xci. 369. This Latin prose text professes to be the relation of a vision by a monk to Macarius of Alexandria (*d.* 393 A.D.), and it, according to Batiouchkof, is based on earlier Greek legends wherein Macarius is himself the dreamer. The homily (5) printed in Angelsächsische Homilien, ed. Assmann, Kassel, 1889, p. 167, and (6) that published by Zupitza, Archiv, xci. 379, are independent of the Latin original just mentioned, and they have been influenced by the Judgment Day literature. The former contains addresses of a lost and a saved soul to their respective bodies on the Judgment Day, the homily(6) has only the latter.

After the Conquest, contemporary with (7) the Worcester Fragment, there is (8) the Oxford Fragment printed by Buchholz, p. 11. The theme is again treated in (9) the twelfth-century homily, De Sancto Andrea, OEH ii. 181, 3, which preserves as a quotation one line of its Latin original, see 4/19 note. Closely related to the last three versions is (10) the passage in the thirteenth-century poem printed in OEM p. 173, ll. 65-216. In (11) the Desputisoun bitwen þe Bodi and þe Soule, ed. Linow, based on the Latin Visio Philiberti, the matter is thrown into *debat* form for the first time in English. The Vision of Fulbert is again adapted in (12) the fifteenth-century poem printed by Halliwell, Early English Miscellanies (Warton Club), p. 12. Shorter passages in ME. literature, as OEM 83/331-6, Böldeker, Altengl. Dicht., 235-43 are fairly numerous.

The position of the Worcester Fragment among this literature is not easy to define. It appears to form a group with 8 and 10, to which 9, though too scanty to permit of an assured judgment, may be admitted. They probably descend from a lost Latin original. Our author may indeed have been acquainted with the oldest English version (1) and have drawn thence the leading ideas for his poem. If so, he treated them with much originality, for there is a wide difference between the austere simplicity and concentrated energy of the older composition and his

diffuse and picturesque style, which reflects the influence of the new literature imported from the Continent.

The *lacunae* in the text were mostly filled up by Singer. It seemed unnecessary to assign to each editor his contributions to this complement, much of which is obvious. For [fei]ge 2/30 and foot-note, read [fei]je.

The heading is from the Book of Job, xxv. 6.

1. *en earde* is probably the remnant of *on middenearde*; elsewhere the writer uses *eorþe* for the uncompounded word.

2. And all the created things which pertain to it, i.e. to the earth. With *isceæftan* comp. 'He iscop þurh þene sune alle isceafte,' Frag. F 47, 34/84, 130/80, 139/17, 187/356. For the position of *to* comp. *on*, 2/4; *fore* 4/21, 23; 96/53, 54, mostly with relative pronouns. [s]eu[1]en, the tops of long *s* and *l* are cut off, as also those of *h* and *f* in the next line. It is not an auxiliary verb with ellipsis of a verb of motion (H., B.); it has independent meaning as in 'Þas wyrte sculon to (=are proper for) lungen sealf,' Leechdoms, iii. 16/6.

3. [þe]ne. Singer's *bonne*, then, next, adopted by H., may be right.

4. Comp. 'se us lif forgeaf | Leomu lic and gæst,' Christ, 775, 6, for which Grau, Quellen . . . der älteren germ. Darstellungen des jüngsten Gerichtes, p. 39, gives as source the poem ascribed to S. Cyprian, De resurrectione mortuorum, 'Qui sibi conplacitum hominem formavit in aevum, | Hanc manibus caram dilexit fingere formam | Decoramque suam voluit inesse figuram, | Spiritu vivificam adflavit vultibus auram,' Opera, ed. Hartel, iii. App. 310/51, 57-9. *ileide on*, put into, a meaning apparently without a parallel; perhaps, entrusted to.

5. Softliche, painlessly. *isom[nede]*. H. completed Singer's *isom[ne]*. *sor idol*, a painful parting; comp. l. 8.

6. *þ=þet*; see 3/43. The child by crying at its birth predicts the sorrowful separation of soul and body at death; comp. 2/23-28; 'Þæt cild, þe bið acænned, sona hit cyð mid wope | 7 þærrihte witegað þissere worulde geswinc | 7 þa toweardan costnunga,' AS. Hom. ed. Assmann, 77/126-8; 'Quotquot nascuntur, vox illis prima doloris: | Incipit a fletu vivere quisquis homo,' S. Anselm, p. 199, col. 2 *b*; 'Omnis homo cum dolore mundum ingreditur, cum dolore iterum egreditur. Mox natus plorat, quia laborem et dolorem sibi futurum pronunciat,' Honorius Augustod. Migne, P. L. clxxii, col. 1083.

7. The line is too short, but Buchholz's conjecture is too long for the gap. Perhaps the original had *hit woanep 7 weoþep · 7 mænet þeo weorwe*.

8. B. translates *sip* here and at 2/16 by 'weg'; rather lot, experience, as in 'wa heom þæs siðes þe hi men wurdon,' Wulfstan, 27/3; 'minegede

alle his wrecche siðes, þe he þolede on þis wrecche worelde,' OEH ii. 169/8; 'weop for hire wei-sið | wanede hire siðes.' þ heo wæs on liues,' L 25846-8. For compounds with *siþ* see 2/27. *sori*, not 'schmerzlich,' B, þut mournful, sad.

9. Haufe's completion is based on l. 28, where the verb is intransitive, but the construction is supported by, 'for þat he deleð þe sowle.' and þe lichame, þanne he wit of þisse wored,' OEH ii. 7/3. But the usual construction is seen in 'gif he þurh ferliche deð.' saule fro þe lichame deleð,' id. 61/31, and it would be better to read [*fro li*] *came* here, for the position of 7 is awkward. Another construction is shown in 'wið þone lichaman seo sawle gedælan,' AS. Hom., ed. Assmann, 164/17.

10. *weopinde* 7 *woniende*, so, 'wop and woninge,' VV 17/32; see 42/231 note.

11. Haufe's completion is too short, Singer's too long, for the gap. For [swo], stressed form, comp. 3/4.

12. *he*, i.e. *licame*. *walkeþ* 7 *wendeþ*, tosses and turns in his bed. [oftes]iþes H. followed by B., who afterwards expressed his preference for [þe weas]iþes, based on 'ȝet ic wulle þe ætwi[ten þ]e weasipes,' Frag. G 7. Singer read [*his si*]pes.

13. *wo me*, though written as one, are separate words; coalesced they become *wumme*; comp. 121/133; 'wumme þ ich libbe,' SJ 72/5; 'wumme þ ich shal wunien on uncuðe erde,' OEH ii. 149/10; 'wel me,' 210/441.

15. *greoning* . . . *woaning*: comp. 2/25; 196/662; 'Heo woneþ 7 groneþ day and nyht,' OEM 152/187.

16. *biwunden*. See 2/27, 79/13, 81/79, and for similar phrases comp. 'swo faste bunden 7 swo biwunde þarinne,' OEH ii. 11/9; 'mid sorȝen ibunden,' L 12635; 'mid sorinesse bistonden,' OEH ii. 147/26, 181/1.

17-21. Comp. 'Hyse eres shullen dewen, | & his eyen shullen dymmen, | & his nese shal sharpen, | & his skyn shal starcken,' PRL 253/3-6, and the similar piece OEM 101/1. An adaptation of the last quoted line has been inserted at l. 19 to restore the alliteration. For *him*, comp. 80/47. *deaupeþ*, become deaf, a rare meaning, but paralleled in the quotation above. OE. *ā-dēafian* has that meaning; see *Deave*, NED. So too *scerpeþ*, l. 18, grows sharp, usually means to make sharp.

19. *scorteþ*. Comp. '[þin] tunge is ascorted,' Frag. G, l. 9. The phrase appears to be without parallel: the corresponding texts have, 'And þi tunge voldeþ,' OEM 101/4; '& his tonge shal stameren, oþer famelen,' PRL 253/8.

20. *teoreþ*, flags, droops. Comp. 'Ðin mægn is aterod . and þa mihte þu næfst,' Ælfric, Lives, i. 86/611.

21. [siden]. S reads *heorte*, H *mup*; something more extensive is wanted, and *sides* is often used vaguely for body (see passages in Minot, i. 15 note). *liggeþ* . . . *stille* occurs again, Frag. E 11, otherwise one might be tempted to conjecture, *liggeþ he stan stille*, as in Minot, ii. 32, with improved alliteration.

23. *at*, as in 'beræfed | At þene eorþlice weole,' Frag. C 7, 8. So L, 'biræiuie hine at liue,' MS. C 9205: it is the usual construction in the older version (but simple *dat.* in 'biræfued þan liue,' 15283), while MS. O has regularly *of*. With the meaning *seize* it takes the *acc.*, 'he biræuede mine æhte,' MS. C 8801. also, an emphasized *so*, quite so, all the: comp. *al* = entirely, 2/29.

26, 27. *So . . . so*, even as, even so. *feorþsiþ*: comp. 135/117, 3/41, 24/189, 119/74: similar combinations are 'balesið,' L 567; 'fæisið,' L 3731; 'houdsiþ,' ON 1586; 'sorhsiðes,' L 11109; 'vnsiþ,' ON 1164; 'wosið,' OEHL ii. 209/3; 'wræc-sið,' Ælf. Lives, i. 538/808.

29. This line is repeated with variations as a sort of refrain, Frag. C 15, 37; D 9, 16, 42; F 19.

30. *iflut*, transferred from the bed to ashes laid on the floor in the form of a cross. Comp. 'Sori is the fore | Fram bedde to the flore,' Rel. Ant. i. 160; 'on flore licgende, bestreowod mid axum, on stiðre hæran,' Ælf. Hom. Cath. ii. 516/30; 'Postremo redimens elemosinis malefacta | Ipsaque confessus mortuus in cinere est,' Epicedium Hathumoda, 557; 'Cum viderint iam eius exitus horam imminere, cilicium expandunt, cinerem desuper aspergunt, et infirmum de lecto levatum in cilicium submittunt,' Consuetudines Cluniacenses, Migne, P. L. cxlix, col. 772; 'esto memor cineris in quo tandem morieris,' Haureau, Notices, ii. 183/9. See other texts in Rock, Church of our Fathers, ii. pp. 299-301.

31. *eastward*. Burial with the feet to the east was formerly the usual practice (Rock, ii. p. 473), but the eastward placing of the dying man is a detail which I cannot illustrate.

32. [col]dēþ. Zupitza's conjecture fits the place, gives a good meaning, and accords with l. 36, but the usual phrase is seen in 'pei clungin so þe cley,' Archiv, xcvi, 309/17; 'As a clot of clay þou were for-clonge,' Hymns to the Virgin, 13/31; 'ant clyngeþ so þe clay,' Bōddeker, AE. Dichtungen, 211/17; 'The clot him clinge,' M.L. Review, V. p. 105. *hit is him ikunde*. Comp. 154/85; 'Nes hit þe nowiht icunde þet þu icore[n] hefdest | Nes hit icunde þe more þen þine cunne biuoren þe,' Frag. D 19, 20; 'unfæger, swa him gecynde wæs,' AS. Hom., ed. Assmann, 176/208; 'Ah nim þu þene kine-halm,' he is þe icunde,' L 18158, 22004, 23196; VV 57/28.

34, 35. Comp. 'Now schaltow haue at al þi siþe | Bot seuen fet, vnneþe þat,' Desputisoun, 91, 2.

36. Comp. 'Nu lið þe clei-clot | al so þe ston,' OEM 172/73, 4.

37. þeo he, those to whom he. With 37-40 comp. 4/15, 16, 37; 32/34; '& he þonne se deada byð úneape ælcon men on neaweste to hæbbenne,' BH 59/14; '& se man næfre toðon leof ne bið his nehmagum & his worldfreondum, ne heora nan hine to þæs swiþe ne lufað þ he sona syþþan ne sý onscungend, seopþan se lichoma & se gast gedælde beoþ, & þincð his neawist laplico & unfæger,' id. 111/27-30; 'Alle his frendes he shal beo loþ. | And helud shal ben wiþ a cloþ,' PRL 253/1, 2. freome dude. Comp. 'him to fremen and do frame,' GE 173: and see 176/24, 186/323.

38. riht wen[den], set straight.

41. The copyist has allowed his eye to wander to the very similar line 43 and has transferred the second half of it here, to the exclusion of something like *þe woneþ þe feorþsþip*.

43. [þon]ne. The last half of *n* and *e* are in the MS. *riche* is probably a mistake for *wrecche*, as S. suggests.

44. For love turns miserably into an evil under the stroke of misfortune. To have loved and lost is an evil thing.

45. *besihþ* . . . to, contemplates; comp. 124/249 note. Zupitza quotes, 'When þe gost it schuld go, | It biwent 7 wiþstode, | Biheld þe bodi þat it com fro,' Desputisoun, 9-11. Comp. 'cum educerent eam (i. e. animam) de corpore commonuerunt eam angeli tercio, dicentes: O misera anima, prospice carnein tuam unde existi,' Visio Pauli, Texts and Studies, ii. 3. 18/7.

C

The heading is added from the Book of Job, vii. 11.

1. S., H., and B. fill the lacuna with *Hwui noldest biþenchen* from 4/17, but this does not fit the lower half of the letters left in the MS. where *ligge* as the end of the preceding line is fairly certain, followed by a word of three letters, the middle one being *o* and another word of two or two and a half letters, of which the first is *w*. Perhaps *loþ we[re]* should be read. A question is not suited to the context. The opening lines evidently correspond to OEH ii. 183/16-19, 'longe habbe ich on þe wuned. swo wo is me þe hwile, for al þat me was leof.' hit was þe loð · þu ware a sele gief ich was wroð. To gode þu ware slau and let · and to euele spac and hwat.'

2. This line is repeated at Frag. D 28.

4. [mo]dinesse. Comp. 77/52, 'He hadde ben a modi kniȝt,' Desputisoun, 5; 'Me nimeð þe licome | 7 preoneð in a clut. | þ wes so modi 7 so strong | 7 so swiþe prud,' OEM 172/67-70; and for the passage at

large, 'Hwær beoþ þonne his welan & his wista? hwær beoð þonne his wlencea & his anmedlan?' BH 111/33; 'Hwar byð þonne heora wela, þe hi ahtan her on life? 7 hi dæghwamllice gesamnodon ma 7 ma togædere 7 nystan nænigne ende, hwænne hi þ forlætan scoldan,' AS. Hom., ed. Assmann, 165/35-7; 'Whar ben þine markes 7 þine pounðes?' Desputisoun, 33.

5. *purh* [pa]newes igædered, scraped together, or, more probably, wrung from the poor, 'Quare pecunias et alienas facultates et substantias pauperum tulisti et congregasti in domo tua?' Batiouchkof's text, p. 577. Comp. also 34/67, 46/296.

6. *itolde*. Comp. 'and þa panezes weoren italde,' L 29460. An early use of *bi* with unit of measurement.

7. *Guldene* is corrupt; with the help of 'Hwer beoþ þine nappes | þat þe glyde to honde,' OEM 175/107, 8, we may restore, *hwar beoþ* [nu] *þeo Goldfæten*. *þe glyden to þine honden*. Then *comen* is a gloss on *glyden*; though it is found in this connexion elsewhere, 'þe schal com an hors to hande,' Richard, 5554.

8. *fornon*, also at 4/44 is not OE. *for-nēan* (H.), which means nearly, but *foran on*, in front, ahead, still to come. Comp. 'foren an his hafde,' L 23968, with local meaning, in front of his head (Germ. vorn an); '7 a33 þe33 tokenn eft fornon | To serrfenn wukemalumm,' Orm. 16/553 (= in continuation of the series); OEM 149/92. L has also 'aforen on, afornon,' 10413. Similarly, 'þe sorþe is him biforen,' OEH i. 63/164.

9. Comp. 'Whare ben al þine worþliche wede,' Desputisoun, 25.

10. [sibbe] is added to fill out the line. *ofer* þe, by the sick man's bedside; *ofer*, opposite to; more commonly expressed by *over against*.

11. *bote*, cure or relief, an ambiguous word.

12. *pupte*, for *puhte*, like *cnipt* for *cniht*, L MS. O'346 a purely graphic variation. On the other hand, *hauef* for *haueþ*, Frag. G 26, like *ofpufte* for *ofpuhte*, 46/271, and *sopte* for *softe*, KH MS. L 392, represent a difference in pronunciation. See W. Horn, Beiträge zur Geschichte der englischen Gutturalaute, pp. 91-4.

13. Comp. 22/129; 'þi fals air schal be ful fain | þi fair fe to vnderfo,' Desputisoun, 105, 6; 'And his freondes strived | to gripen his i-won,' OEM 172/75, 6.

14. [heo]. B. reads [heo hit], which is too long for the gap, and translates 'sie thun es ohne dich.' But it means, they put you outside; which is varied in 15. 16. Comp. 'Me wule for þin ahte | make striuinge, | And pute þe wið-uten | of alle þine þinge,' OEM 176/133-6. See 22/130.

16. of weolen . . . bedæled. The OE. construction is seen in 'mínra bóca bedæled,' Ælfric, De vet. Test. 1/22, and it is the same generally in L, 'liues bidæled,' 17365; 'windes bidelde,' 28239; but 'of folke bidæled,' 12743.

17. Comp. 'Wai hwi noldestu er | of þisse beon icnowe,' OEM 178/167, 8.

18. semdest, didst load; see 84/73. The phrase seems to be without a parallel; perhaps the use of the verb was suggested by 'forðon gie sémað menn mið seamum ðaðe gebeara ne magon,' S. Luke xi. 46 (Lindisfarne MS.).

19. This *motiv* is common to the versions. Comp. 'heu me, heu me, quare unquam in corpore illud tenebrosum et pessimum ingredi merui,' Batiouchkoff, p. 577; 'Heu michi cur olidum · fueram tibi iuncta cadaver. Aweilewei þu fule hold þ ich auere was to þe iteied,' OEH ii. 183/14, 15; 'Walawa 7 wa is me. þ ic efre com to þe,' Frag. F 4; Wulfstan, 140/20-23; 'Ue mihi, habitacio tua mersit me in infernum,' Revue Celtique, x. 469; 'for hwon sceolde ic æfre ingangan on þisne fulestan 7 wyrrestan lichoman,' Thorpe, ii. 398/9. 'Heu me miseram, quod unquam creata fui ac nata, seu in hoc corpus maculatum posita,' S. August. Opera, Migne, P. L. xl. col. 1357. For *buc*, comp. 186/330; 'Awai þu wrecche fole bali,' OEM 172/83.

20. [lo]kien, preserve, maintain, as 77/46; 78/85; 'uorte loken riht bitweonen ou,' AR 286/6; 'beloken (= to look to) þe siclesse of þe sowle,' OEH ii. 77/32; or perhaps, look for, seek after, as in 'Haueden al þa reuen' . . . iloked tweiene eories,' L 5273, 7. The phrase with [*ma*]kien, the conjecture of H., seems not to be earlier than the sixteenth century. *ilærede men*, 'lerdemmen,' OEH ii. 31/9; 'leredmen,' 8/83; 'bokilered,' 18/2, 19/39. Comp. 'alle þat weoren ihadded | & þreo biscopes wise : a boke wel ilæred,' L 21856-8; and for the sense, 'Noldest þu ær gode men for lufe g[od dæ]lan,' Frag. D 4, and 89/33-44.

21. fo[re]. See 2/2 note, and comp. *fore* after its noun in 4/23.

26. *þæne*. B. takes *þære* of the MS. as *gen. sing.* referring to *messe*; H. as *gen. pl.* representing *ilærede men*, but *þurh* with the genitive is very rare. It might be dative; but Zupitza's correction is certain; *þæne* refers to *Christ*, as is required by *his* and *he* in the next line, and *were* is 2 *sing. past indicative* as at 4/32. Comp. 'þam soðfæstan gode | þas lac geoffrian þe us alysde fram deaðe,' Ælfric, Lives, i. 66/284; 'Ac us is mycel neodþearf þ we gepencan, hu drihten us mid his þrowunge alysde fram deofles anwealde, þa he a rode ahangen wæs 7 his þ deorweorðe blod for us ageat,' AS. Hom., ed. Assmann, 164/7-10; 'Hwi noldestu gelyfan þinum

drihtene, þe wæs ahangen for us and us alysyde fram helle wite,' id. 167/80, 1; 'alesde us of helle grunde,' OEH i. 19/8.

29. fenge, betook thyself. þurh — lore. Comp. 'þurh þæs deofles lore, þe þe licode wel,' Frag. G 14, 43.

30. Bi, concerning, comp. 'bi hwam ure Louerd seið,' AR 158/9; 'Nu mon mæi [seg]gen bi þe,' Frag. C 9; 155/92.

31. Probably not a quotation, but an imperfect reminiscence of 'Qui enim divitiarum servus est, divitias custodit ut servus,' Bedae Opera (1612), v, col. 378.

33. for drihtenes willæn, for the Lord's sake (Germ. *um Gottes willen*). Comp. 'for willan þæs ælmihtigan,' Ælfric, Lives, ii. 112/683, and contrast '[Nol] de he nefre þærof don his drihtenes wille,' Frag. C 11.

35. from must be taken closely with *forloren*, not as B. translates, 'bist du verloren, fern von allem, was du liebtest.' Comp. 'And fra folke forlese we þa,' Surtees Psalter, Ps. 82, v. 5, translating 'disperdamus eos de gente.' But it is an uncommon combination.

37. Comp. 'Mid clutes þu ert for [bu]nden and loþ alle freonden,' Frag. F 17; and see note on 3/37. For *unworp* see 26/258.

38. Comp. 12/11.

39. þær — scealt, where thou must remain. H. quotes 'Nu me þe bringæð þer ðu beon scealt,' from the Oxford Frag. (The Grave) 5, and for 40 (which is repeated in Frag. E 8) 'Dureleas is þet hus,' id. 13.

41-3. B. explains, There worms dispose of all that was most prized by thee, birds friendly to Death, all that thou didst formerly delight with all kind (reading *kunde*) of sweetness, which thou didst dearly love. But to call worms birds friendly to Death, is a flight of imagination beyond our writer's power, and the suggested arrangement of the two halves of 41, 42 is artificial, though not without parallel. A comparison of 'Heo wulleþ freten þin fule hold,' Frag. C 41; 'Ac þu heo (i.e. the earth) afulest mid þine fule holde,' Frag. E 5; 'Aweilewei þu fule hold,' OEH ii. 183/15, suggests here *fulest alre holde*, foulest of all bodies. The meaning is then easy and straightforward. His body was what the dead man had most prized and pleased, 'For þin wombe was þin god,' Frag. D 36; 'þine þermes, þeo þe deore weren,' Frag. C 47.

43. [þære]. The staff of the first letter has survived in the MS.; it goes below the line.

44, 45 are repeated with small variation in Frag. D 40, 41. For *fornon* see 3/8 note. With the rhyme of 45, comp. 'Beornen [þer e]fre ende nis þer nefre,' Frag. E 49.

II. SAINT GODRIC'S HYMNS

Manuscript: Royal 5 F vii, British Museum; described in Casley's Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library, pp. 88, 89. The pieces, with musical notation, in the order B, A, C, occur in a Latin life of Godric by Geoffrey, a monk of Durham, on f. 85, apparently an inserted leaf. This leaf is in a different hand from that of the life, and belongs to the beginning of the thirteenth century; a hand of the fourteenth century has added a Latin version beneath the lines of the first stanza of A, and *onfong* above *onfo* in l. 3. The Royal MS. alone contains C, but the first stanza of A, together with B, are found in two MSS. of the life of Godric, written by his contemporary Reginald of Durham, Laud Misc. 413, Bodleian Library, and Harley 153, B.M., and the first stanza of A, also in another MS. of the same life, Harley 322 B.M., and in Mm. iv. 28, Cambridge University Library. Two MSS. of Roger of Wendover, Douce 207, Bodleian, and Otho B v, B.M., and three of Matthew Paris, C.C.C. Cambridge 26, Nero D v, and Harley 1620 B.M., have the whole of A. Most of these give Latin versions of the English words. The filiation of the English copies has been determined by Zupitza in the exhaustive article mentioned below: he gives a critical text based on the Royal MS.

Facsimile: Saintsbury, G., History of English Prosody, frontispiece to vol. i. London, 1906.

Editions: Ritson, J., Bibliographia Poetica, 1-4; Hazlitt's Warton, iii. 154 (reprint of A only); * Zupitza, J., Englische Studien, xi. 401-32.

Literature: Zupitza, J., Archiv, lxxxvi. 408 (note on the pronunciation of druð).

Phonology: Godric's Northern dialect has been well preserved, but he would have written scild 3, ric 4, and probably birth 13. *a* is *a* in scamel (séeamol) 9; *æ* is *a* in þat, bare 10, at 13. *e* is *e* in help 3, itredie 10. *i* is *i* in schild 3, dilie 7, and *y* (written for *i* before *m*) in tymbre 12. *o* is *o* in godes 4. *y* is *i* in sinne 7, winne 8. *ā* is *a* in swa 9, clenhad 6. *æ̃*₁ (WG. ai + i) is *e* in clenhad 6, iledde 9; *æ̃*₂ (WG. ā) is *a* in bare 13, þare 14. *ō* is *o* in moder 2, onfo 3, mod 7, fote 10. *ū* is *u* in bur 5, hus 12. *eo* before *r* + consonant is *e* in erðe 10. *æ* + *g* is *ai* in faire 12; *ēa* + *h*, *eʒ* in heʒilich 4 (hēa(h)līce). Scone 12 is Norse, the OE. is *sciēne* (Björkman, Scandinavian Loan-Words, p. 77), and burth 13 is probably so (id., p. 162). Sainte, uirgine, flur, druð, are French. The scribe uses *p* initially, *ð* in other positions, and once *th*. So he has *p* generally, but

once *w* in *wel*. In selfd 8, *d* is due to anticipation of the following word : in wid 10 *d* is scribal error for *ð*.

Grammar : *moderes* is a new genitive (OE. *mōdor*, *māder*) ; *e* of the dative is lost in *moð*, *scamel*, *burth*. *fote* 10 is *pl. d.*, *sinne acc. pl.* Of the possessives *mine* 10 is *pl. d.*, the others are uninflected ; *min sinne* 7 is noteworthy, because the *pl.* forms at this period are usually inflected. *Iledde* is a solitary *ind. pt. pl.*, *silde subj. pt. sing.* ; the other verbs are imperatives : *rix*=*rixe*. A new present stem appears in *onfang* ; it may be as old in the North as Godric's time ; elsewhere it appears about 1200 A. D.

Dialect : Specifically Northern are the representation of *ā*, the form *silde* and the early simplification of the inflection. The development of *æ*, *ǣ*, and *ȳ* exclude the South.

Metre : Godric's rhythms are all to be found in the Latin hymns which probably inspired his verses. These are S. Anselm's *Psalterium S. Virginis* (Opera, ed. Gerberon, p. 303) and the Sequence for the Feast of S. Nicholas, to be found under Dec. 6 in the York Missal and elsewhere. The normal line in Anselm's hymn contains four measures with trochaic movement, as *Nón est | nóbis | récens | Déus*, but there are others of five and six, with admixture of iambic rhythm. Godric uses all these and applies to them the licences of native prosody, elision, slurring, omission, and doubling of light syllables. So his 1 and 5, *Sáinte | marí|e uír|giné |*, and *Sáinte | marí|e chríst|es búr |*, are exactly *Áve | Regí|na vír|ginúm*, and 6, *maíden|es clén|had móð|eres flúr* only differs by the slurring of *e* before *r*. Line 2, *móder | ihésu | crístes | náza|réne |*, has one trochee more than the normal line, one less than *Cúius | laúdes | sónus | fíunt | épul|ántis*, and l. 7 with *mine* restored before *sinne* is of the same pattern, *dílie | míne | sinne | ríxe in | mín moð |*. Line 8, *bríng me to | wínne | wið þé | selfd Gód |*, has the same mixture of trochees and iambs as *Ómnis | re|mítt|itúr | iní|quitás |*, or *Áve | cúius | virgín|eó |*, but with doubled light syllable in the first measure ; similar is the rhythm of 4, *ónfang | bríng he | ȝílich | wið þé | in gód|es ríc |*. Line 3, *ónfo | schíld | hélp þin | gódríc*, has the same movement as *óbdor|míens | páti|éndo*, but with omission of light syllable after stressed long syllable in the second measure.

The long lines 9, 10 are based on a combination of two Latin ones, *Críst* and *saínte | Marí|e swá|on scá|mel mé | ilédd|è*, like *Áve | cúius | in fíliúm || Proclá|nat fíd|es már|tyrúm |* but with omission of light syllable in the last foot ; and *þat íc | on þis ér|ðe né ' sílde || wíd mine | báre | fóte i|tréðie |* imitates *indú|ti stó|lla gé|mína || Dúplex | dícunt | Álle|lúia*, but with doubling of light syllables twice and elision.

In the last verse, Saínte | Nícho|láes | gódes | drúð | is Glóri|óse | Níco|læe | with added foot of one stressed syllable; týmbre us | faíre | scóne | hús | is vóca|lí con|córdi|à ; Àt þi búrth | àt þi bár|è resembles ùbi páx | et glóri|à, and Saínte | Nícho|láes | bríng vs wel | þære is the normal Ad sal|útis | pórtum | tráhe | with added foot.

In Godric's verse the strict syllabic principle, with its consequent abandonment of alliteration, save for ornament, and its consistent attempt at end-rhyme, has obtained already a complete mastery, whilst in most of the contemporary poetry it is still struggling with the traditional alliterative metric. His methods rank him with the writers of popular topical verse, while the more conscious artists still linger in the old ways.

Introduction : S. Godric, the hermit of Finchale, near Durham, died 1170 A.D. In his earlier days he had travelled much as merchant and pilgrim, and learnt to venerate S. Nicholas as the patron of those in peril of the sea. Reginald tells us that the Virgin Mary, accompanied by S. Mary Magdalene, appeared to S. Godric, in the chapel which he had dedicated to her at Finchale, and taught him both words and melody of the first piece (Vita, ed. Stevenson, Surtees Society, no. 20, pp. 117-19). The occasion of the second piece was as follows. His sister Burgwen having died, S. Godric earnestly desired to know what judgement had been passed upon her, and he was privileged to see the Virgin Mary followed by two angels, clothed in albs, bearing the soul of his sister, who, from the centre of the altar in the Oratory, sang the hymn which filled the saint with joy (Reginald, 143, 4). The third piece was unknown to Reginald, but Godric told him that on one occasion S. Nicholas appeared to him, with a company of angels, and bade him join them in their hymns (id. 202).

The literary value of Godric's verses is small, but they are the first compositions we have in Northern English after the Conquest, and metrically interesting. There are, however, three earlier documents which have been printed by Liebermann in *Archiv*, cxi. 275-84; the first of these, Gospatric's letter, is also in the *Scottish Historical Review*, i. 62, 105, 344, 353; ii. 340: it is possibly pre-Conquest.

1. *marie* has three syllables with the accent on the second; in OE. it is usually *Maria* with accent on the first (but 'ǣt is *MARÍA* · mædena felast,' *Be Domes Dæge*, 18/293); in Orm naturalized as *Marȝe* and in ME. generally *Marye*. From his Latin models Godric takes his pronunciation and the associated uirgine, apparently its first occurrence in English.

2. *ihesu*, the general form for any oblique case, here genitive. *nazarene* is an invariable adj. like *cristene*, but Orm. has, 'Forr Nazarenuss tacneþþ sannt,' 308/8865.

4. *hezilich*, with honour; *glorioso* in the MS. version. MS. Harley 322 has *hegliche* and translates *cito*; the Cambridge MS. *hehtlic*, wrongly rendered *eternaliter* as though it represented *ecclīce*; Zupitza explains it as the adverb of *higð*, ME. on *hihðe*, in haste; MS. Harley 153 reads *hehliche*, rendered *alte*.

5. *xpistes bur*: comp. 'Maria, Dei thalamus,' Anselm 303/5; 'Ave, de cuius intimo | Christus processit thalamo, | in sole tabernaculum | fixit, qui regit saeculum,' Mone, ii. 234/69-72, which shows that this use of the word came from Psalm xviii. 6 'In sole posuit tabernaculum suum et ipse tamquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo exultavit ut gigas ad currendam viam.' For *xp* = *Xp*, Chr, see Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, 156 ff.

6. The translation in some of the MSS. is 'virginalis puritas, matris flos.' Godric has in mind, 'Ave mater per quam via | Immaculata patuit | Quia (Qui à in text) Deo flore | Virginitas effloruit,' Anselm, 306/93-6; 'Ave coeleste lilium | Per florem cuius unicum,' &c., id. 305/153, 4. Christ then is the Virgin's pure offspring, the mother's flower to whom the next two lines are addressed, and *þe* in l. 8 (which Zupitza rejects) presents no difficulty. The abandonment of the vocative for a new subject is artless. The first half of 7 corresponds to, 'O Christe, proles Virginis | Patris compar altissimi | Per tuae mortis merita | Dele nostra peccamina,' Anselm, 303/22-5, and the second to 'Ave mater cuius partus | Deus in coelis habitat | In sanctorum dum mentibus | Dulcedine sua regnat,' id. 306/111-4.

9. *scamel*, from L. Lat. *scamellum*, dim. of *scamnum*, step, stool; it often means the little stool for the hands of cripples, but it is also synonymous with *scabellum*, which in the phrase *scabellum pedum* occurs nine times in the Vulgate, with the meaning footstool. In two of these, Psalms xcvi. 5, cix. 1, the Surtees Psalter translates by *schamel*, Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter by *scæmol*, the Paris Psalter by *sceamul*, the earliest Eng. Prose Psalter by *shamel*, the Lambeth Homilies (OEH i. 91/11) by *fot-scomele*. Comp. 'Vor þi alle þe halewen makeden of al þe worlde ase ane stol (scheomel, C; schamel, T) to hore uet, uorto arechen þe heouene,' Ancren Riwe, 166/15, 6. Psalm cix. 1 'Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos, scabellum pedum tuorum,' is quoted five times in the New Testament, and there may be a reference to it here. Zupitza suggests that l. 10 is based on 'Quoniam angelis suis mandavit de te, ut custodiant te in

omnibus viis tuis. In manibus portabunt te, ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum,' Psalm xc. 11, 12; but *on his erde itredie* is a weak representation of *offendas ad lapidem*. Now we are told by Reginald that the angels who bore the spirit of Burgwen halted 'supra Altaris crepidinem,' and the Harleian MS. has, more definitely, 'eam super Altaris crepidinem statuerunt.' The *scamel* is simply the footpace of the altar on which she has been set. Reginald's version points in this direction, 'Sancta Maria super scamni sedile me deduxit'; as also Geoffrey's paraphrase, 'Ne pede calcarem terre contagia nudo (*a. l. mundo*), | Sic mea me domina deduxit sancta Maria.' The meaning then is, I have been conducted to this altar-step in such a way that I should not touch *this* earth with my bare foot. I am divinely protected and lifted above the world. And Godric understood, 'statim intellexit quod anima sororis suae super coelestibus Angelorum choreis esset associata' (p. 145).

11. **Nicholaes** occurs in AS. Chron. E. 1067 as Nicolaes. It corresponds to Nicolaus, which in the Latin hymns is always four syllables, and so, I think, it must be here.

godes druð: comp. 'dilectus Dei Nicholaus,' Aberdeen Breviary; 'amicus Dei,' York Breviary, ii. col. 106; 'et amico Dei magno | Nicolao condole,' Anselm, 307/168, 9; 'godes drut,' Be Domes Dæge, 18/290.

12. **hus** does not rhyme and has no reference to anything in the legend of S. Nicholas. But he was invoked by sailors in peril (York Breviary, ii. 105), and we are told that Godric would often interrupt a conversation by saying 'Quaeso, fratres, oremus; quia ecce, navis in pelago periclitatur,' and that, 'facta oratione, iterum consuevit adjicere, "Nunc navis mea applicuit"' (Reginald, p. 130). If *huð* might be restored here, as an unumlauted form of *hȳð*, harbour, on the evidence of *to hupe = ad portum*, quoted in Bosworth-Toller from the Lambeth Psalter, it would correspond to 'O beate Nicolae, | Nos ad maris portum trahe'; 'Gloriose Nicolae, | Ad salutis portum trahe' of the Sequence. **tymbre** can mean provide, prepare, see Minot, vi. 2.

13. Zupitza connects this line with *druð*, but its position requires it to be taken with *tymbre* or *bring*. **at** means from, by the merits of (NED i. 529 †11). The singular piety of the infant Nicholas is told in all his legends, 'quarta et sexta feria tantum semel (= semel tantum) sugebat ubera,' Aurea Legenda, ed. Graesse, p. 22; 'Qui in cunis adhuc iacens | Servando ieiunia | a papilla coepit summa | promereri gaudia,' in the Sequence. And he was helpful in his tomb, 'Ex ipsius tumba manat | unctionis copia | quae infirmos omnes sanat | per eius suffragia.'

III. THE PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE

Manuscript: Laud Misc. 636, Bodleian Library (MS. E). Described in Plummer, ii. xxxiv, v. A new hand begins with 1132 and continues to the end in 1155 A.D.

Facsimile: Keller, Wolfgang, *Angelsächsische Palaeographie*, Berlin, 1906: plate xii gives ll. 1-25.

Editions: For the earlier editions see Plummer, ii. cxxvii-cxxxv. Thorpe, B., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 2 vols., London, 1861; Earle, J., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel*, Oxford, 1865; *Plummer, C., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1892, 1899; Emerson, O. F., *A Middle English Reader*, New York, 1905.

Literature: Behm, O. P., *The Language of the Later Part of the Peterborough Chronicle*, Gothenburgh, 1884; Würzner, A., *Review of Behm, Anglia*, viii, *Anzeiger*, 18-24; Meyer, H., *Zur Sprache der jüngeren Teile der Chronik von Peterborough*, Jena, 1889; Horst, K., *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Altenglischen Annalen*, ES xxv. 195-218; Robertson, W. A., *Tempus und Modus in der altenglischen Chronik*, Marburg, 1906. For History: Hugo Albus, ed. Sparke in *Hist. Angl. Scriptores*, Londini, 1723 (comp. Liebermann, F., *Ueber ostenglische Geschichtsquellen*, Hannover, 1892); *Gesta Stephani in Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen*, Rolls Series; William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, Rolls Series; Bridges, J., *History of Northamptonshire*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1791; Norgate, K., *England under the Angevin Kings*, 2 vols., London, 1887; Round, J. H., *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, London, 1892.

Phonology: *a* is regularly *a*, whether oral, *faren* 9, *makede* 23, *ac* 39, *pades* 59 (**pad*); or before nasals, *Godman* 22, *nam* 42; or before lengthening groups, *land* 1, *enmang* 26. It is *e* in *henge* 55, 56 influenced by Scand. *hengja*; *æ*, which in this text lies near *e*, in the Scand. loan-word *tæcen* 120, 139; *o* in *oc* 7, but, through influence of Scand. *oc*, also. *æ* is mostly *a*, was (34 times), *þat* (9), *at* (5) -*masse* (3), but no instance of after; the pasts, *bar* 85, *spac* 141, *stal* 165; but *e*, *wes* (7 times, all between ll. 20 and 76), *þet* (once), -*messe* (once), *efter* (15), analogy of *eft*; and *æ*, *wæs* (9), *þæt* (once), *æt* (6), -*mæsse* (once), *æfter* (once), *stæl* 132. *e* is generally *e*, *nefe* 7, *wel* 72; before lengthening groups, *sende* 4, 9, *þrengde* 61 (**þrengan*), *ferde* 166; but *æ* in *bæron* 63, 66, *wæl* 95, 203, *þæ* 100, *æten* 124. *i* is regularly *i*, *milce* 4, *scip* 14, but *y* is sometimes written for it, *uurythen* 58, *suyken* 135, *wyd* 141. *o* is regularly *o*, *ouer* 13, *smoke* 56, *o* 74 (=on); before length. groups, *uuoelde* 3, *gold*

24. It is *a* in an 14, a 20; *u* in durste 22. *u* is regularly *u*, sunne 15, cumen 18, sturuen 75; before length. groups, wurþen 17, hungær 67, wurthen 147. It is omitted in of uundred 17 (a French spelling). *y* is *i*, dide 9, 18, bebiriend 22, sinnes 88, mint 98; written *y* in byrthen 24, yfel 29, 51, 88, fyrst 30, fylden 49, 51, styred 136.

ā is normally *a*, þa 1, sua 3, an 10, athes 46, mare 76, 87, mar 136; before two consonants, halechede 28 (hālgode), halechen 87 (hālgan), axen 128. It is *o* in nan more 71, nan mor 6, to 111, 117 through loss of stress. *ǣ*₁ is *e*, todeld 39, neure 73, flec 74, hethen 77, here, her 190, or *æ*, æuricman 20, sæ 13, ælc 102, æuez 117 (ǣfæst), todælde 178; exceptionally *a* in ani 52, lastede 68; *o* in onne 63 (ǣnne). *ǣ*₂ is normally *e*, slep 14, ueron 84, ormete 114, eten 123, or *æ*, wæron 6, 54, þær 61, 145, ræd 156, but *a* occurs before *r* some fifteen times, uuare 16, 183, uuaren 50, 75, war 85, 172, thar 40, 84, 136, thare 96, 149, bare 24, forbaren 78, nadres 59, stali 147. *ē* is mainly *e*, fet 55, slep 86, refen 92, cuen 145; before consonant groups, underfeng 27, uuenden 38, spedde 171, but *æ* in læt 92, 164, and rounded into *eo* before *rd* in feorde 6, 125, feorden 34, 150. *ī* is regularly *i*, suithe 8, lic 21, for which *y* is sometimes written, suyðe 49, 92, gysles 157. *ō* is *o*, com 1, opre 5, moste 97. *ū* is *u*, ut 9, abuten 16. *ȳ* is *i*, litel 35.

ea before *r*+cons. is *a* in quarterne 59, nareu 60; *æ* in scærpe 61, 64, iærd 78, 102; *a* generally before lengthening groups, uuard 15, 18, 122, 189, 201, forewarde 157, 185, nowiderwardes 65, but *æ* in wærd 176, 177, 193. The *i*-umlaut is represented by *æ*, *e*, *eo*, færd 115, 180, ferd 133, feord 164. *ea* before *l*+cons. is regularly *a*, als 15, alre 30, alle 45, hals 65; but *ælle* 43; before *ld*, ald 16, halden 143, 186, 189; but manifældlice 113. Palatal *ea* is *a*, iaf 10, 128, 129, 158, 205; *æ* in begæt 96, 98. Palatal *ie* is generally *i*, *y* after *g*, gyuen 9, 71, íuen 144, 158, but gæildes 70, bigæton 170; after *ð*, cęste 60. *eo* before *r*+cons. is *eo*, weorces 50, weorkes 103 (influence of *w*); *e* in sterres 16; before length. groups *e*, erthe 85, *eo*, eorl 116, *æo*, æorl 132. To the *wur* group belong wurscipe 11, wurtscipe 93. *w*+*ie*, umlaut of *eo* before *r*+cons. is represented in uuerse 69, wærse, 156, 159. *eo* before *l*+cons. is *e* in helde 184, *æ* in sælf 202. *eo*, umlaut of *i*, is *e* in clepeden 70, here 44; *i*, *y* in sithen 153, siððan 32, sythen 79, sylure 24, syluer 40, 53. *eo* after *g* is seen in iunge 178; after *sc* in sculde 18, 38, scort 60; after *w* in suster 170; beionde 196, heom 34, represent *eo* of obscure origin.

ēa is mostly *e*, ded 19, 176, 177, 193, hefed 56, estren 108, forles 140, reuede 173; or *æ*, ræuede 20, ræflac 29, ræueden 71, ræueres 83, hæued 58, but *eo* in eom 38, beom 64. Its *i*-umlaut is seen in flemden 118, herde

163, cæse 74. Palatal *ēa* after *g* is *æ* in *gære* 13, 18, *undergæton* 44; *ea* in *gear* 1, *a* in *iafen* 44 (*gēafon*).

ēo is mostly *e*, *underpeden* 3, *ben* 7, *frend* 21, *helden* 32, *undep* 61, *ieden* 75, but *æ* in *dær* 23, *gæde* 58, *scæ* 140 (**sēo* Anglia, Beiblatt, vii. 331), *iæde* 165, *wæx* 127, and *eo* in *heolden* 47, 49, *deoules* 51, *preostes* 80, *freond* 151. Its *i*-umlaut is seen in *pestrede* 15, 122, *dære* 74, *sæclede* 201 and *atywede* 111 (*ætiewan*). *giæt* is *gæt* 76, *get* 38.

æ + g is *æi* in *dæi* 15, 16, 19, 52; *ei* in *dei* 11, 14; *ai* in *lai* 14, *mai* 67; *æ* in *sæde* 143, *sæden* 17, 86. *e + g* is *æi* in *æie* 22, *sæin* 87, *læide* 173, *læiden* 70; *ei* in *eie* 196, *sei* 24. *ongegn* is represented by *agænes* 48, 130, *agenes* 30, 180, so *togænes* 116. *i + g* is *i* in *ani* 52. *o + h* is *oh* in *wrohte* 91, *bohton* 107. *u + g* is *ug*, *flugen* 76, 135, 147; *u + h*, *uh* in *fuchten* 117. *æ₁ + h* is seen in *bepaht* 4. *ē + g* is *ei* in *uureide* 2, *beien* 176. *i + g* is *i* in *fridæi* 109. *ō + g, h* is *oh* in *onoh* 63, *brohten* 21, *brohte* 92. *ea + h* gives *uh* in *muhten* 147. *ēa + g* is *eg* in *rachenteges* 63; *ēa + h*, *eh*, *neh* 4, *fleh* 140, 149, 165, *hehlice* 204; but *heglice* 112.

ā + w gives *au* in *saule* 40; *ō + w* is represented in *nouth* 78, 154 (*nōhwæðer*), *noht* 8 (*nōwiht*); *ēa + w* in *fæumen* 117; *ēo + w* in *neuuæ* 93, *treuthe* 47, 154, *treoth* 47.

In syllables of minor or no stress, *swā* is reduced to *se*, also 38, 55, *ware* se 172; *o* to *e*, *altegædere* 79, *enmang* 26. *æ* is written for *e*, *flugæn* 82, *forcursæd* 84, *War sæ* 85, *neuuæ* 93, *bletcæd* 198. In *sona* 30, *a* is traditional spelling, instead of *e*. The suffix in *wreccehed* 76 represents **hæd*. Inflectional vowels are mostly levelled to *e*, but *a* persists in the infinitives *winnan* 115, *rixan* 176, and is found in the *pt.* plurals, *tocan* 32, *coman* 82; *o* in *wæron* (11 times), *undergæton* 44, *bræcon* 62, *brendon* 72, *heoldon* 143, *fæston* 154; in *macod* 41, *begunnon* 210 and the *inf.* *bæron* 63, *bigæton* 170. In *wicci* 155 *i* is miswritten for *e*.

For *w*, the scribe adds to the OE. symbol *ƿ* the French *uu*, which occurs for the most part initially, as *uureide* 2, but medially in *þohuuethere* 33, *Noruuic* 107; and for *sw*, *cw*, *su*, *cu*, as *sua* 3, *cuen* 145. Once for *cw* he has French *qu* in *quarterne* 59. In *cusen* 201, *cosan* 204, *s* has been substituted for *r*, by influence of *cēosan*, *cēas*, &c. An inorganic *n* appears in conjunction with *d* in *bebiriend[en]* 22, *þolenden* 87. In *umwile* 70, the prefix is O. Scand. *um*; *þumbes* 56 (*þūma*) has inorganic *m*: in *hauen*, 131, *bb* has passed through *f*, by analogy of *hafað*, to *u*; similarly *liuen* 98. *f* between vowels is generally represented by *u*, as *æuez* 117, *ræueres* 83; but *hefed* 56, *yfel* 29: it is also *u* in *æure* 69, *deoules* 51, *sturuen* 75: it is assimilated in *wimmen* 53, *lammasse* 13. *t* is lost in *efsones* 156, and misplaced in *sa't'hleden* 153: OE. *milt* is *milce* 4. *d*

has fallen off in þusen 66, and interchanged with þ in wurþen 17, wurthen 147. The contraction ȝ=and 47, 198, but the *d* as well as that of mid 142, 160 was evidently pronounced *t* when followed by *te* for *þe*. *þ*, *ð*, *th* all occur indiscriminately; the last is French. *þ* of the article *þe* is assimilated to a preceding *t*, as *ðat* *te* 3, *þatte* 8, *æt* *te* 13, ȝ *te* 5, and often, ȝ to 111, 117, mid *te* 142, 160, but not after *d* in fand *þe* 90, nor in mid þem-perice 160, wyd þemperice 162, where the article coalesces with the noun. In wurtscipe 93, &c., *t* has displaced *þ*; while in wurscipe 11 *þ* has been lost: *þ* often interchanged with *d*, as uuard 15, 176, 201, nowiderwardes 65, fordfeorde 125, wyd 141, widuten 147. In bletcæd 198 (*bletsod*) *c* is written for *s*, as in emperice 141. *Sc* is [š], *sh* in ship; so sculde 7, scip 14, lundenisce 27, scort 60, scærpe 61, scæ 140, -scipe 11, &c. Voiced *s* is once written *z*, æuezen 117.

The scribe uses *ch*, as often in Anglo-Norman, with the value of [k] to represent *c*, *g*, as rachenteges 63 (*racente*, always with *k* elsewhere in ME.), halechede 28 (*hālgode*), halechen 87 (*hālgan*), folecheden 148 (*folgodon*), Burch 2, burch 163 (*burg*); being all the instances of *ch* which occur. But he also has *c* with the same value as *folc*, *com*, *tocon*, *macod*, &c., and *c* for *č* (*ch* in *chin*), which may be assumed for *ricemen* 30, *cæse* 74, *circe* 78, *ceste* 60, *cild* 107, *cusen* 201, *cosan* 204, -*cestre* 133, -*rice* 9, and for final *ic*.

Palatal *g* is mostly *i*, iaf 128, 129, 158, 205, iafen 44, aiauen 168 (*āgiefan*), íuen 144, 158, iunge 178, iærd 78, 102, beionde 196, iæde 165, ieden 75 (*ge-ēodon*), but *g* in gear 1, begæt 98, get 38, gæt 76, gæde 58, bry-niges 57. In sloghen 118 (*slōgon*) the guttural sound is expressed.

Initial *h* in words of less stress has largely disappeared, so, it 8, &c., but hit 189: it is added in hæR 159, here, her 190. *hw* is reduced to *w*, War 85, wile 69, unwile 70, and is *wu* in Wua 24. *h* is lost in þur 112 through confusion with the following word, but its guttural character is sufficiently indicated by added *c* in þurhc 155, 156. *þ* is written for *h* in þopþ 35, þopwethere 91, 181; but þohuuethere 33.

Accidence: In the strong declension *sunu m.* is levelled to *sune s. n.* 21; *f. sæhte s. n.* 184 has added *e*. Gen. *s. -es*, as *kinges* 29; no examples of fem. or neut. nouns. The dative is mostly without distinctive inflection, as *land* 1, *king* 2; *eie* 196, *sune* 184, *rice* 177, *geuge* 119 do not differ in termination from the nom., but exceptionally *kinge* 28, *tune* 73; *lande* 10, 76, *gære* 13, *quarterne* 59, *wiue* 179 have *e*. The dat. fem. forms *saule* 40, *ceste* 60, *strengthe* 99, 145, *rode* 109, *forewarde* 157, and the accusatives *milce* 4, *treuthe* 47, *blisse* 175 probably correspond in this text to ME. nominatives with added *e*, as is the case with the acc. *fare* 72, *helpe* 169, *sahte* 182. *Men* 23 is probably dat. sing.: the gen. is *mannes*

65. Sylure 24 is probably for syluer, as at 53. The plural *n. d. a.* inflection is -es; sandes 34, tunes 70, 72; once s in martyrs 54. Neuters in es are gæildes 70, landes 92, weorkes 103, but wunder 46, 67 *pl. a.* retains the OE. plural. Fote 165 is prob. *pl. d.* (=fōtum); wintre 69, 89 is a *pl. a.* corresponding to OE. pl. winter; similarly threniht, *pl. a.* 16. Pining 54, 108 (pīnung *f.*) appears to be treated as a neut. pl., comp. pines 68: freond 151 is OE. *pl. a.* frēond. No example of *pl. gen.* occurs.

The weak declension of all genders has e in all cases of the singular; *n.* mone 16; *d.* messe 11, lammasse 13, smoke 56, pape 95, time 106, luue 109; *a.* throte 65, cyrce 79. But sunnen (dæi) 198 preserves an old genitive; cyricen 203, circewican 97, horderwyca 98 are datives. The plurals are mostly in -es. *n.* nadres 59, *d.* þumbes 56, *a.* neuues 43; but halechen *pl. n.* 87, estren *pl. d.* 108 descend from OE. forms.

Most of the adjective inflections are lost, and there is little trace of the distinction between strong and weak. There is no instance of undoubted inflection of a strong adj. in the singular, but ful 56, an 60, scort 60, al 66, 88 are uninflected: micel is invariable. Strong *pl.* in e are sæhte 35, alle 45, 62, 67, 68, 72, 96, 129, yuele 51, scærpe 61, suilce 86, manie 102, gode 104, wunderlice, manifældlice 112: not inflected are al 15, cnotted 57, hethen 77, mani 103. I take untellendlice 54, alle, ilce 108 as *pl. a.* The weak declension is exemplified in the singular, lundenisce 27, 139, yfele 88, ilce 200; but ilc 18, &c. Wise 182 is plural; not inflected, æuez 117, &c. onne 63, *s. a. f.* corresponds to ænne, rather than āne.

The personal pronouns are i 67; he, him; hi *pl. n.* 37, her *pl. g.* (hiera) 154, heom, and once hi *pl. a.* 51; scæ 140 (first appearance), hire; it: relatives þe, ðat, used also in oblique cases, *pl. g.* 63, *s. d.* 116: article *s. pl.* þe, but *pl.* to 111, 117 (for þo).

Strong verbs have *inf.* in -en, but bæron 63, bigæton 170. The *dat. inf.* with to, but uninflected, occurs 63, 71, 124, 170, 186, 189; *part. pr.* are sittende 73, ridend 82; *pr. pl.* lien 97; *pt. s.* I a. iaf, lai, besæt, begæt, spac: I b. com, nam, bar, stæl, stal: I c. warth, uuard, ward, wærd, fand, wan, belamp: III. fleh, forles: IV. for, toc, suor, forstod: V. underfeng, held, slep, læt, wæx, hatte; *pt. pl.* usually ends in -en, but on, an, æn also occur; I a. iafen, undergæton 44, drapen, eten: I b. comen, coman 82, namen, bæron, forbaren, stali (error for stalen) 147, bræcon 62: I c. wurpen, fuhten, fuhtten 181, sturuen: II. risen, uurythen, suyken: III. flugen, flugæn 82, 135, cusen: IV. tocan 32, sloghen: V. helden, heolden, hengen: iafen 44, braecon 62 are possibly subjunctives; bare 24, helde 184 are *pt. s. subj.*: *pp.* I b. forholen: I c. begunnon: III. cosan, forloren: IV. suoren, forsworen: V. underfangen.

Weak verbs have *inf.* in *en*, but *rixan* 176, *uuerrien* 33, *sæin* 87, *sei* 24; *dat. inf.* with *to*, but uninflected, at 33, 98, 131; *pr. s.* *maket* 112, *pt. s.* in *-de*, *-ede*; but *besætte* 131, *wrohte* 91: *beteht* 117, *goded* 92, *henged* 55, 56, *læd* 135, *macod* 41, *mint* 98, *scatered*, *to-deld* 39 have lost final *e*; *gæde* 58 is *pt. s. subj*; *þole(n)den* 1 *pt. pl.* 87; *pt. pl.* in *-en*, as *sæden* 17, &c.; once in *on*, *brendon* 72. *bebiriend* 22, *bebyried* 111 are for *bebyrieden*; comp. *byrieden* 110, the loss of *en* is due to the following word; *part. pt.* in *-ed*, but *for cursæd* 84, *bepaht* 4.

Noteworthy among the *Anomala* are *myhtes* 2 *pt. s*; *muhten* *pt. pl.*; *cunnen* 1 *pr. pl.*; *durste* *pt. s*; *wæron*, *uwaren* *pt. pl.*; *uware* 16, *ware* 183, *pt. s. subj.*; *hatte* 113, *gehaten* 11, 202.

Dialect: This is, no doubt, substantially the North-East Midland of Peterborough, but with traces of Northern influence, such as the form *saule* 40, and the extensive representation by *a* of *æ*, before *r*; of *ā*; and of *a* before lengthening groups. The last two perhaps need no such explanation in this early text; they are indeed usual in Orm fifty years later, but the inclination to *o* is marked in other East Midland texts. There is a considerable survival of traditional spelling, especially noticeable in the use of *æ* and in inflections of the verbs.

Vocabulary: French are *acordede*, *canceler* (pre-Conquest), *castles*, *carited*, *cuntesse* (first appearance), *curt* (f. a.), *emperice* (f. a.), *justise*, *iudeus* (f. a., OF. *judeu*, *Reimpredigt* 14/27), *messe*, *miracles* (f. a.), *pais* (f. a.), *prisun*, *processiun*, *rentes* (f. a.), *sot(lice)*, *Standard*, *tenserie*, *treson* (f. a.), *tresor* (f. a.), *tur*, *uuerre*, *uuerrien* 33: Latin are *crucet* (hus) 60, *priuilegies* 96; *anno* 94 is an early use. Scandinavian are *bathe* 52, *brendon* 72 (OWScand. *brenna*), *bryniges*, *carlmen* (already in OE.), *drapen*, *hærnes*, *sæht*, *sæhtlian*, *tæcen* 139, *þoh*, *til* (in OE.), *um* (while).

Introduction: The Peterborough Chronicle continues the history for seventy-five years beyond any of the other redactions of the AS. Chronicle. The last section of it here printed differs in form and language from the rest. It is not in annal form; only six dates are given as headings and events are not recorded in their chronological order. Places like 6/29, 7/68, 8/88, 104 show that, at least from the first-mentioned passage, the whole was written down at the same time, and that not long after 1155 (comp. 11/210). Though there is considerable variation in spellings, there is no evidence of progressive change, or of the influence of earlier documents. These variations are distributed quite impartially over the whole piece, and witness to nothing but the strong effort of the scribe to express as accurately as possible the sounds he heard. For I think it was taken

down at the dictation of an old monk, who had lived through the Anarchy, by a younger man acquainted with French scribal methods. His mistakes, such as false grouping of syllables 6/20, failure to grasp what was said 7/62, dropping and altering of end syllables under the influence of the following word, 6/22, 8/111, 8/112, 9/147, the omissions shown by the interlineations, are mistakes of dictation. And the brevity and absence of subordination in the sentences, the confusions in construction, as at 7/64-7, the frequent changing of the number of the verbs 7/48, 9; 7/56, 7; 7/60, 61, are hardly consistent with deliberate written composition.

Throughout this time there was an historian at Peterborough. Hugo Albus was a monk there from 1114, and sub-prior from 1134 to 1154. In advanced age he wrote the History of the Monastery in Latin, in which, at any rate, he utilized the English Chronicle. Some have thought him the author of the latter also, but that view is rejected very decidedly by Liebermann (Ueber osteng. Geschichtsquellen, 5). His strongest argument is the difference of style, the comparative smoothness, elaboration, and coldness of the Latin. Some of that may be due to lapse of time, for there is probably fifteen years between the two compositions. Something too should be allowed for the difference in language and in purpose.

1. King Henry returned from Normandy to England in July, 1131. Henry of Poitou had been in turn bishop of Soissons, monk and prior of Cluny, prior of Savigny, abbot of S. Jean d'Angely in 1104, and, 'quia versutus erat et callidus et ingeniosus,' as Hugo says, he acquired the archbishopric of Besançon, from which he was expelled by the abbot of Cluny after three days' tenure. Then he got and lost in the same way the bishopric of Saintes, which he held for a week. In 1123 he came to England as legate for the collection of Rome-scot, and returning in 1127 on the same errand he told the king, to whom he was related, that being old and tired of war and dissension in his own land, he desired to abandon S. Jean for Peterborough. But being made abbot of the latter in 1128, he held both till the monks of S. Jean expelled him in 1131, when he went to Cluny and was detained there till he swore to the abbot that, if permitted to return to England, he would procure the subjection of Peterborough as a priory to Cluny. What he charged the monks with is not known.

2. *burch* : S. Petri Burgum : 'Medeshamstede monasterium . . quod nunc . . Burch vulgariter nominatur,' Hugo, 23.

3. ƿ= ƿæt 6/34, 7/60, 64; but ƿet 11/186 and ƿæt demonstrative 11/195, each once only.

4. *sende efter* : summoned the monks to Brampton in Hampshire :

'rex . . misit propter monachos apud Bramtune,' Hugo, 75. With **after** comp. 5/9, 6/28.

5. Roger of Salisbury, chancellor 1101; named bishop of Salisbury 1102, but not consecrated till 1107; 'secundus a rege,' Henry of Huntingdon, 245; deprived of his castles at Oxford 1139 (6/42); died in the same year. Alexander, nephew of Roger, created bishop of Lincoln 1123; died 1148. **b**=biscop, see 8/83, 9/140. **Seresberi** with inorganic *s* is *Sereberi* 6/42, OE. **Searoburg**: *Sælesberi* in the AS. Chronicle MS. *F anno* 552 has dissimilated *r*, while the corresponding Latin is *Seleberi*: *lincol* is influenced by the common French form, *Nicol*: on *Lincollan* occurs at E 627.

6. In **he feorde**, he may be the king, who had to deal with guile: comp. 'Al es bot a fantum þat [we] with ffare,' ES xxi. 201/1; 'Tandem non post multum temporis post haec intellexit rex fraudulentias eius,' Hugo, 75. If *he* is the abbot, as in the next sentence, the sense is, he employed guile, so '*Iactantia*, þ is idelzelp on englisc, þenne mon bið lof-georn ȝ mid fikenunge fearð,' OEH i. 103/29. With the next sentence comp. 'Cum autem quod cogitaverat perficere non posset, voluit nepotem suum Gerardum haeredem & abbatem facere pro se, ut quod ille non potuit, iste perficeret,' Hugo, 75.

9. Henry returned to S. Jean. Hugo says he made a good end. His successor, Martin de Vecti, native of the Isle of Wight, usually called Martin de Bec, first prior after its second foundation of St. Neots, a cell to Bec, was received by the monks on June 29th, 1132. **S'**=seint, sometimes sein; a French fashion. In MS. E, from 1066 to 1122, where a new section begins, *sē* for *sancte* is normal and frequent, exceptions being *Octabus sēi*, Martini 1114, *Octabus sēi Johannis* 1117, while *scē Marie* is treated as a genitive depending on words like *nativitas*. From 1122 to 1131, **S'** is regular save for three entries in 1125 and *sē Marie* twice as genitive. **neod**=Neotus may be due to the Anglo-Norman tendency to substitute *d* for final *t* (Stimming, Boeve de Haumtone, 221). The pronunciation persisted, for in the church of St. Neots in Cornwall, whence the body of the saint was stolen by the people of St. Neots in Huntingdonshire, there is a tablet over his tomb with verses said to have been written in the sixteenth century, in which occurs the line 'The vulgar call it now St. Need's' (Gorham, History of Eynesbury, 340). *Sancti Neothi* occurs twice in a document, Palaeograph. Society, First Series, pl. 193. The name is now pronounced like mod. Eng. *neats*.

10. Comp. 'An preost wes on leoden.' *Lazamon wes ihoten*, L 1: 'he *com* to þere dune oliueti his ihaten,' OEH i. 3/5. This paratactic

construction with *hatan* is confined to names of persons and places; it is colloquial and does not involve ellipsis of a relative.

11. *mid micel wurscipe*: 'cum magno honore et gaudio,' Hugo, 75: comp. 8/93, 11/188, 197, 207, 108/241.

13. *gære*: 1133 A. D. The eclipse took place on August 2nd 'ð oþer dei'; it lasted 'ab hora fere 3 usque ad horam 6,' Liebermann, *Anglo-Normanische Geschichtsquellen*, 79. Henry died at Lions-la-Forêt on the night of December 1st, 1135, and was buried January 6th, 1136.

18. *sua dide*: Comp. 'sua diden' 10/152; 'swa ibeoð' 14/70: similar are 8/84, 110, 9/115, 10/165, 176, 12/v. 5, 140/30, 146/117, 215/27, 217/97. The subject is often omitted when it would represent the same thing as a noun or pronoun in an oblique case in the preceding clause or phrase, as at 16/122, 45/239, 98/71, 102/133, 118/42, 128/5, 140/25, 207/354, 217/94; see KH 1268 note.

19. *Andreas* is the Vulgate form.

20. *þe mihte*: comp. 8/81.

21. *sune . . . frend*: Robert of Gloucester and Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, were at his death-bed.

22. 'Corpus eius . . apud Radingum in monasterio cuius ipse devotus fundator largusque ditator exstiterat, sepultum est,' William of Newbury, 30. *Redinge*, L. Radingia.

23. *wið*: the usual prepositions are against and to, but comp. 'nalde na mon mis-don wið oðre,' OEHL i. 15/17, 35/2, and see 48/300 note. *dær*. Their peace was soon broken, 'Ferae quoque, quae in tota prius regione, tanquam in indagine reclusae, cum summa pace reservabantur, nunc quaquaversum turbhari, a quolibet passim dispergi, ab omnibus, abiecto metu, prosterni,' Gesta, 4.

27. *blais*: L. *Blēsae*: *ai* is an English graph for *ei*. Tonic *e* free (L. *ē*) passed through *ei* to *oi* in most French dialects, but in Norman it stopped at the first stage: in the Norman *patois* of to-day, L. *me(n)sem* is *meis*, *mes*. Similarly L. Pictavum passed through Peitou to Poitou in central French, but remained at the first stage for some time in Anglo-Norman; see 10/179. Stephen was 'filius comitis Blesensium'; he was himself 'comes Boloniensis.'

28. *Willelm curbuil*, Guillelmus Curbuliensis, W. of Corbeil (L. Corboilum), a canon regular of the Augustinian Order, became archbishop of Canterbury in 1123, and died 1136. The subject of *halechede* is lundenisce folc: according to the Gesta (p. 4) they claimed the right to elect. *mide-wintre dæi*, Christmas Day; the pre-Christian name for the festival.

30. **ricemen**, powerful men, nobles: comp. 8/99, 19/34, 206/324. **Balduin de Reduers**, Balduinus de Radvariis; in France, Baudouin de Réviers (near Caen). An *e* for Fr. *ie* is characteristic of Anglo-Norman. He was created Earl of Devon sometime before June, 1141. The order of events is here confused. The settlement with David of Scotland by which Stephen granted the earldoms of Carlisle, Huntingdon and Doncaster to David's son, Henry, was made before Easter, 1136; Hugh Bigod seized Norwich castle in May; Stephen laid siege to Bampton in June and took Exeter in September; Milo of Beauchamp held Bedford castle against the king early in 1138. Stephen was much blamed for his clemency to the rebels at Exeter; see Round, 24.

31. **Execestre** is the spelling of Domesday Book; OE. **Exanceaster**. Similarly gloucestre 9/133, OE. **Glowecestre**; Wincestre 9/140 (contrast wincæstre 1/13), and Roucestre 10/149 (contrast rofecæstre 1/14): all show the Anglo-Norman [ts]. In the two last words the English sound has prevailed.

35. **forstode**: comp. 10/155. Morris translates *availed*, as in 'hu micel forstent · and hu mære is · seo soþe hreow,' Be Domes Dæge, 4/55; but the ME. dictionaries and NED have only *hinder*, which would answer here.

37. **underfangen**, &c., accepted as ruler, for they thought he would be exactly like his uncle, and he had still something to give away. Elsewhere 6/27, 11/187, 197, 207 used of ceremonious welcome.

39. **sotlice**, foolishly, not 'soothly' (Norgate). Stephen lavished it in personal expenditure, payments to mercenaries and subsidies to discontented barons. 'Habebat enim . . . rex immensam vim thesaurorum, quos multis annis rex Henricus avunculus suus aggererat; aestimabantur denarii . . . fere ad centum milia libras. Hanc copiam gazarum habenti auxiliores deesse non poterant; praesertim cum esset ipse in dando diffusus et, quod minime principem decet, prodigus,' Malmesbury, ii. 540; *Annales de Wintonia*, 50.

40. **na god**, &c. Comp. 4/20-28.

42. The Oxford Council was held in June, 1139. The Chancellor Roger Pauper was Bishop Roger's son. The castles surrendered were Devizes, Malmesbury, Newark, Sherborne and Sleaford.

44. **milde**: 'lenis et exorabilis hostibus, affabilis omnibus,' Malmesbury, 539. For a modern estimate see Norgate, i. 280.

45. **na iustise ne dide**, inflicted no punishment, as in OF. *faire justise*, *justiser*; comp. 'de li iert faite granz justise: | a glaive sera turmentee | u vendue en altre cuntree,' Marie, Lais, ed. Warnke, 154/60.

46. **wunder**, dreadful deeds, destruction; a development of OE. **wundor**, portent: comp. 7/67, 66/120; 'þa scipen wenden to wundre,' L 7855; 'of hem ȝat haued ȝis wunder wrogt,' GE 3588. The picture of oppression and desolation which follows was probably drawn from the doings of Geoffrey de Mandeville in the Fen country during Dec. 1143—Sept. 1144 (Round, 214-19). Comp. L 4034-53, an original passage based on the tradition of this evil time. **hi nan**, none of them; extension of the OE. appositional constr. in **hi sume**. Comp. 'alle he,' 7/47.

49. Under the treaty of Wallingford one thousand one hundred and fifteen 'adulterine' castles were to be razed. With **suencten** comp. 44/250; and Round, 416.

52. **þe** — **hefden**, lit. whom they thought that they had any property. For this periphrasis comp. 119/58, 9; 'breȝren þ he hefde iherd þ weren of mucche speche,' AR 74/9. The subject of the dependent verb is not expressed.

53. **etter**, with an eye to, to extort; a use mostly with verbs of pursuit or desire, but comp. 60/12, 118/28. See Round, 214 note for instances of these extortions.

54. **pinig**, notwithstanding the scribe's punctuation, is a cognate *acc.* to *pined*; with the adj. it is practically equal to unutterably; comp. 8/108.

55. Comp. 'Sumne hi onhengon be þan fotum ȝ sumne be þan earmum,' AS. Hom., ed. Assmann, 171/36. After *henged* the object *heom* is omitted as being the subject of the previous verb.

58. to ȝ, to the extent that, so far that, so that. OE. **to þon þæt**.

60. **crucethus**, torture house: the first element is L. *cruciatus*. Comp. 'Heo deden heo in quarterne' in ane quale-huse,' L 3769; 'þis meiden wes bicluset | þe hwile in cwarterne | ȝ i cwalmhuse,' SK 600.

62. **him . . . þe limes**, his limbs. Emphatic is 'þat his ribbes him to brake,' KH 1077. **lof ȝ grim**: the passage is corrupt: *grī* may be *grin* or *grim*; *lof* can only be for *loþ*, as Thorpe suggests in his translation, 'loathly and grim,' as if two adjectives for the name of the contrivance. Possibly *grine* has dropped out after *grī*; the words are associated in 'Forðon he me alyside of laȝum grine' = 'Quoniam ipse liberavit me de laqueo,' Paris Psalter, xc. 3. But more probably the scribe has heard indistinctly an unfamiliar word such as, *wæron loþ engins*. It is true that *engine*, device, machine does not appear in English till 1300, but it is found in Anglo-Norman books in the last half of the twelfth century, and it must have come to England with the castle.

63. *rachenteges*, chains, fetters; but the gloss *collario* *racentege* (Napier, 2062) is noteworthy in the present connexion. ð . . . *onne*, one of which.

64. This may mean, 'That was adjusted in this way, namely it is fastened,' &c., but it is not clear. Perhaps *it* has been lost before *is*. The contrivance must have resembled that described in Reade's *It is Never too Late to Mend*, ch. xi.

66. *bæron*: supply *sculde* out of *myhte*.

70. *æure umwile*, at regularly recurring times; it became a regular tax. *tenserie*, protection money. Round, 215, quotes from a letter of Pope Lucius to Archbishop Theobald, 'Quidam etiam sub nomine tenseriarum villas et homines suos spoliant.' LL. *tensare* means, to protect, and, through extortion of money on pretence of protection, to rob. See Round, 414 and NED *s. v.* Other references for *tenserie*, *tenser* are *Wistasse le Moine*, 2112; *Roman de Rou*, 9554.

71. Worcester was burnt in 1139, Nottingham in 1140 and 1153, Winchester in 1141, Oxford in 1142, Cambridge by Geoffrey in 1144.

72. Comp. 'Ærst aswond þat corn here.' 3eond al þas kineriche. | þer after hit wes swa deore.' & al folc gon to de3en. | swa þat þu mihtes fare.' fulle seouen nihte | þ no mihtest þu þurh nene chep.' finde neouwer na bred. | an bur3e and on londe,' L 31793-31801; 'þ folc ut of londe.' flah on ælche ænde. | monie hundred tunen.' bi-læued weoren of monnen. | þat lut me uinde mihte.' men uaren 3eond londe,' L 31845-50.

75. *ieden on*, 'went about asking,' Norgate. This meaning requires the verbal subst.; rather, 'subsisted on,' with *on* of manner.

78. *ouer sithon* is usually taken as, everywhere subsequently, which is not suitable here. Earle equates it with OE. *ofer sīpum*, as meaning times past reckoning, but *ofer* in the sense of surpassing requires an acc., and the phrase is without parallel. Perhaps *sithon* is a weak acc. sing. of *sīp*; which is often weak in ME.; the phrase might then mean, contrary to experience. For *ofer* in that sense, comp. 'ofer aþas ȝ treowe' = 'contra fidem iurisiurandi,' Bede, 148/10. William of Ypres burnt Wherwell, plundered Abingdon, and tried to burn S. Albans. Geoffrey de Mandeville sacked Ramsey in 1143; 'nec ecclesiis nec coemiteriis parcebant,' Ann. de Wintonia, 52; Malmesbury, ii. 540. *forbaren*, abstained from injuring; comp. 'That the pore is thus i-piled, and the riche forborn,' Pol. Songs, 337/312.

81. *ouer*, written for *ower*, anywhere. OE. *āhwær*. Gif, &c.: comp. 'Ubicunque alter alterum in itinere conspicebatur, totus protinus contremiscere, meticolose visum effugere, vel prope in silva vel in divortio

aliquo latere, usquequo, resumpto tandem spiritu, viam coeptam tutior carperet, et audacior,' Gesta, 41.

83. **leredmen**: see 4/20.

84. **oc** — **parof**, lit. but to them was nothing concerning that; it concerned them not at all. Comp. 46/292; 'ne beo ham nawt of' = let them be unconcerned, 70/167; 'þe dead (*d.*) nis nout of, þauh he ligge unburið' = the dead does not mind, AR 352/5; 'þe deade nis nan more of scheome þen of men[s]ke,' AR 352/29 (in both places Morton wrongly takes *nis* as *ne wis*); 'Wha summ itt iss þatt mann, þatt niss | Nohht off to wurrþenn fullhtnedd,' Orm. 140/4074. Similarly 180/131; 'lutel me is of ower luue, leasse of ower laðe,' SJ 27/14. With of comp. 44/260, 164/256.

86. **xpist slep**. Said by the wicked, H. of Huntingdon, 277; by the good, W. of Newbury, i. 45. See Norgate, i. 335 note, and comp. 'Sed ... unicum mihi consilium superest, Deum hominem ... exorare: qui velut in navi dormiens, fidelium precibus excitandus est, ut procellam componat naufragantis Ecclesiae,' John of Salisbury, Metalogicus, 206.

89. **suine**: 'cum maximo labore abbatiam tenuit, sed adiuvabant eum monachi sui, et tamen invenit eis abbas, et hospitibus, quicquid necessarium fuit, et erat caritas magna in domo illa,' Hugo, 76.

91. **carited**: *d* is written for *ð*: similar forms are 'kariteþ,' 'cariteþ,' Orm. 3000, 3008; 'kariteð,' VV 19/34, &c.; 'Natiuiteð,' Chron. E 1116; 'plenteð,' GE 3709. This *ð* represents the final *t* (sometimes *d*) of the corresponding French words in the older texts, which had a voiced [ð] or a voiceless [p] sound according to the beginning of the following word. This final *t* disappeared from Central French in the eleventh century; it lingers on in Anglo-Norman texts of the twelfth: see Behrens, Beiträge, 175, 6. The word may mean alms, but *caritas* had the technical meaning of commemoration feasts, 'epulae solennes et extraordinariae' 'caritativae comestiones,' Ducange, at the anniversaries of benefactors, &c., 'gaudies.' **þopwethere**, nevertheless: 'et in omnibus tribulationibus hiis operatus est in ecclesia,' Hugo, 76. **sette þarto**, assigned for that purpose; 'ad ecclesiam faciendam, villam Pilesгатam & omnes decimas & omnes offerendas . . . constituit,' Hugo, 78.

92. **Rentes** are incomings generally, not rent. **goded**, endowed, i. e. with the aforesaid lands, tithes, and offerings. Comp. 72/190 for another meaning. **læt it refen**, had it covered (with lead). Thorpe translates 'had it provided with vestments.'

94. The fire took place on August 4, 1116. The convent entered the church (Martin built the choir only and the transepts were added by his

successor) on June 29th, 1140, according to the text and Hugo, but the *Chronicon Petroburgense* and John the Abbot say 1143.

95. **fram, by.** Comp. 'wearð Romeburg getimbred from twam gebro-ðrum,' Orosius, 64/21; 'Her swealt Herodus from him selfum ofsticod,' AS. Chron. A 3; 'I sothlike set am for-þi | King fro him,' Surtees Psalter, ii. 6 (= 'constitutus sum rex ab eo').

96. The termination of **priuilegies** is due to direct borrowing of the technical term from L. *privilegium*. The two documents are printed in Hugo, 78, 82, and the former also in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i. 390. They are dated A. D. 1146: Eugenius was elected in 1145. The former protects the lands, property, and rights of the monastery in general, and these are given in detail: the latter recounts and confirms that part of the properties which was specially allocated for the expenses of the sacrist (**ceiricweard**) ('*terras, quae ad sacristiam pertinent, . . . vel decimas, vel servitia plurimorum, & domus,*' Hugo, 82). **of, for,** relating to.

97. **lien to,** appertain to: a phrase of the charters. B-T. quotes, 'mid eallon ǣa[m] þingon ƿe ƿær fyrrest tólæg,' Kemble, vi. 190; 'ǣlc ƿára landa ƿe . . . læg into Cristes cyrcean,' id. iv. 232. **gif, &c.,** if he might have lived longer, he meant to do the same for the office of store-keeper; 'similiter & redditus cellerarii & camerarii affluenter augere & Romae confirmare, si posset vivere, cogitaverat,' Hugo, 87. The *camerarius* had to keep the stores of clothes and bedding for the monastery, the *thesaurarius* was an officer in charge of the sacred vessels and the plate under the direction of the sacrist. Martin did assign two manors for the provision of clothes, but he did not live long enough to get the protection of a *privilegium* for the appropriation. **Hordere** is a word of wide application; in Wright, *Vocabularies*, 330/18, it glosses *cellerarius*; here it is the *reilþein* (*vestiarius*) of the Chronicle, 1131. For the purpose of these special appropriations see Plummer's note, ii. 311.

98. He recovered property of the Abbey in the shape of lands which powerful men possessed by force. In Domesday the Abbey has holdings at Cotingeham (Cottingham, Bridges, ii. 208), Ascetone (Easton-Mauduit, id. 163), Erdiburne (Irthlingborough, id. 235), Stanwige (Stanwick, id. 195), and Eldewincle (Aldwincle, id. 208), all in Northamptonshire. They are all in one group in the first *privilegium*, duly protected under threat of excommunication. **Malduit** (Maledoctus; Hugo says Maledictus) was constable of the king's castle of Rockingham and warden of the Forest. **Rogingham** is Roedingahám in a charter dated 811, Kemble, i. 243. Hugo has Rogingeham 43, Rochingham 88, Rokingham 89. Hugh de Waterville, lord of Adington Parva and Thorp Waterville, was probably

kin of the succeeding abbot, 11/202. He paid to Peterborough sixty shillings per annum for Aldwincle ('LX solidos de Aldewincle reddendos annuatim,' Hugo, 88). Dele stop after sol in text.

102, 3. 'Conventum quoque de viginti monachis augmentavit,' Hugo, 88, 89. **winiærd**. For vine-growing in England see Plummer, Bedae Opera, ii. 5, and Anglia, Beiblatt, xvii. 208. The **weorkes** were domestic buildings, 'cameram abbatis & aulam ad familiam aedificavit.' **wende**, 'Forum mutavit,' Hugo, 88. He changed the site of the town and afterwards of the market, it is supposed, from the east to the west of the monastery.

106. **Stephnes kinges**: see 15/87 note.

107. **iudeus** is *pl.* of **iudeu**, Orm's Judeow, Judew, OF. *Judeu*. English forms Judeas *pl. a.*, Judea *pl. g.*, occur in the early part of MS. E. **bohton**. In Thomas of Monmouth's Life of S. William of Norwich, ed. Jessop and James, the mother of the boy is said to have been persuaded, by a gift of three shillings, into letting him go away with the supposed cook of the Archdeacon of Norwich, to be a helper in his kitchen, p. 17.

108. **pinig**: see 7/54. **ð**, with which; see 46/292.

109. **langfridæi**: see 85/101. The date in the Life is Wednesday before Easter, March 22nd, 1144, but the chroniclers differ as to the year (Plummer, ii. 311). A miraculous light in the sky led to the discovery of the body. The charge of ritual murder at large has been investigated by Dr. Strack in *Das Blut im Glauben und Aberglauben der Menschheit*, München, 1900.

111. The body was first buried in the wood where it was found, then about a month after in the monks' cemetery, and after six years it was translated to the chapter-house, probably the occasion referred to in the text. It was afterwards moved twice at least.

114. David crossed the Tweed in April, 1138. The battle of the Standard was fought at Cowton Moor on August 22nd.

116. **Albamar**: 'Willelmus de Magna Villa, comes de Alba Mara apud Gisortum,' Ricardus Divisiensis, 389; William of Albemarle (Aumale), recently created Earl of York. **þe**, to whom; see 46/292.

117. **euorwic**: OE. **Eoforwic**; see Zachrisson, 63. Other English captains were Walter Espec, Walter of Ghent, Ilbert de Lacy, and Robert Bruce. The English were greatly inferior in numbers to the invaders.

120. Robert landed with the empress at Arundel in September, 1139. Leaving her at Arundel he rode across the south of England to Bristol with a few followers; 'edicensque [Stephanus] a veris exploratoribus comitem cum suis evasum Bristoam sub nocturno silentio tetendisse . . . ipse ad capiendum comitem totus intendit,' Gesta, 55.

122. **wart it war:** comp. 48/330, 203/204; it=of it, may be regarded as an *acc.* of reference, comp. 192/518, 200/1116.

124. March 20th, 1140.

125. William of Corbeil died in 1136; Theobald was elected Dec. 24th, 1138, and consecrated, Jan. 8th, 1139.

126. **the bec:** the monastery of Le Bec-Hellouin; the village and commune of to-day have the same name. It is stated that the article appears where *bec* means a beak or wedge of land at the junction of two streams, but not where it is the Scandinavian loan-word meaning stream. The rule does not hold here, for the monastery was built 'in vallem ad rivum, qui Beccus dicitur,' Robert de Torigni, 27.

128. The king gave Ranulf des Gernons all that he asked for, save the earldom of Carlisle, which was held by Henry of Scotland. William de Roumare (de Rollonis mara: *o* for *ou* is Anglo-Norman) was his elder half-brother. The king appears to have made him Earl of Lincoln about this time. The brothers got into Lincoln Castle by a trick, and Stephen at the appeal of the men of Lincoln besieged them there. The battle was fought on Feb. 2nd, 1141.

135. Comp. 'plurimis autem antequam manus consererent, ut comes Mellonensis et Willelmus ille de Ypra, proh pudor! fugitantibus,' Gesta, 70; 'Capto itaque rege, tota Anglia concussa obstupuit,' id. 71.

137. **per efter com.** She had been in England more than four months. The news of Stephen's capture reached her at Gloucester, and her brother joined her there with his royal captive on Feb. 9th. The interview with Bishop Henry (9/140) took place before Winchester on March 2nd. The empress was elected queen, with an interim title of 'domina,' on a second visit to Winchester on April 8th at the Great Council summoned by the bishop (Round, 70). At this meeting was pronounced the excommunication of l. 143. The empress reached London some time in June and fled from it on the 24th. She reached Winchester on July 31st, and laid siege to the bishop's stronghold, but was herself besieged by Stephen's queen (l. 145), and fled on the 14th of September, when Robert of Gloucester was taken.

139. **Angou:** the scribe has made a better attempt in Angæu 10/167, 176. His predecessor wrote Angeow at 1111 E and eleven times after (*ge*=Fr. *j*).

150. **minstre.** She was at Ludgershall, Devizes and Gloucester in her flight. The last is, no doubt, meant.

151. The negotiators were Stephen's wife and Mabel, Countess of Gloucester.

152. Early in 1142, when Stephen was on his way to York, he was met at Stamford by Ranulf and William de Roumare. There the king and the earl bound themselves by oath to mutual fidelity (Round, 159). But the barons compelled the king to proceed against him at Northampton in 1146. He was seized and only regained his freedom at the price of surrendering his castles. He gave up Lincoln at any rate. On his release he attacked Lincoln and Coventry. The Gesta (p. 124) calls the 'wicci ræd' of the barons 'sanum consilium.'

154. **treuthes fæston**, made solemn declaration of fidelity: comp. 'To the kyng Edward hii fasten huere fay,' Pol. Songs, 214/9; 'treowðe staðeluæste,' L 9819.

155. **hamtun**, Northampton: *þ* in the modern spelling is parasitic.

157. **to ð forewarde**, on condition: comp. 'Al Denemark i wile you yeue, | To þat forward þu late me liue,' Havelok, 485, 6. This rare use of *to* has probably developed from the notion of associated with.

159. **dide . . . sculde**: 'did worse here than he should,' Thorpe. For **hær sculde**, read **ær dide**: comp. **her**, 11/190.

163. Oxford Castle was surrendered to Matilda in the summer of 1141, and Stephen's men entered the city, Sept. 26th, 1142. Matilda escaped a few days before Christmas 1142; she left England early in 1147.

164. **sægen**, if a noun, OE. **sægen**, means report; it is a verb at 8/106, and may be here.

165. **mid rapes**, a detail peculiar to the Chronicle.

167. By 1144 Geoffrey of Anjou was completely master of Normandy. The Angevin house was not popular there. **here thankes**, with their goodwill, willingly: *thankes* is an adverbial genitive, *here*, poss. adj. Comp. 116/155, 153/70: with gen. noun, 'warschipes vnþonkes,' 118/42; with gen. of possessive pron. 'þines þonkes,' OEH i. 17/35; 'hares unþances,' 14/56: absolutely, 'sume þances sume unþances,' AS. Chron. MS. C 1066: uninflected, 'unþonc hise teð,' HM 47/26, comp. 'þat him wes mucheles unðonc,' L 22370; 'mid his gode þonke,' 34/69.

170. **suster**, Constance, sister of Louis VI of France. The betrothal took place in 1140 when Eustace was about ten years old. The attempt to secure Normandy took place in 1151. Just before his death, Aug. 18th, 1153, Eustace ravaged East Anglia and tried to extort money from Bury St. Edmunds.

174. **Canteberi**: see 1/14.

176. **rixan**: Stephen sought in vain to have Eustace crowned in 1152. Geoffrey of Anjou died Sept. 7th, 1151; Matilda of Boulogne, May 3rd, 1152. Louis VII was divorced from Eleanor of Aquitaine, March 18th,

1152; she married Henry of Anjou at Whitsuntide. She sent for Henry, and he hastened to Poitiers where the marriage took place; 'ad nuptias ducis quas concupierat convolvavit,' Ann. Monast. iv. 28.

180. Henry landed in England Jan. 6th, 1153. He captured Malmesbury, demolished Stephen's tower at Wallingford, took Stamford and Nottingham. By Nov. 6th he had come to terms with Stephen at Wallingford.

184. 'Rex Stephanus ipsum ducem . . . adoptavit in filium,' Gervase, 1375; 'Ducem siquidem Normannorum rex in filium arrogavit,' R. de Diceto, 527. **sib j sæhte**: comp. 'betere weore sæhte.' þene swulc vnisibbe,' L 9844, and see 70/158.

188. **lundene**, L. Lundonia: Lundone 656 E, but generally with -en.

190. Comp. 'Annis enim iam plurimis fere nudo regis nomine insignis, tunc recipere visus est huius rem nominis, et quasi tunc primo regnare coepit,' W. of Newburgh, 91. **æuert**, ever as yet: comp. 218/135, 221/248, with **her** (**ær**), ever at any time previously.

194. **fauresfeld**, Faversham, where Stephen and his queen founded a Clugniac abbey in 1147, is meant: in the charters Febresham, Feferesham, Ferresham. Lambard, Perambulation, 270, says it is called in Saxon Fafresfeld, a statement probably founded on this place. The mistake was probably due to confusion with the place now called Fairfield, a manor once belonging to Christ Church, Canterbury, which Hasted (iii. 486) says was anciently called Feysrsefelde.

196. Comp. 6/22.

198. **sunnen dæi**, December 19th. Martin died Jan. 2nd.

201. **innen dæis**: Thorpe translates 'within a day'; that is the sense required: comp. 'Eodem vero die, quo [Martinus] obiit, convenit omnis congregatio in unum, ut quempiam ex suis eligerent . . . ne propter moram aliquis extraneus per pecuniam se inmitteret,' Hugo, 89. But the text does not give that sense, and *innen* with a gen. is strange: read, 'in an dæis hwile,' within the space of one day.

202. William de Waterville was one of Henry's chaplains at the time of his appointment. He belonged to a family founded by Ascelin (Azzelino) de Waterville, who was a tenant of Peterborough in 1086 at Thorp Waterville in Northamptonshire. Hugo, 8/100, was a descendant of his. William de Waterville was deposed in 1175 for sheltering a relation who had incurred the king's displeasure. (Hoveden, ii. 86).

204. **some**: on the day after his election.

206. **bletcæd**: by Robert of Chesney, bishop of Lincoln. The new abbot made a tour of the surrounding monasteries, which had many

interests in common with his own: Ramsey, Benedictine Abbey in Huntingdonshire (Dugdale, ii. 546); Thorney, Benedictine Abbey in Cambridgeshire (D. ii. 593); Spalding, Benedictine Priory in Lincolnshire (D. iii. 206). The gap before Spalding may be filled by Bourn, that after it by Sulby baresworth. Sulby Priory, to the south-west of Peterborough, is said to have been founded about 1155; it was connected with the Waterville family and had extensive possessions in Baresworth; possibly the abbot's visit was connected with its inauguration. The last gap may have held Croyland. In the last two lines the italics indicate letters in the MS. which are very faint and doubtful. **Ramesæie** corresponds to L. Rameseia, Fr. Rameseie, in contemporary documents: **Torney** is mostly Torny in Domesday; sometimes in L. Torneia.

IV. CHARTER OF HENRY THE SECOND

Manuscript: Harleian Charter III B. 49, British Museum. The upper half contains a version in Latin, excepting the passage 'sacha . . . frimþa,' which is in English; the names of six witnesses are appended. On the lower half is the present text; on the back, 'carta reg. H. ii de sacha & socne.' The document is in a French record hand, and the writer was evidently little versed in the insular script. He uses both þ and th, p and w.

Facsimile: Keller, plate xiii.

Editions: Hickes, G., *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus*, i. p. xvi; Dugdale, W., *Monasticon*, i. III; Birch, W. de Gray, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, New Series*, xi. 312; Stratmann, F. H., *Anglia*, vii. 220; Earle, J., *A Handbook to the Land Charters*, 346 (with the Latin); Kluge, F., *Mittelenglisches Lesebuch*, 5.

Phonology: The language is not contemporary, for the drafter, who was not the scribe, used as a model a charter (H²) in the same terms, granted to William of Corbeil (see 6/28) and the monks of Christ Church by Henry the First in 1123 A.D., a copy of which exists in Campbell Charter, xxi. 6, B.M., reproduced in Facsimiles of Royal and other Charters in the British Museum, i. no. 6, and printed in Lye's Dictionary, ii. appendix. H² differs from our text in its dialect, which is mainly Southern, with some Kentish forms, in greater regularity of grammar, in details of names and relationships, but in little else. It was derived from a charter (H¹) granted to S. Anselm and Christ Church by Henry the First, c. 1107 A.D., extant in Campbell Charter, xxix. 5, and Cotton Charter, vii. 1, printed in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Asso-*

ciation, xxix. 242, also imperfectly in Hickes and in Dugdale, i. 109, III. It also shows traces of its Kentish origin. But it was ultimately based on the Charter (E) granted by Edward the Confessor to Archbishop Stigand, *c.* 1052 A.D., Campbell Charter, xxi. 5, reproduced in Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum, part iv, no. 38, and printed in Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, i., New Series; and the chain extended back to the first extant example of the formula, the charter (C) of Cnut to Æthelnoth, A.D. 1020, preserved by a copy in a Canterbury book, the MacDurnan Gospels (now at Lambeth), and printed in Earle, 232.

There is another copy of the present document, but fragmentary and decayed, in the muniment room of Canterbury Cathedral.

H¹, H², and the Harley Charter (H³) here printed, have been accepted by Dölle in his book, *Zur Sprache Londons vor Chaucer* (Morsbach's Studien, xxxii), as specimens of the English of the London Chancery. As the editors of the Facsimiles of Royal and other Charters point out, H¹, H² are in a book hand, not that of an official court scribe; they are without witnesses or place of execution. Their seals do not prove them to be the original grant, for both H¹ and its duplicate Cotton Charter, vii. 1, have seals, and a note on the back of the latter appears to indicate that it is one of four copies. The duplicate of H³ also has its seal, attached, like the others, in an unusual way to the left side of the document, as if to show that both documents and seals are replicas of the original. They are, in fact, copies, and the natural assumption is that they were made at Canterbury to provide against risk of loss or damage to the actual grant.

H³ is on a different footing: it is properly attested, its place of origin is given, and its seal is attached in the usual way at the foot. But it is not in a charter hand, and its language shows that it was prepared by a Canterbury scribe to be placed before the king for his acceptance.

It should be noted that the English words from *saca* to *frimtha* also appear in the Latin version with the following variants: *Sacha*, *Wude*, *felde*, *tolnes*, *grithbreches*, *thiofes*, *flemene*.

The charter is then a patchwork of old and new; its phonological position may be defined by an attempt at a version in Late West-Saxon. Ic Henric · þurh Godes gife Englalandes cyng · grēte ealle mīne bisceopas ⁊ ealle mīne scīrgerēfan ⁊ ealle mīne þegnas frencisce ⁊ englisce · on þām scīrum þe Peobald ærcebisceop ⁊ se hīrēd æt xpīstes cyrican on Cantwara-byrig habbað land inne frēondlice · ⁊ ic cȳðe ēow þæt ic hæbbe heom geunnen ꝥ hi bēon ælc þāra landa wurðe þe hi hæfdon in Ēadweardes

cynges dæge · ȝ on Willhelmes cynges mīnes furðor ealdefæder · ȝ on Henrices cynges mīnes ealdefæder · ȝ sace ȝ sōcne · on strande ȝ on streame · on wudum ȝ on feldum · tolles ȝ tēames · griðbryces · ȝ hāmsōcne · ȝ fōrstealles · ȝ infangeneþēofes · ȝ flȳmena fyrmðe · ofer heora āgene menn · binnan burgum ȝ butan · swā ful ȝ swā forð swā mīne āgene wīcneras hit sēcan sceoldon · ȝ ofer swā fela þegnas swā ic heom tolāten hæbbe · And ic nelle þ̅ ænig mann ænig þing þ̅ærof tēo · butan hī ȝ heora wīcneras þām þe hī hit betācan willað · ne frencisce ne englisce · for þām þingum þe ic hæbbe Criste þās gerihta forgifen minre sāwle to ēcere ālȳsednesse · ȝ ic nelle geþafian þ̅ ænig mann þis ābrece be mīnum fullan frēondscipe · God ēow gehealde.

It will be seen that the OE. phonetic position is largely maintained; noteworthy divergences are: **æ** as *e* in *hebbe*, *ercebisceop*; as *a* in *habbe* (occasionally in OE.), *ealdefader*; as *ea* (= **eo**) in *eafdon*, **æ** + **g** in *deze*. *ænglelandes* (also in H¹, H²) shows a survival of primitive **æ**, characteristic of the south-east. *en 12/6* for *on* is due to loss of stress; Layamon 8059 has *æn*; **e** + **g** is *ei* in *þeinas*. **y** is *e* in *grithbrecs* of the Latin text and H¹, H² (but *grithbrices* is OE. *griðbrice*); *i* in *Cantuarabiz*. **æ** is *e* in *bitechān*, *enig*, *eni*, *echere*, *toleten*, *þer*; **ȳ**, *e* in *keþe*. *ea* before *l* + cons. is *a* in *forstalles*; *frimtha* is descended from *fiermð* with metathesis of *r*: the others have *fermþe* and H¹ also *feormþe*, forms without umlaut: *giefu* appears as *þefu*, but *giefan*, *forgifan*. *heora* is *heara* (early Kentish *hiara*) beside *heore*; *scolden* answers to a non-diphthonged OE. form. *flīema* gives *flemene* in the Latin text (so E, H¹, H², the latter also *flæmene*) and *fleamene*: *alisendnesse* is OE. *alīesednesse* (but once *alȳsendnesse*), the others have *alȳsednesse*. **eo** is *e* in *frenscipan*: *io* in *thiofes* of the Lat. text, *ia* in *thiafes*; **a** + **w** is *au* in *saule*; **eo** + **w** appears as *geau* (*ȝeu*, *Poema Morale*, Digby MS.) with **ȝ** borrowed from the *nom.*, helped, no doubt, by the general tendency exemplified in *gearfoþe*, *ungeaþe* of the MK. gospels.

w is written *u* in *Cantuarabiz*; an inorganic *n* is inserted in *alisendnesse*; **f** is *u* in *geþauian*, *scirereuan*. The dentals are confused: **þ** for **t**, **t** for **þ**, **d** for **d**, **d** for **þ** appear in *theames*, *theo*, *teobalt*, *hired*, *habbad*, *ford*; **d** is omitted in *frenscipan*, as in *stan*, *halen*, &c., of the MK. gospels; **ċ** is written *ch* in *chyrchen*, *bitechān*, *echere*, *ich*, *grithbriches*; the scribe apparently uses *ch* for [k] in *Sacha* of the Latin text; **h** is omitted in *eafdon*; *cht* for *ht* in *gerichtan* is an attempt to indicate the guttural sound.

The inflections of OE. are largely preserved, but levelling of *a* to *e* is shown in *fele*, *fleamene*, *fullen*, *heore*, *lande* (*pl. g.*), *þare*, *Wicneres*, while

a is written for older *e* in *frimtha*, *saca*, *wurpa*, and *o* for *e* in *geunnon*. OE. *um* is *an* in *burgan*, *feldan*, *minan*, *sciran*, *þingan*, *wudan*; *þām* appears as *þan*. Weak forms are *gerichtan*, *frenscipan*; *ʒefu* is nom. form for accusative.

Dialect: The levelling of *y*, *ȳ*, *æ*, *ā* to *e*; *ea* as *a*, the old Kentish *io*, *ia* in *thiofes*, *thiafes*, *heara* point to Kent. The absence of *v*, *z* for *f*, *s* initial, the retention of *a* in *lande*, *strande*, and of *n* final either mark an early stage in the dialect, or show the conservative influence of the older documents.

Introduction: King Henry the Second grants, or rather confirms, to Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of Christ Church their lands and privileges of jurisdiction. The date is February, 1155 (Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II.* 5) and the place York. For *alisendnessee* 12/15, read *alisendnesse*.

1. *gret* . . . *mine*, verb of the third person, pronoun of the first: so CE; it is formal, and not a scribe's error as Stratmann thinks; H¹, H² have *grete*. *bissceopas*, &c.: in Latin, '*Episcopis · Comitibus · Baronibus · Justiciariis · Vicecomitibus · Ceterisque suis fidelibus*.'

3. *þe* . . . *inne*, in which; see 1/3 note. E has *þær* . . . *inne*.

4. *Cantuarabir*; see 1/14.

5. *þ*=*þet*. *ælc*, each of them: the archbishop and the monks severally, as well as jointly; so H¹, H²; E omits.

6. *kinges*: see 15/87 note.

7. *saca* and the other genitives are, like *lande*, dependent on *wurpa*. Each of these words has a threefold aspect: (1) the simple meaning of the word itself; (2) the right to adjudicate in connection with that; (3) the right to profit by fee or fine arising out of such jurisdiction. *Sacu* and *sōcn* are glossed, *litis*, *contestatio* and *quaestio*, *inquisitio* respectively. *Sōcn* is the leading word and *sacu* was added to round off the phrase; together they express a single idea, inquisition into a disputed matter (sometimes the area of jurisdiction); then the right to adjudicate privately within one's own jurisdiction on certain cases which arise within it, and the right in consequence to appropriate the proceeds in fines, &c. *Toll*, tax on merchandise, sometimes exemption from such, the right to collect it, the profit arising therefrom. Sometimes merely the right to tallage one's villeins. *Tēam*, vouching to warranty, right to adjudicate in cases which involved the production of a guarantor (*getēama*), right to forfeitures, &c., arising out of such processes (see B-T. *s. v.*). *Griðbryce*, breach of a special peace, that is, a protection accorded specially to a person, place, or period of time by the king, the right to try such cases and fine.

Hāmsōen, in Domesday hāmfare (OE. hāmfaru), attack on a man's house, trial for the offence and fine. **Fōrsteall**, assault on the king's highway; in Norman law, 'assultus excogitatus de veteri odio' (PM. ii. 453). **Infangenēþeof**, thief caught red-handed in a privileged area, the right to judge and hang him. In=within, *adverb*: fangene=fangenne, *s. acc.* of the participle agreeing with þeof: as the phrase was almost always *acc.* after a verb of granting, these formed a compound regarded as the *nom.* as well, but a *nom.* by form is sometimes found as *acc.*, 'infangenþeóf,' Kemble, iv. 226. The dat. 'mid infangenumþeofe' occurs, id. 227, but usually 'mid infangeneðéf,' id. 190; *gen.* 'infangeneðeófes,' id. 193. C, E, H¹, H² all have both words inflected *gen.* as here: I have not found the double inflection elsewhere. **Utfangenēþeof** was the right to hang one's own thief wherever caught, if he were found in possession of the stolen property: it appears to have been rarely granted. **Flȳmena fȳrmð**, the harbouring or supporting of a wrongdoer or fugitive from justice. (Liebermann, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen; Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law.)

10. **binnan Burgan**, &c.: a phrase for everywhere. Comp. 'on ælce styde, be lande and be strande,' Earle, 344/11; 'be wætere and be lande,' id. 344/21; 'inne tíð and út of tíð, binnen burh and búten burh, on stráte and of stráte,' id. 340/21.

11. **swa ful ȝ swa ford**: 'in tantum et tam pleniter,' as fully and extensively as my own officers are in duty bound to exact: comp. 'swá wel and swá freolice swá ic hit meseolf betst habbe,' Earle, 343/16.

12. **habben**: read habbe as in H¹, H²; C, E have hæbbe. For **toleten**, granted, E, H¹, H² have to gelæten. The Latin has 'super tot theines' quot eis concessit Rex Willelmus proauus meus,' which is probably the correct version.

13. **þeron theo**: 'þær on teo,' C, E; 'þær on tyo,' H¹; 'þer on tyo,' H². The Latin 'se intromittat,' meddle (also in H¹, H²), is not an equivalent, but rather 'subtrahere,' 'exigere,' 'ad se trahere' of similar documents. The meaning is, take any thing from these lands and rights: for **þer on**, comp. 'ne teó se hláford ná máre on his æhte butan his rihtan heregeate,' Schmid, Gesetze, 308. Fuller expressions are 'ænig þæra sócna him to hánda drægen,' Kemble, iv. 222: 'fram honde téo,' id. 212, 196: 'of handa átéo,' id. 226. **þe**, to whom: see 46/292.

14. for **þan þingan**, for the reason that, because: see the examples of the phrase in B-T., p. 1060. C has for þā; H¹ for þam þingan; E, H², as in the text.

15. to echere **alisendnesse**, for the eternal salvation of my soul;

comp. 'to ecere alysednyse,' Ælfric, Lives, 258/320, ii. 154/178. Keller prints *eche*, treating the curl attached to the final *e* as a mere flourish, but the scribe's model, H², had *æcere* : see 23/161.

16. *bi*, as concerning, having regard to, i. e. on pain of losing. Comp. 'unrihtwisan deman þe heora domas awendað æfre be þam sceattum,' Ælfric, Lives, 430/233 ; 'behead eallum his folce, be heora life, þæt hī sceoldon feallan adune,' Ælf. Hom. Cath. ii. 18/23 ; 'þat ælc mon bi his liue' comen to him swiðe, | bi heore liue & bi heore leme,' L 19434.

V. A PARABLE

Manuscript : Cotton Vespasian A 22, British Museum. It is composite ; a second MS., 224 × 153 mm. in two columns, begins at f. 54 with the pieces printed in OEH i. 217-45. It is written in a small and crabbed hand unlike that of a professed scribe. The use of the contraction marks is unsystematic and the readings are sometimes uncertain. The other articles bound up with this MS. before and after are historical and largely connected with Rochester Monastery.

Editions : Morris, R., Old English Homilies, i, pp. 231-41 (with translation), and Specimens of Early English.

Literature : Vollhardt, W., Einfluss der lateinischen geistlichen Litteratur auf einige kleinere Schöpfungen der englischen Übergangsperiode, Leipzig, 1888 ; Lauchert, F., Englische Studien, xiii. 83 ; Heuser, W., Anglia, xvii. 82.

Phonology : *a* is *a*, fram 38, maniȝe 54, lange 83, sandon 30, but *o* in longe 155, sonden 161. *æ* wavers between *e* (28 times), feder 42, hwet 17, stef creft 89, þes 72, &c., wes 1, 94, 96, and *a* (16), fader 40, hwat 49, þas 43, was 19, 27, water 46. *e* is regularly *e*, engel 41, menn 31, but *æ* in ængles 166 (*æ*ngel), mæn 22, 78, næmmie 112, and *a* in anglene 139, angles 146, man, *pl.* 23, 76. *i* is *i*, for which *y* is written in cyldren 42, cyrce 108, scyft 117 : it is *e* in ȝeðe (=iþe) 165, þeser 74, þeses 113, repen 169 (=ripon), swepen 13 ; *u* in swupen 132. *o* is *o*, but *a*, an 4, &c. (=on), þann 120, þáleð 123 (comp. the dialectic taal, Dan. *taale*, EDD). *u* is *u*, but *o* in come 7, icome 115, sonne 46, all associated with *m* or *n*. *y* is regularly *e*, berie 7, ded 73, drench 46, euel 41, ferst 167, gelty 153, senne 91, 95, 151, but *i* in þrimsettles 36, (dier)chin 45 ; *y* in cyme, 87 (? cime) ; *o* in formest 50, 72. *mycel* is represented by mucele 129, 137, moche 90 : king 1, drihte 52 have *i*, as often.

ā is mostly *a*, fa 25, na 55, þa 106 ; but *o* in anon 12, cofe 27, cofer 17, gefo 22, go 22, more 97, 120, non 38, soriȝe 104, to 147, þo 140. clone 15,

an isolated form, represents **clāne**. **æ₁** is mostly *e*, *aterde* 80, *clene* 103, *elc* 112 (3), *er* 117, *geð* 157, *helendes* 87 (4), *þer* 139 (4); the traditional **æ** appears in *ælc* 91, 152, *ær* 18, 99, *æer* 21, *ærst* 69, *ærndraches* 16, 69; but it is *a* in *halende* 93, *lat* 124, *stanene* 81, *þar* 19 (7), *unwraste* 23; *ea* in *unwreaste* 79, 100, 104, 130, and *eo* once in *leorde* 109 (*læorde*) between *l* and *r*. **æ₂** is uniformly *e*, *adredeð* 147, *letes* 129. **ē** is regularly *e*, but *dieð* 51 (= *deð*). **ī** is *i*; written *y* in *tyme* 77: *gescung* 54 is apparently *gītsung*. **ō** is *o* without exception. **ū** is *u*; but *uncoðe* 22. **ȳ** is normally *e*, *ceðen* 16, 70, 113, *fer* 46, 143, 155, *scred* 42; but *litl* 160, *leoðre* 169.

ea before *r* + cons. is *a* in *arme* 51, *barn* 60, *middenard* 39 (5), *widerwardnesse* 24; *ea* in *bearn* 50, 159, *þearceon* 6, *þearnede* 27; **æa**, *gæarced* 156; **æ** in *ærfeð* 3, and *e* in *merchestowe* 124. **ea** before *l* + cons. is regularly *a*, *alle* 4 (21), *manifald* 79; but *manifeald* 46, 90. The *i*-umlaut of **ea** is represented by *weregede* 131 (**wiergod**). **eo** before *r* + cons. is *eo* in *eorðe* 36 (4), *heorte* 72, *leorninchnihtes* 106; *e* in *sterren* 47; **æ** in *ærlen* 20. In the **wur** group, *wur* is written in *wurð* 143, otherwise *wr* = *wur*, *derewrlice* 10, *wrð* 77, 123, *wrðeð* 108, *wrhmint* 65, 93. The *i*-umlaut is represented by *birne* 154, *abernð* 143, *sterfeð* 163, *werpð* 45 (**wierpð**), *werpeð* 142, ? *stiarne* 13 (**stierne**). **eo** before *l* + cons. is seen in *self* 61 (7), *sielfe* 48. **eo**, *u*-umlaut of **e** is *e* in *heuene* 107, 163, *hefenen* 36, but *heofene* 171; **æ**-umlaut is seen in *fele* 83; **eo**, umlaut of **i**, is *e* in *clepeien* 49, *þeclepien* 6, *lefede* 102, 155, *lefie* 155, *seþe* 51, 76, 170; *eo* in *neowelnesse* 36; *i* in *silure* 92 (**silofr**); *u* after *w* in *cwuce* 162, *wude* 47. Here also belong *tolie* 44, **teolian** and *hare* 85, 172, *hares* 56 from **heora** through **heara**, both with shifted accent. **ea** after palatals is *a* in *gat* 13, 117; *e* in *scel* 135; *eo* in *sceol* 147, *ea* in *þesceafte* 93, *ia* in *þiaf* 97; *scandlice* 151 is *sceandlice*, before nasal, *þescepe* 56 is *gesceapen*. **ie** after *g* is *i* in *gife* 86, *þife* 88, 109; *ie* in *gief* 98, *þief* 119, *þiefe* 11, *forþiet* 60, *underþeite* 4; *e* in *forþeten* 59, 61, *bigeten* 55; **scieppend** gives *sceappend* 65, 93, *sceppend* 40, 41. The conj. **gif** is *gief* 12 (EWS. **gief**), *þief* 60, *gif* 63, *þef* 9. **eo** after *g* is seen in *iunglenges* 107 (**geongling**); **eo** after *sc* in *sceolde* 7, 25, 87, *sceolden* 12, 160; **heom** is *hain* 18, 55, *heom* 5; **eom** is *am* 162, *ham* 63.

ēa is *ea* in *bread* 162 (4), *lean* 135, *deade* 115, *deape* 123 (4), *abreað* 83; *a* in *admoded* 104, *brad* 29 (4), *þecas* 81, *grate* 6, *hafed* 51, *hafedmen* 108; *e* in *eðelice* 124; **æ** in *ære* 166. **niatt** 45 represents **nēat**, *þie* 49, **gēa**. The *i*-umlaut of **ēa** is represented by *unhersamnesse* 84. **ēo** medial is *eo* in *beoð* 108, &c., *ibeoð* 70, *beon* 69, *bitweone* 9, *underþeod* 6, 66, *underþeoden* 3, 17, *leoem* 45 written for *leome*

(lēoma); *e* in betwenen 169, befel 3, 4, zede 95, fend 5 (8), frend 5 (9), frenden 28, 157, lefe 96, prestes 111; *ie* in bieð 54, 65, bienn 135, to bienne 43, diefles 95, dierchin 45, frienden 21, lief 59, underþiede 137; *io* in þiode 91. Final *eo* is *i*, hi 50 (4), ibi 135, isi 55 (4) si 50 (6), þri 99, 101, and *ie*, besie 14 (besēon). The *i*-umlaut of *eo* is seen in dierewurð 20, istriened 96, þiestre 53, þiesternesse 14; but derewrþe 138, derewrlice 10, fendes 133, aþestreð 144, þesternesse 27. *īe* gives *ie* in giet 53, 3eiet 56, 3ie 24, 26. *ēo* from *ō* after *sc* is *eo*, 3esceod 8, to3esceodeð 117, 3esceop 33, 39; but 3escod 74, 3escop 54.

a + g, h, is *ag*, lage 71, &c.; muze 49 has *u* by imitation of other pret. presents. *æ + g* is *ei*, deie 126, 137, meide 139, meiden 141, meidenes 166, neiles 146, seið 158, seieð 153; *e3* in de3e 108, isegd 27, se3ð 163; *ei3* in seigð 34; *e* in sede 117, 119, seden 69, 160 (=sædon), 3esed 114, mede 94 (=mæden); *ai* in mai 152, maie 148. The peculiar spellings d3eie 68, d3eies 52, d3ei 134 show the development of a *y* sound, but de3ie 7, 8, 116, mazie 59, mazi 34 appear to be for de3ie, mai3e, mai3. *e + g* is *ei*, þeinen 21, rien 47, written for rein: þenið 142, þeninge 46 go back to þēnian, þēnung: ongegñ is represented by a3en 101, a3enes 24. A *y* sound has developed in 3eie 43, 142 (ege); a3eie 64 seems to have been influenced by OWScand. *agi*. *ig* is preserved in ni3en 138; *ih* in dihte 39, 41: exceptional is forðteh 42 (forðtiþ). *o + g* is seen in abroden 134, 156, abruden 27; heretochē 80; *u + g* in 3ebugon 25; *y + h* in drihte 52. *ā + g, h* give oge 59, ogen 60, o3eð 64, a3en 88, ah 43, fa 5. *æ1 + h*, echte 55, tehten 110: *ō + h*, brochte 101, ibrocht 146, innoh 152: *ū + h*, þuhte 11.

ea + h, ht is *ea* in leahtrum 79, *a* in wax 81; miht, niht have uniformly *i*. *eo + ht* is *i* in cnihten 20: the *i*-umlaut is represented in isecgð 148, ise3ð 150 (=siehð), 3esecðe 134, 156 (gesiehð). *ēa + g, h* is *ag, ah*, hagefaderen 140, hahes 171, þah 112, þahhweðer 60. *ēo + h* is *e* in wex 168; *ih* in rihtwisnesse 40, richtwise 147, 148, brictnesse 145, with *at* for *ht*: lichte 50, 53; loht 45 is lēoht with shifted accent: *īe + h* gives nixtan 73. *ā + w*, daw 47, 3esawen 165, sawe 44, sawle 42 &c., but feawe 96, scewie 22: ahte 122, nahte 33, ahct 49 come from āht, nāht. *æ1 + w* occurs in 3ecnowe 71: *ēa + w* in unþeawes 132: *ēo + w* in ableow 42, bleowu 168, treowe 92, fierðe 105 (fēowerða), 3eu 24, 113, 3ehw 119, 3iu 117, 3iure 52.

The vowels of the inflections are generally levelled to *e*, but a few remain from the scribe's original; *inf.* wunian 159; *pr. s.* blissið 50, *pr. pl.* þenið 142; cwaciað 147; *pt. pl.* arerdon 85; *pl.* dunan 37, lagan 70, sandon 30; *s. d.* nixtan 73; *pl. d.* leahtrum 79; buton 38, 72, 95, bufon 149. Among vowels of minor stress are noteworthy *ie* in lačienge 6

(laðung), zelaðieres 82 (*laðere); *a* for *e*, þina 37; *æ* for *e*, anæ 6, ʒæarced 156; *e* for *æ*, rigtleceden 86, 103; *e* for *i*, iunglenges 107; *e* for *o*, hefenen 36, 107, sicernesse 128; *i* for *e*, adiligde 79, 84; *eo* for *ie*, ʒearceon 6; *ei* for *i*, clepeien 49. ableow 42 possibly represents onblēow. *e* is lost in ærndraches 16 (4), witʒin 89, and added in senezeden 153: senezden 154 is for senʒeden. The prefix *ge*, once written *ge*, gelest 2, is largely retained, but it is reduced to *i* in *pp*. ibroht, icode 115, idon, imaced, isent, istriened; *inf*. ibite, isi; ibruce 25, ibeoð 70, isecgð 148, isezð 150, innoh 152, uniredlice 131, iwiss 37; noteworthy is unitald 47.

w is lost in sa 54, se 86, also 115; it represents *wu* in the *wur* group, wrð 77, wrhmint 65, derewrlice 10 &c., and similarly wlcne 145: *u* is written for it in uin 160, *wu* in blewu 168, hwu 99. *l* is lost in swice 75, wic 142: final *ll* often becomes *l*, befel 3, bispel 31, ful 102. *mm* is simplified in wiman 59. The loss of final *n* in inflections is characteristic: it occurs also in bine 90 (binnan), bitweone 9, bute 17, morʒe 119, to fore 138, to for 22, upe 132: *n* is assimilated to *m* in næmmie 112, it is added in hesne 98, doubled in bienn 135, sennenn 132, þann 120 &c. *on* is weakened to *a* 126 (an 153). *bb* is simplified to *b* in habe 161; it is *u* in sweucð 53, perhaps influenced by Scand. *sveffja*. For *f* the scribe writes *þ* in sielþe 48, selþ 61, 149, which perhaps represents an individual pronunciation. The voiced sound between vowels is represented by *f*, not *u*. The added *t* in mistlice is found in OE., that after *n* in berient, melstanent 170 is local, as sarment, suddent, varmint in the SE. modern dialects: *t* is doubled in fett 14; *ts* is *s* in milsi 59, *c* in milce 102. In an 130 *d* is lost (and 145), as in hlafor 21: it is written for *þ* in dierewurd 20, had 152, hafð 56, sede 170. For *þ*, *f* is written in of 11, 15, 108, *ft* in oft 134, 136; *t* in to 36 (?), 147 after ʒ=ant: æt þære is eter 13, 117: it is lost after *h* in forðteh 42, and intrudes before *h* in awiðhst 37. *sc* is [š] in biscopes 111, sceolde 7, scandlice 151; *ss* is written for it in wasse 10, 123. *e* is palatalized in cheðen 70 (ceðen 16), dierchin 45 (fiscynn 46), ærndraches 16, machede 41 (macede 91). *e* is doubled in accenned 94. *g* is lost in witien 140 and final in almihti 32, ʒegen 156, leornin (ch[n]ihtes) 106: it is *ch* in heretoche 80, *c* in strençpe 97. The scribe generally uses *ʒ* for *ġ*: exceptions are gelest 2, gife 86, gief 98, gif 63, bigeten 55, iunglenges 107. The development of a *y* sound is seen in ʒeðe (=ipe), ʒeie 43; *ʒ* in ʒeu 24, ʒiu 117, ʒehw 119 has been adopted from the nom. ʒe. Initial *h* before a vowel is often omitted, abben 160, afeð 150, alste 36, is 28 &c., us 167; before consonants, laford 12, 61, wa 4, wat 24 (hwet 17), wic 142, wile 82: it is added in her 160, his 128 &c., hofne 170, hur 65, hure 44, hus 43, and hwe 69, which helps to the understanding of ʒehw 119. For

ht, *cht* is written in echte 55, ibrocht 146, lichte 50, richtwise 147: *ahct* 49 is for acht (= *āht*); *ct* in brichtnesse 145.

Accidence: Strong decl. of *m.* and *neut.* nouns. *Sing. n.* halende 93, helende 109, 163, sceppende 41 with participial terminations (sceppend 40), endedeie 118, gate 117 have added *e*: tacne 145 is *tacen*; drihte 52 has lost *n.* *Gen. -es. Dat. -e*: exceptions, anginn 115, bearn 50, barn 60, fer 155, gat 13 (gate 117), ʒegen 156, innoð 60, godspel 161 (godspelle 165), hlaford 65, licht 53 (lichte 50), mancyn 99, sceappend 65 (sceappende 93), þing 53. *Acc. as nom.*: accennende 103, a participle used as noun, fultume 47 with added *e*. *Plur. n. m. -es*: deade 115 has adj. term., wude 47 (*wuda*); *neut. wlcne* 145. *Dat. -en*, as apostlen 139, bearnen 159, bredene 81, cnihten 20, aldren 20, esten 158, kingen 32, martiren 140, melstanent 170, þeinen 21: exceptions, had 139 (= *hādum*), leahtrum 79, meiden 141, neiles 146, write 85, and ME. repples 13. The accent on hlafordé 32 may be a contraction mark. *Acc. m. -es*: *neut. folc* 68, niatt 45, þing 33, 101, 109; þrimsettles 36 has masc. form. Weak are anglene 139, *pl. g.*, esten 159 *pl. n.*, hefenen 36 *s. g.* comp. hefene 163. Strong decl. of *fem. nouns*: blisse 125, eorðe 45, lare 90, mihte 38, þiode 91, underþiede 137 (treated as compound of *þēod*), witnisse 149 have added *e* in the *nom. sing.*: ʒefered 138 has lost *en*; its *dat.* is ʒeferede 20. The other cases *sing.* and *pl.* which occur end in *e*, as merche (*stowe*) 124, rode 145, *s. g.*; echte 55 (possibly *pl.*), gife 86, 88, 109, *s. d.*; hesne 98, laðienge 6, lage 80, *s. a.*; senne 80, 91, 151, *pl. d.*; ahte 122, *pl. a.* Exceptions are wrldes 77, a masc. form, berient 170 (= *byrgenne*), ʒescung 54, gief 98 (possibly for gife), hand 37, nicht 53, *s. d.*; wrhmint 65 (*wrhmint* 93), *s. a.*; ceðen 16, 70, 113, underþeoden 17, *pl. d.*; hand 14, *pl. a.* underþeod, 6 is adj. used as noun. Weak forms are dunan 37, *pl. a.*, lagan 70, *pl. n.*, sennenn 132, *pl. a.*, underþeoden, *pl. n.* 3.

Weak declension: *Sing. nom.* halege 126, mone 47, sonne 46, tyme 77, witize 35: *d. ære* 166, heorte 72, heretoche 80, time 84, witie 57, uuantruce 122, *acc. deme* 148, lichame 41, 126: leoem 45 is probably for leome. *Plur. nom.* ʒeferen 15, sterren 47, 144; *dat. swepen* 13, swupen 132, witjin 89, witien 140; *acc. witize* 85, ʒefo 22. *ærndraces* 69, *pl. n.*, 16, *pl. a.* have adopted a strong inflection: nixtan 73, *s. d.* is adj. used as noun.

Minor declensions: burh 166, berie 7, *s. d.*; fader 40, 44, feder 42, *s. n.*, feder 48, *d. s.*, hagefaderen 140, *pl. d.*; fett 14, *pl. a.*; frienden 21, 28, 157, *pl. d.*; mannes 72, 118, *s. g.*; man 76, *s. d.*, 41. *s. a.*; menn 31, hafedmen 108, man 23, 76, *pl. n.*; mannen 153, *pl. d.*, 159, *pl. g.*; mæn 22, mænn 78, *pl. a.*

Adjectives: Remnants of the strong decl. linger in *ecer* 128, *s. d. f.*, *soðe* 65, *grate* 6, *s. a. f.*; and perhaps *hage*(*faderen*) 140 (= *hēagum*); of the weak decl. in *fulle* 127, *gode* 121, *s. n. m.*, *lefe* 96, *s. n. f.*, *mucele* 137, *s. d. m.*, 129, *s. d. f.*, *richtwise* 148, *sorize* 104, *s. a. m.*, *unwreaste* 104, *s. a. neut.* *hahes* 171 is a strong form for weak; *halize* 102 a strong fem. qualifying *lif*, *neut.* The *pl.* inflection in all cases is -e, so *Ʒeredie* 131, *stanene* 81. Longer words are often uninflected, as *manifald* 79, 90, *dierewurd* 20 (*derewrƷe* 138), *wrlðlic* 55; also *ful* 54, *gelty* 153, *hali* 122, 140. Adjectives used as nouns are *senfulle* 147, *s. n.*; *fa* 25, *fo* 156, *latst* 8, 69, *nixtan* 73, *s. d.*; *innoh* 152, *s. a.*; *richtwise* 147, *pl. n.*

Pronouns: Noteworthy are *hwe* 69, *Ʒie* 24, 26 (*Ʒe* 116); *Ʒeu* 24, 113, *Ʒiu* 117, 160, *Ʒehw* 119. The pronoun of the third person is, *Sing. n.* *he, m.* *hi* 50, 51, 59, 60, *f.*; *hit*, *neut.*; *d. him, m.*; *a. hine* 10 &c., *him* 14, *m. hit, n. Plur. n.* *hi, i* in combinations *icome* 17, *ibeoð* 70, *mihti* 55; *d. heom* 5, *ham* 18, 55, 147; *a. m. hi* 117. From **seo f.* are *his* 81 *s. a. f.* (= *is*) and *his* 117, *pl. a. m.* (= *is*), *es* in *letes* 129, *pl. a. n.*, for which forms see *Anglia*, *Beiblatt* vii. 331, xi. 302. The *dat. s. pl.* with self uninflected occurs as definitive adj. 61, 81, 149; *s. and pl.* with *selfe* as reflexive, 55, 91, 151, 152; *us sielfe* 48. Possessives are *mine* 64, *mi* 63, *s. n. m.*, *mine* 25, 156, *s. d. m.*, *mire* 24 (with *rice neut.*) 26, 154, *mine* in other cases; *Ʒina* 37, *s. d. f.*; *ure, hure, ur, hur* 65, with *ures* 87, 106, *s. g. m.*; *is, his, hire*; *Ʒiure* 52, *Ʒeur* 153; *hare* 85, 172, *hares* 56, *s. g. m.* *his* 21, 29, *pl. d.* *is* used as noun, *his men*. The def. article is, *Sing. n. m.* *se*, once *seo* 66; *f. si*, with *neut. tacne* 145, but *rode* is *fem.*, *gate* 117; *neut. þat* 143; *g. m. þes*, with *wrlðes* 77, *ses* 87, by analogy from *se*; *neut. þes*: *d. m. þa, þe*, (to) *ðe* 22; *f. þare* 93, with *neut. gate* 129, *þar* 19, *þer* 139, (i) *þer* 123, with *m.* 141, with *neut.* 13, 117; *neut. þam, þan* 118, 158, *þe* 50, 145, (i) *þe* 161, *Ʒeðe* 165, *þa* 110, probably for *þan*: *a. m. þann* 120; *f. þa* 54 &c., *neut. þat* 168. *Pl. n. m.* *þa, þe*, (Ʒ) *to* 147; *d. m. þa, þo*: *a. m. þe* 85. Used pronominally *si* 83, *s. n. f.*; *þat* 97, *s. n. neut.*; *þa* 26, *pl. n. m.*; *þan* 141, *pl. d. m.* The compound demonstrative is, *Sing. n. m.* *þes*; *f. þes*; *neut. þis*: *d. m. þese* 48; *f. þisser, þesser, þeser*; *neut. þese* 118, 163; *a. f. þas* 80; *neut. þis*. *Pl. n. m.* *þes, þas*: *g. þeses*: *d. þesen*: *a. þes*. Exceptional is *þas* 43, *s. n. neut.* (OE. occasional *þæs*). The relative is *þe* 26, 32, 97; *wam* 48, 96, *s. d.*; introducing dep. questions, *wa* 4, 66, *hwa* 67: interrogatives, *hwat, hwet, wat* 24, *wic* 142: indefinites are *n. m. an* 1; *d. m. ane* 68, *neut. ane* 164, *ene* 7, *an* 53; *a. m. ænne* 7, *f. anæ* 6, *neut. a* 57; *n. m. f. ælc, elc*; *g. m. elces* 118; *a. m. elce* 116; *swice, pl. n. m.*; *nahte* 33, *s. d. n.* *Sum* 17, *s. n.* has oblique cases in *e* 56, 82, but *sum* 92, *pl.*: *fele* 83, *manize* 54, 109 are plurals: *oðre* (once *oðere*) is constant: *eall* is *sing. n.* *all, al*; *d. f. alle* 66,

neut. 4, 24 (rice is regarded as *fem.*); *a. f.* alle 96, *neut.* all, al 47. The plural is alle; but all 15, al 141.

The infinitive of verbs ends mostly in *e*, *fandie* 130: noteworthy are *besie* 14, *isi* 55: *zief* 119 has lost *e* before him. *wunian* 159 is a survival; others in *n* are *ʒearceon* 6, *ʒeclepien* 6, *clepeien* 49, *don* 88, *finden* 173, *forʒeten* 59, *abben* 160. *Dat. inf.* with inflection, *bienne* 43, *donne* 152; without inflection *abiden* 11, *bigeten* 55, *don* 51, *fulforðie* 98, *ʒelaðie* 17, 78, *isi* 137, *sawe* 44, *tolie* 44. *Pres. s.* 1: *forʒete* 61, *lefie* 155, *nell(ic)* 60; 2. *awiðhst* 37, *belocest* 37, *halst* 36; 3. *blisseð* 52 and 8 others, but contracted forms predominate, *abernð* 143, *belimpð* 128, *cump* 114, 121, 129, *ett* 163, *fett* 42, *fet* 171, *ʒemet* 133, *ʒestrend* 112 (*gestrengēþ*), *isecgð* 148, *iseʒð* 150 (*siehð*), *lat* 124 (*lādeþ*), *sit* 138 and 9 others. Exceptional are *blissið* 50, *had* 152 (*hæfð*), *scred* 42 (*scrȳt*), *scyft* 117, *forðteh* 42 (*tyhð*). *Subjunctive pr. s.* *forʒiet[e]* 60, *habbe* 74, *letes* 129 (*lete + es*), *mils* 59, *underfo* 126. *Pres. pl.* 1. *habbeþ* 48, *siggeð* 114, *wene (we)* 49; 3. *adredeð* 147, *aþestreð* 144 &c.; but *cwaciað* 147, *þenið* 142 (*Archiv lxxxix*, 160-6). *Subj. pr. pl.* *næmmie* 112, *scewie* 22. *Imp. pl.* *understandeð* 31, 99, *witeð* 155, *wite (ʒe)* 125. Past of Strong Verbs: *Sing.* I a. *cweð* 21, *et* 28, *ʒiaf* 97; I b. *com* 19, *nam* 5; I c. *dranc* 28, *ʒelamp* 1; II. *astah* 162, *wraþe* 81 (*wrāt*); III. *abreað* 83, *ʒecas* 81; IV. *ʒesceop* 33; V. *ableow* 42, *bleowu* 168, *befel* 3, *wex* 168. *Pl.* I a. *cweðe* 18, 1. *pl.*; I b. *come* 9; I c. *sturfe* 28; II. *repen* 169; III. *ʒebugon* 25. *Subjunctives* are I b. *come* 12, 20; V. *ʒewold[e]* 55. *Pp.* I b. *icome* 115; I c. *abruden* 27, *abroden* 134, 156; II. *begripe* 95; III. *belocen* 16; IV. *ʒescepe* 56, *understande* 116; V. *beswapen* 151, *ʒesawen* 165, *ʒewasse*, *uniwasse* 123. Past of Weak Verbs ends in *-de*, *-ede*, *arerde* 80, *clensede* 103 &c.: *diht* 41, *gelest* 2, *send* 78, *sett* 72 have dropped final *e*. *Pl.* *-den*; once *arerdon* 85: *sede* 117, 119, *lefede* 155, *acolede* 90, *ʒearnede* 27 have lost *n*. The *pp.* ends in *-ed*, *-d*, *-t*; once *acende* 101, *beside accenned* 94: *unwemmede* 94, *weregede* 131 are inflected. Minor groups: *wat* 54, *pr. s.*; *ah* 43, *pr. s.*, *oʒeð* 64 (*āgon*), 1. *pr. pl.*; *scel* 135, *sceol* 147, *pr. s.*, *scule* 26 &c., *pr. pl.*, once *sculen* 161, *sceolde* 87, *pt. s.*, *sceolde* 7, *sceolden* 12, 160, *pt. pl.*; *mai* 152, *pr. s.*, but *maʒi* 34, *maie* 148, *mazie* 59, *pr. s.* are subjunctive in form; *muʒe (we)* 49, 1. *pr. pl.*, *mihti* (*mihte hi*) 55, *mihten* 86, *pt. pl.*; *am* 162, *ham* 63, 1 *pr. s.*, *his* 33 &c., *is* 36, *pr. s.*, *beoð* 70, 108, 146, *bieð* 54, 65, *pr. pl.*, *beon* 69, *bienn* 135, *pr. pl. subj.*, *was* 19, *wes* 1 &c., *pt. s.*, *were* 99 &c., *wer* 69, 75, *pt. pl.*, *were* 5, 10 &c., *pt. s. subj.*, 8, 15, 16 &c., *pt. pl. subj.*, *ibi* 135 (**gebion*), *pp.*; *don* 72, 73, *pr. s. subj.* but plural in form, *ded[ē]* 73, *pt. s.*; *to gað* 145, *pr. pl.*, *go* 22, 1 *pr. pl. subj.*

Accents are used extensively, but on no consistent principle, so *lāge* 79,

lage 80; arerde 80, arérdon 85; ázenes 34, azénes 24. They are mostly placed over long vowels, but they are used to indicate separate pronunciation of the vowels in méé 158, bethléem 167, besié 14. Similarly they show that a vowel is not to be slurred in belocést 37, clénséde 103, macéde 91, ?Æér 21; that *i* is to have its full vowel value (not *y*) in ʒeclepén 6, ʒelašie 17, halie 85, 107, halíʒe 140, maníʒe 54, 109, witíe 57, 62, witíʒe 85; and that final *e* is to be pronounced in forté 137, mihté 38. Sometimes the accent has been exchanged with a contraction mark, as hlafordé 32, acénde 101. It is only a diacritic, answering to the printed dot, in funglenges 107, ímaced 164, þenínge 46 &c., and over *y* written for *i* in scýft 117, cýme 87, týme 77. In diphthongs it marks the stressed element, séo 66, unterþéod 6, líef 59, níatt 45; in leóem 45 it shows shifted accent (as in loht 45), so feáwe 96, ?bleówu 168, ?leórde 109: sónne 46, féce 7 are hard to understand. In unwēmmed 139, the contraction mark has been kept, although *m* has been added; hīne 133 is curious.

Dialect: There is a considerable survival of older spellings from the West-Saxon original. The scribe's language is South-Eastern strongly affected by Kentish, a mixed dialect such as might be current on the south-eastern border of Kent, or used by a southern man, not of Kentish extraction, but resident in the county, possibly at Rochester.

Introduction: This piece, like its predecessor in the MS., which is a transcription of Ælfric's *De Initio Creaturae*, is, at least in part, an adaptation of an older, probably pre-Conquest homily, as is shown by the occurrence of archaic inflections and constructions (comp. to 8, hungre 28, hatrede 24, &c.; the extensive use of the subj. mood), and by its OE. vocabulary (þrimsettles 36, hagefaderen 140 &c.) almost free from any foreign element. Vollhardt suggested as its source the 46th chapter of the *Liber de S. Anselmi Similitudinibus*, a collection of parables and sayings of S. Anselm recorded by his biographer Eadmer, probably after the death of his master in 1109 A. D. This is printed in *Anselmi Opera*, ed. Gerberon, App. 161; Migne, P. L. clix., 625 and Vollhardt, 25. That the two versions are related cannot be doubted, but a consideration of dates compels the conclusion that they have a common source, or that the Latin is not S. Anselm's.

The parable and its application is in the Latin brief and direct, in marked contrast to the vivacity, fullness of detail, and diffuseness (comp. 3. 19, 136) of the English. The latter has also expanded the application of the parable by much extraneous matter: i. The Creation Theme, 31-66; ii. The Five Ages of the World; iii. The Doomsday Theme, 136-156; iv. The Living Bread, 160-173, all of which is wanting in the Latin.

For filii 58 read filio, and for descendit 162, descendi.

There is no title in the M^S.: Rex Suos Judicans is from Anselm's title.

2. **gelest**, extended; probably the earliest example of the word in this sense. OE. **gelæstan**, to accomplish, follow, last. With **wide** 7 **side**, spacious, extensive, comp. 'Ðu leof cyningc leod-scipas ðine wide and side þu hæstst,' Ælf. Lives, i. 496/145; '7 ta wass Romess kinedom | Full wid 7 sid onn eorþe,' Orm. 9173.

3. **ærfeðtelle**, difficult to number; comp. 'earueðhealde,' 48/311; 'Earfoðfynde,' Ælf. Lives, i. 492/82; 'arueðwinne,' OEH ii. 49/14. OE. **earfoðe**, **ēaðe**, **unēaðe** are usually followed by the *dat.* of the infinitive, 'earfoðe is ænegum men to witanne,' Cura Past. 51/5, to which corresponds, 'Hit is arfeð to understonden,' OEH ii. 205/14; but they are also associated with a kind of verbal noun having a *dat.* termination in *e*, in imitation of the Latin supine in *u*, as **earfoðlære**, **ēaþlære**, **unēaþlære**, and the two words come to be treated as a compound adjective. For the *acc. inf. comp.* 'Ac þe ben swo fele þ̅ hie ben arfeð tellen,' OEH ii. 201/30.

4. **þ̅** — **befell**, lit. that it occurred to him in purpose, that he formed a resolution: comp. 'Ich wilnie a mine þonke.' to walden al Rome,' L 25091; 'þat him wes on þonke,' id. 13258.

5. **nam him to rede**, lit. took to himself for counsel, adopted the plan: comp. 110/298; 'nam him to ræde,' Ælf. Lives, i. 64/230; 'let him to ræde,' id. 506/319; 'hwæt him to ræde þuhte,' id. 244/113; 'him to ræde fand,' BH 201/25. See Minot vi, 68 note. For omission of subject after **þ̅**, see 6/18 note.

7. **berie** was meant to supersede **curt**, but the scribe forgot to put dots under the latter. He uses **berie** regularly afterwards. With **þ̅** comp. '& swa he nom enne dai.' þat come heore drihtlice folc,' L 2550.

8. **be þe latst**, at the latest; so 14/69. **to**, at: comp. 14/68; 'to þan dæie heo comen,' L 13187.

9. **mistlice**, variant of **mislice** (Bülbring § 535). It means, diversely, of different sorts, friends and foes. But note **fastlice**, 16/114.

10. **derewrlice**, so as to confer honour on him.

11. **formemete**, first meat, breakfast, the 'morzemetete' of 16/125; 'mixtum cibi,' Ans. With **to lang**, comp. 4/38.

12. **none**, after **formemete** is probably for **nonemete**, midday meal, dinner: though **to** might mean *at*, as at l. 8. See 206/323.

13. **stiarne swepen**: 'strong whips,' Morris: 'stiff (strong) whips,' Specimens: comp. 16/132. But the adj. is rarely applied to a thing: perhaps **stearce** or **smerte** would suit better.

14. **besie**, look to, provide for, handle: comp. **underfangeð** 16/131;

'Euele thai gonnen him bisen,' Seuyn Sages, 507 (said of a whipping); bisen, 202/195 is similar, look after.

15. *abide*, *inf.* depends on *he sceolde* understood from *sceolden* 12. *clone*, without exception, entirely: comp. 'Ne dude hit noht þe king ane.' *ah* *duden* *we* *alle clæne*,' L 8825; 'mare ich habbe ane.' þane þa oðere *al clæne*,' *id.* 13059, 13264.

17. *hwet bute icome*, *lit.* What but they came? i.e. What did they but come? they came of course. Comp. 'nis þer bute þonken God.' AR 382/26 with 'Hwæt magon we secgean buton þ̅ hi scotedon swiðe,' AS. Chron. E 1083. Similar in effect but exclamatory is 'Hwæt þá se casere cwæð him tó andsware,' *Ælf. Lives*, i. 46/358; OEH i. 229/26.

18. *bi ham*, with reference to them, in their case: comp. 'gif þu witan wille hwæt be Criste gedón wæs on Iudea lande,' BH 177/1.

23. *wente he hin*, 'then turned he,' Morris, as though for *hine*. But *hin* is rather for *in*.

24. *lacede*: Morris altered to *made*, but the text means, of what did you feel the want?

25. *zewinne*, with the rare meaning of contend; usually, to conquer. It takes *wið* in OE., but comp. 'wunnen aȝean,' AR 238/17. *zebugon*, not 'bow to, be obedient to,' Morris, but, turned aside from me and to my foes; L. *declinare*: comp. 'hi alle to rede gebuȝon,' OEH i. 219/27. *Swa ibruce* &c., As surely as I possess my kingdom: *brūcan* usually takes a genitive; here with dative or accusative.

26. *mete ibite*: comp. 'ne moste he nauere biten mete,' L 15340; KH Ms. L 1131 note.

28. *þe*: conj. = *þæt* consecutive, with the result that: see 50/334 note *sturfe hungre*: contrast 7/75: the construction, like that of the *dat.* 'hatrede ȝ widerwardnesse' 24, is OE., 'menn . . . lætað cwelan hungre Cristes ðearfan,' *Cura Past.* 326/5. Morris translates *nam hit him*, betook himself: for the correction in the text comp. 17/157, 213/539 note.

30. *sandon*, courses: comp. 207/349; 'þas beorn þa sunde.' from *kuchene* to *þan kinge*,' L 24601. For the meaning of *vii.* comp. 'Id enim frequens & usitatum est in sacris Litteris, ut septenarius numerus interpretetur dona illa, quae perfecta sunt, & quae desursum sunt,' Gilbert of Hoyland in S. Bernardi Opera, ii. col. 120.

31-39. A parallel passage is 'He is ealra cyninga Cyning, and ealra hlaforda Hlaford. He hylt mid his mihte heofonas and eorðan, and ealle gesceafta butan geswince, and he besceawað þa niwelnyssa þe under þysere eorðan sind. He awecð ealle duna mid anre handa, and ne mæg nan þing his willan wiðstandan,' *Ælf., Hom. Cath.* i. 8: comp. OEH i. 219,

1-3 for a modernization of the first half to *geswince*. Our writer was acquainted with the *De Initio Creaturae*, but he has translated 'Qui celorum,' l. 35, independently. The ultimate source is the antiphons, &c., at vespers in October and November. 'Benedictus dominus qui creavit celum et terram,' York Breviary i. 597; 'Domine rex omnipotens in ditione tua cuncta sunt posita: et non est qui possit resistere voluntati tue,' id. 599; 'Qui celorum continet thronos et abyssos intueris, domine rex regum, montes ponderas, terram palmo concludis,' id. 610.

34. **wiðstande** has double construction (1) with **aʒenes**, (2) with **him**: for the former comp. 'Ic wiðstande ongen eow,' 'Ponam faciem meam contra vos,' Levit. xxvi. 17; for the latter the quotation from Ælfric in the preceding note. **him seigd**: this use of the dative pronoun, mostly in the third person, with intransitive verbs to reinforce the subject, is seen in 'warschipe hire easkeð,' 119/75; 'Affrican hire feader wundrede him swiðe,' 141/62; 'ʒe schulen . . . sinken . . . ow,' 146/111; 'He is him ripe,' 159/167; 197/16; 'þ word him herde Androgeus,' L 8525; 'þer him cumeþ iudas,' OEM 42/174, 38/31; 'men sullen . . . hem þar bidden,' OEH ii. 23/21; KH 137 note: with acc. exceptionally, 'And gon hyne to abidde,' OEM 41/156. See also 54/27, 81/90, 215/25.

35. **witiʒe**: the antiphon is drawn from Isaiah xl. 12, Daniel iii. 55; see 14/57.

36. **to**: Morris altered to **tho** without necessity, if it is the art. (see 17/47); but it is probably a preposition, see 124/249 note.

37. **·iii·prou.**: Morris read in **pon**. The reference is to the Third Book of the Proverbs (the division into books, as in Bede's commentary, preceded that into chapters), and probably to ch. xxx. 4.

38. **for þan þe** is the usual expression: for **þat þe** may be right.

42. **sawle ableow**: comp. 'God þa geworhte ænne mannan of lāme, and him on ableow gast,' Ælf. Hom. Cath. i, 12/28; 'him on bleow gast,' OEH i. 221/17; 'him anbleow sawle,' id. 223/9; 'And his licham of erðe he nam, | And blew ðor-in a liues blast,' GE 200; 'dû bliese im dīnen geist in,' MSD i. 81/7. **fett &c.**: comp. 'he scryt me wel and fett,' Wright's Vocabularies, i. 93/27.

43. **þas**: Morris read [*vel* as].

44. **his** as a correction is not inevitable, but it improves the rhetorical effect.

45. **werpð**, lit. casts, i.e. sends forth: comp. 151/45. **leoem ʒ lif**: comp. 'to lif ʒ to leomen,' SK 1046.

48. of **wam**: from 'In ipso enim vivimus et movemur et sumus,' Acts xvii. 28.

49. **acht**, *acc.* used as *adv.*, in any wise, at all: comp. 'Ne mihte he neuere finden mon.' þe him oht wolde fulsten,' L 6601. *moder*: comp. 'Sed et tu, Jesu, bone Domine, nonne et tu mater? Annon es mater qui tanquam gallina congregat sub alas pullos suos?' Anselmi Opera, 300.

50. **chereð**. The MS. reading cheteð is explained, console, cheer, as possibly from OWS*cand.* kēta, but this is rejected by Björkman, 260. There is no other instance of the word. **be**=mid, l. 52, with.

52. All this doth your lord.

53. Comp. 'Est autem noctis umbra mortalibus ad requiem corporis data, ne operis avida continuato labore deficeret ac periret humanitas,' Bedae Opera, ed. Giles, vi. 158.

55. **zewold**, for omission of subject see 6/18 note.

56. **hares unþances**, see 10/167 note.

57. **word**: Morris reads worden, in wonderful words, which may be right: the same scribe writes wordon once, wordum twice elsewhere. **Numquid** &c. The Vulgate has 'Numquid oblivisci potest mulier . . . ut non misereatur filio?' Isaiah xlix. 15.

59. **la lief**, O beloved: comp. 'Eala men þa leofoston,' BH 165/32; 'La leof ic bidde eow,' Ælf. Lives, i. 522/580; 'Eala, leof hlaford'=O mi domine, Thorpe, Analecta, 19. **his**: OE. **wimman** is masculine.

61. **be** — **is**, as regards his being father.

62. In the Vulgate, 'Si ergo Pater ego sum ubi . . . et si Dominus ego sum' &c., Malachi i. 6.

63. **manscipe**, the first occurrence of the word in the sense of homage. In OE. it means humanity, courtesy.

64. **G. m.**, Gode men.

70. **fif lagan**: the five laws correspond to five ages of the world. The division here is unusual. The English writers mostly follow S. Augustine, who gives six, so Bede, Alcuin, Ælfric, de veteri Testamento; but Wulfstan has seven, Anselm and Herbert de Losinga eight. In another place Ælfric has five, but different from those of our writer; see Hom. Cath. ii. 74.

71. **þecnowe**, revealed.

74. **þescod**, discretion, reason: see 122/176.

77. **nas tid** &c. Comp. 'he fram frymðe middaneardes oð his geendunge ne ablinð to asendenne bydelas and láreowas to lárenne his folc,' Ælf. Hom. Cath. ii. 74/10, which is probably from 'a mundi huius initio usque in finem ad erudiendam plebem fidelium praedicatores congregare non destitit,' S. Greg. Hom. i. xix.

79. **adiligde**, was destroyed: passive use, OE. **ādilegian**, to destroy. **unwreaste leahtrum**: see 118/30 note.

81. **wrate** &c. Comp. 'God awrát ða ealdan æ mid his fingre on ðam stānenum weax-bredum,' Ælf. Hom. Cath. ii. 204/1. **his**, the law.

82. **zelaðieres**: comp. 'sende hire his sondesmen biforen, þet weren þe patriarkes 7 þe prophetes of the Olde Testament,' AR 388/14.

83. **fele**; see 132/9.

84. **wat**, until: comp. 217/102: often with *al*, 215/26; 'al hwat hie hine fordemden,' VV 51/12 and frequently: **wat** is relative conj. substituted for **þat**, with same meaning; see 72/179, 108/245: so **þen** exchanges with **hwanne**, **þer** with **hwær**. **þe**, when, so **þa** 93.

85. **arerdon**, set up, established: comp. 'þæt is þonne ærest þæt ic wylle þæt man rihte laga upp arære,' Schmid, Gesetze, 270.

87. **hlaforðes . . . helendes . . . cristes**: this appositional construction is OE.; comp. 'on drihtnes naman ures hælendes cristes,' Ælf. Lives, i. 366/46: it is fairly common in early ME.; comp. 8/106, 9/121, 9/137, 12/6, 7.

89. **stef creft**: OE. **stæf cræft**, the art of letters, and hence, book learning.

90. **Eft bine fece 7**: with this superfluous and connecting a phrase to the main sentence, comp. 'Him þa gyt sprecendum 7 soþlice þa beorhtwolden hig oferscean,' S. Matt. xvii. 5. (= 'Adhuc eo loquente, ecce nubes lucida obumbravit eos.') **acolede**, cooled, lost its vigour: comp. '7 forþam þe unryhtwisnys rixað manegra lufu acolap,' S. Matt. xxiv. 12 (= 'refrigescet charitas multorum'). See 159/161.

91. **hur 7 hur**, especially: a doubling for emphasis of OE. **hūru**, at least: comp. 149/11.

92. **awente** &c.: 'Qui commutaverunt veritatem Dei in mendacium: et coluerunt et servierunt creaturae potius quam Creatori,' Romans i. 25.

95. **begripe**, seized, in the grip of: comp. 'seo sawul bið micle atelior, gif heo mid mislicum leahtrum begripen bið,' Ælf. Hom. Cath. i. 122/23. **diefles muðe**: comp. 17/150. Mediaeval art gave a very literal rendering of 'infernus . . . aperuit os suum absque ullo termino: et descendentes fortes eius, et populus eius, et sublimes, gloriosique eius ad eum,' Isaiah v. 14; see Wright, History of Caricature, 69-71.

97. **sette**, ordained, established: comp. 'þis synd þa . . . laga þe drihten gesette betwyx him and Israhela folc,' Levit. xxvi. 46.

99-104. Comp. 'Triplici morbo laborat genus humanum: principio, medio et fine, id est nativitate, vita et morte. Nativitas immunda, vita perversa, mors periculosa. Venit Christus, et contra triplicem hunc morbum attulit triplex remedium. Natus est enim, vixit, mortuus est:

atque eius nativitas purgavit nostram, mors illius destruxit nostram, et vita eius instruxit nostram,' S. Bernardi Op. ii. 776. The Liber Sententiarum, from which this passage comes, is placed by Mabillon among the doubtful works. There can be little doubt that it is the source of the English passage.

100. ful: comp. 29/33. **grislic**: inspiring terror and shrinking: see 120/94.

101. **per aȝen**, to remedy these blemishes of our nature: L. *remedium*.

102. **efer þurh**, ever through, throughout, perpetually. **millee**, not the active mercy, compassion, but meekness, patience.

103. **acennende**, the being born, birth: present participle with the same meaning as the new verbal noun **acenneng**, 100. The OE. noun is **ācennednes** or **ācennes**.

104. **admoded**, submissive: 'Humiliavit semetipsum factus obediens usque ad mortem,' Philippians ii. 8. The contrast is between man's shrinking from death and His voluntary acceptance of it.

105. **ȝelice**: read **grislice** as suggested by W. H. Brown, Mod. Lang. Notes, vii. 226.

106. Omit **þer**, put full stop after *iunglenges*, and understand from the previous sentence *were ærndraceſ*.

110. **þa** may be dat. sing. of the article as at 14/57, but more probably it = **þan**, then. **folce to fremo**, for benefit to the folk; see 176/24 note. **bedeles**, heralds: comp. 'þa halgan apostolas, þe ȝam hælende folgodon, wæron þa getreowan þeowan ȝ ȝa fyrmestan bydelas, þe godes lare geond þas land toseowon,' AS. Hom. ed. Assmann, 56/141; 'wearð se halga iohannes ætforan him asend swa swa heofonlic bydel,' Ælf. Lives, i. 342/94; Orm. 19/633.

112. They are all one in God's purpose. For **on** comp. 'Alle hie bieð forsakene **on** godes awene muðe,' VV 3/2.

114. **fastlice**, in steady flow, or, corresponding to 'þicce þringeð,' 116, crowding. It sometimes means vigorously, as in 'hi fengon togadre fæstlice mid wæpnum,' Ælf. Lives, ii. 98/489; sometimes firmly, 'þing ðe godd fæstliche ðe forbett,' VV 37/23. See 12/9.

117. **his**, them. **scyft**, separates, is a mere synonym of 'to ȝesceodeð.' Perhaps **scryft** = **scrifeþ**, fixes their destiny.

119. **morȝe mete**, the 'forme mete' of 12/11.

120. **more mete**, the 'fulle mete' of 16/127; 'none,' 12/12; 'vii sandon,' 13/29.

121. **witetlice** of the MS. may represent OE. **witodlice**, assuredly.

122. **uanantruce**, failure; as being compounded of **wan**, wanting, and

the noun of *trucian*, to fail, it should mean absence of failure. *hað*: for omission of nom. see 6/18.

123. For the pain of dying as penance, comp. 'Quidam autem electi in fine suo purgantur a levibus quibusdam peccatis,' Isidore vi. 361; 'Nullus tui Ordinis peribit, si Ordinem amaverit; aut in morte purgabitur, aut in brevi post mortem,' Arnulf of Boheries in S. Bern. Opera, ii. 802.

124. *eðelice lette*, easy hindrance, i.e. slight delay. *merchestowe*: Morris suggests 'merthestowe, a place of mirth,' or alternatively translates the MS. reading, place marked out, place of separation. The word is not found elsewhere; it is probably a special coinage for the intermediate state, the place of the soul waiting for the body, the place of the 'morȝemete,' the limited joy of which the soul is capable in its severed state ('requies ei, sed in anima sola, interim datur,' Anselm, in Eadmer, 161 col. 2 B); the banquet of perfect felicity, 'se fulle mete,' follows when soul and body meet again at the resurrection, 17/157 ('in anima simul & corpore laetabuntur,' Ans.). Comp. *March*, 'myddys be-twyn ij cuntreys,' Prompt. Parv. ed. Mayhew, 282.

128. *belimpð hit*: a superfluous nominative, as if, what is it that happens?

129. *letes* in Specimens is resolved into *lete* + *his*, the latter being *gen.* of *hit*, governed by *fandie*, and so like '3if we his abiriȝdon,' OEH i. 223/22. But support is lacking for enclitic *es*=*his*: it seems better to take *letes* as *lete* + *es*, *pl. acc.*, them, or even as *s. a. f.* used incorrectly as *neuter*.

131. *anu* is taken by Morris as for *anum*, but neither his 'at once,' Specimens, nor 'only,' OEH, is satisfactory. Probably the original had *anūge* (= *ānunge*) *geræde*, entirely, quite ready, very keen.

132. *hade*, a past among the presents, is probably a mistake for *habe subj. pres.* of indefinite comparison, Howsoever many vices he has on him, just so many fiends he there encounters: *fele* has dropped out after *swa* 133.

135. In Specimens [*habbeþ*] is inserted after *hi*, with the translation, 'and they shall have for their reward the home that long shall last.' The text given means, they shall be thrust from his sight and into their reward which must last long for them. For *hin*=*in*, comp. 13/23, and for *abroden into*, 13/27. But the original may have had, ȝ *higien* him to hire *lēan* *þe lange sceal gelæstan*.

136. *a þe mucele deie*: comp. 'on þam miclan dæge,' Christ 1049, and often; 'in iudicium magni diei,' S. Jude, 6. See Deering, W., The Anglo-Saxon Poets on the Judgment Day, 8.

138. *niȝen anglene had*: 'Novem esse distinctiones, vel ordines ange-

lorum sacrae scripturae testantur : id est, Angelos, Archangelos, Thronos, Dominationes, Virtutes, Principatus, Potestates, Cherubim et Seraphim,' Isidore, vi. 137.

141. *per midenarde . . . werpeð abec.* The article is *s. d. fem.*, the noun *s. d. masc.* The phrase might mean, with all those who for his love turn backwards to the world, but not, 'put aside the world,' Morris. It seems to be without parallel : such expressions as, 'projecerunt legem tuam post terga sua,' ii Esdras ix. 26, suggest the *acc.* *þes midenard* here.

142-146. The ultimate source is Ephraem Syrus, 'Quomodo sustinebimus, Fratres, quum videbimus igneum fluvium . . . comburentem omnem terram et quae in ea sunt opera ? Tunc, dilecti, ab illo igne flumina deficient et fontes evanescent, stellae cadent, sol extinguetur, luna abibit, coelum plicabitur ut volumen, sicut scriptum est . . . Quomodo sustinebimus tunc, Christo dilecti, quum videbimus terribilem thronum praeparatum et signum crucis apparens, in quo affixus est Christus voluntarie pro nobis,' ed. Lamy, ii. 192. Comp. with the present passage BH 91.

144. With *aþestreð* comp. 123/230.

145. *to gað*, should ordinarily mean, parts in sunder, but in view of *plicabitur* in the quotation above ('et complicabuntur sicut liber caeli,' Isaiah xxxiv. 4), it may mean here, is rolled up. Comp. ' & on þæm dæge heofon biþ befealden swa swa boc,' BH 91/25. *si hali rode tacne* usually means, the sign of the cross, 130/65 ; BH 237/21 ; AR 106/9 ; here and OEH i. 121/9 it is the cross itself as a sign. Comp. 'et tunc parebit signum Filii hominis in caelo,' S. Matt. xxiv. 30, 'and seo hea rôd | Ryht aræred rices to beacne,' Christ 1063. See also Deering, 42.

147. *cwaciað* : comp. 34/94 ; 'oðe dom of Domesdai, þer þe engles schulen cwakien,' AR 116/19. *senfulle* : comp. 'þer þe crysmehild for sunnes sore schal drede,' OEM 90/11. The passage bears considerable resemblance to 'hinc erunt accusantia peccata, inde terrens justitia : subtus patens horridum chaos inferni, desuper iratus iudex : intus urens conscientia, foris ardens mundus. Justus vix salvabitur ; peccator sic deprehensus in quam partem se premet ?' S. Anselmi Op. 208.

148. *bechece* is translated in Specimens, 'gainsay' and connected with *eigan*, which is difficult both as to form and sense : probably it is written for *beceche*, deceive. *beswice*, get the better of.

151. *beswapen*, clothed : 'et induit maledictionem sicut vestimentum,' Ps. cviii. 18 ; 'Qui oderunt te, induentur confusione,' Job viii. 22.

152. *an himselfe*, concerning himself : comp. 'Eft ne mot nan mann . . . secgan on hine sylfne,' Ælf. Lives, i. 274/177.

153. *ecenesse* is strangely said of man's earthly existence. Perhaps *recesnesse*.

158. *esten*, dainties: comp. 50/359; metaphorically, it means delight, at 159. *Delicie* &c.: Prov. viii. 31; *sunt* is not in the Vulgate.

160. *litl her*, a little time ago.

161. *Ego* &c.: S. John vi. 51; in Vulgate, *descendi*.

162. *astah*: OE. *astigan* is a neutral word the direction of which is indicated by an adverb. When alone, it is generally used of rising; but comp. 'Ah crist . . . asteh of heuene riche,' OEH i. 17/25; 'he (Christ) asteh to þisse liue,' id. 19/7.

164. *alswa se*, not, 'as he also,' Morris, but, just as, even as, 17/173: so *alswa alse*, 17/169; *alse*, 13/42, *alswa*, 17/170=*as*.

165. *ȝe*: 'cadens in terram mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet,' S. John xii. 24. *was ȝesawen*, at the Annunciation. The fanciful comparison is common in mediaeval writers: comp. 'Elegit autem sibi quasi granum tritici Deus corpus de Spiritu sancto in utero virginali conceptum . . . in cruce illa [grana] moluit, in resurrectione cribravit,' Petri Cellensis Sermones (Migne, P. L. ccii), 808.

167. *com*, sprang up; a common use in mod. dialects. *þ cweð us of breade* is translated in Specimens, 'which speaketh to us by bread.' It means, of course, that is called house of bread: comp. 'Bethleem is gereht "Hlaf-hús," and on hire wæs Crist, se soða hlaf, acenned, þe be him sylfum cwæð, "Ic eom se lifica hláf,"' Ælf. Hom. Cath. i. 34/14; 'In coelis erat panis angelorum, set in bethleem factus est panis hominum. Merito igitur locus iste domus dicebatur panis, unde angelorum et hominum carnaliter fuerat oriundus panis,' H. de Losinga, ii. 12; Orm. 121/3528-35.

170. *melstanent*: 'Pastor farinam moluit in cruce tanquam in molen-dino,' P. Cellensis, 807. *berient*: the tomb as the oven is original. Comp. 'Iste est ille, qui seipsum coxit in clibano passionis,' Bede, vii. 369 (Cologne ed.); 'Et sicut panis igne coquitur, ita Christus in camino passionis assatur,' Elucidarium Honorii Augustodun., 1129; Adam. Praemonstr. 178 (Migne, P. L. cxcviii); Petrus Blesensis, iv. 33.

173. *Ego sum* &c.: S. John xv. 1.

VI. THE PROVERBS OF ALFRED

Manuscript. Jesus College, Oxford, E 29, formerly Arch. i. 29 (J). It consists of two distinct MSS. bound in one; the second begins at f. 217 r. (new foliation) and was written not long after 1276 (Anglia xxx, 222). Its contents are best described in the Owl and the Nightingale, ed. J. E.

Wells, Boston, 1907, at pp. ix-xiii. Our piece is written continuously as prose, each stanza forming a paragraph, but iv and v are in one without l. 54, which is here supplied, while l. 43 is written at the end of the preceding paragraph and similarly the lines beginning viii-xvii, xix-xxiii. The scribe was evidently struggling with an original which he could not always read; see footnote to l. 105.

Another MS. is B. 14. 39, Trinity College, Cambridge (T): see *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, by M. R. James, vol. i. p. 438. It gives a much longer text very badly copied by a scribe little skilled in English.

A third copy in MS. Cotton Galba A. xix was destroyed in the fire at Dean's Yard in 1731. But Wanley had printed a specimen (W), corresponding to ll. 1-21 of this edition, in his *Catalogue* (published in 1705), p. 231; and Richard James (1592-1638) had copied, from a transcript furnished to Thomas Allen (1542-1633), Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, by Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571-1631), in what is now MS. James 6, Bodleian Library (RJ), p. 68, pieces corresponding to ll. 1-23; 27-49; 52, 53; 55-64; 78-85; 168, 9; 173, 4; 211-13; 204-206; 236, 7; 307, 8, and two fragments which correspond to the text in MS. T, ll. 516-32; 652, 3, but are not in MS. J. Allen's MSS. passed into the possession of Sir Kenelm Digby, who presented them to the Bodleian in 1638. But the transcript was not among them. It is a curious mistake to think that it ever formed part of MS. Digby 4, which has been caused by Langbaine's calling the copy of the *Poema Morale* in that MS., *Alfredi Regis Parabolae*. This is clear from MS. Rawlinson D 325, which consists of Hearne's notes to Spelman's *Life of Alfred*; it contains the note printed on p. 131 of the *Life*, which is immediately followed by a cancelled extract from the *Poema Morale* in the Digby version. Allen's transcript has disappeared.

The Cotton MS. was again used by Sir John Spelman (1594-1643) for his *Life of Alfred*. He says that 'by the Courtesy of Sr Thomas [Cotton, 1594-1662] I am provided of a Copy of them.' Apparently he was himself the copyist, for he speaks of the MS. as 'faulty and ill writ, in a mungrel Hand (as well as Language).' He gives what corresponds to ll. 1-64, and a paraphrase of six stanzas more. It is hard to say what Spelman actually wrote, for his own MS., which was probably University Coll. MS. 136. 8, has disappeared, and the three versions of it differ considerably. They are (1) Hearne's transcript (SH¹) of Spelman prepared for the printer, now MS. Rawlinson D 324 (p. 225); (2) the *Life of Alfred* in English (SH²), published in 1709; (3) the Latin trans-

lation (SL) published in 1678. A fragment of the latter was copied in MS. Stowe, 163 B. M. ff. 101-135; of the English poem it has ll. 1-19. The evidence which is to be got from the Spelman sources as to the text of MS. Galba is suspect. S signifies their agreement.

Editions: Wright, T., in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, i. 170 (J,T): Kemble, J. M., *Salomon and Saturn*. (T only). This book, without title-page, is dated in pencil in my copy, 1845, 6. It seems a first attempt for the following: Kemble, J. M., *The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus*. Ælfric Society, London, 1848, p. 225. Morris, R., *An Old English Miscellany*, 1872 (J; and T from Wright and Kemble), p. 53: * Skeat, W. W., *The Proverbs of Alfred*, Oxford, 1907 (J,T); * Borgström, E., *The Proverbs of Alfred*, Lund, 1908 (J,T).

Literature: Wülker, R., *Ueber die neuangelsächsischen Sprüche des Königs Ælfred*. Paul-Braune, *Beiträge*, i. 240: Gropp, E., *On the Language of the Proverbs of Alfred*, Halle, 1879: Zupitza, J., *Anglia*, iii. 570; Holthausen, F., *Archiv*, lxxxviii. 370-2 (emendations). Ekwall, E., *Anglia*, Beiblatt, xxi. 76-8. Skeat, W. W., *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1895-8, p. 399. For Proverbs: Förster, M., in *ES* xxxi. 1-20: Kellner, L., *Alteng. Spruchweisheit*, Wien, 1897: Kneuer, K., *Die Sprichwörter Hendyngs*. Leipz. Dissert. 1901: Skeat, W. W., *Early English Proverbs*, Oxford, 1910; Tobler, A., *Li Proverbe au Vilain*, Leipzig, 1895: Catonis *Disticha*, in Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, iii. 205-42: Senecae *Monita*, ed. Woelfflin: *Publili Syri Sententiae*, ed. Woelfflin, Lipsiae, 1869: Alanus de Insulis, ed. C. de Visch, *Antwerpiae*, 1654: Arnulf, *Deliciae Cleri*, *Romanische Forschungen*, ii. 211: Columbani *Monostichon*, *Poetae Lat. Aevi Carolini*, i. 275: *Fecunda Ratis*, ed. Voigt, Halle, 1889: *Florilegium Gottingense*, *Rom. Forsch.* iii. 281, 461: *Florilegium S. Omer*, id. vi. 557: *Florilegium Vindobonense*, Müllenhoff u. Scherer, *Denkmäler*, xxvii: Otloh, *Beda*, i. 1080: *Proverbia Heinrici*, *MSD*: *Proverbia Rustici*, *Rom. Forsch.* iii. 633: *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*, ed. Croke, Oxford, 1830: Wipo, ed. Pertz., *Hannoverae*, 1853.

Phonology: Oral *a* is *a*; *a* before nasals and lengthening groups, *o*, but can 231, manyes, 295, fremannes, 299: *me*, *indef. pron.* < *man* is due to loss of stress: þanne, þane, þan, hwanne are usual, but þenne 72, 91, hwenne 254. *æ* is mostly *a*, as always in after, at, fader, hwat, war 16, but *e* in eþelyng 44, gedelyng 214, gled 209, glednesse 30, gres 81, heuedest 187, queþ 19, &c., þet 154 (once), þes 63 (once), wes 4 and always; Ealured 6 occurs beside Alured 12, &c. *e* and *o* before lengthening groups is *e*, but ny 124 < *ne*: imulten 276 represents *myltan*. *i* is *i*, often written *y*, mostly in conjunction with *n*, but wule 91, 254, 286 (beside wile 154, wille

142), nule 69, after *w*, nele 254, OE. nele. *o* is *o*, but *on* is weakened to *a* 112, 200; *ðone* is *þane* 247, 248, *þene* 114, 116, 198 (LWS. *ðane*, *ðæne*). *œ* is represented in seorewe 151, 233, serewe 156. *u* is *u*, but bycome 138, where *o* is associated with *m*. *y* is *u*: munye 25 is OE. *mynian*; vordrye 227, OE. *fyrþrian*, is a French spelling; king, kyng, dryhten with *y* for *i* are exceptions as usual; steorne 207 is corrupt.

ā is *o*; *a* remains in bihat 245, mayþenēs 130, madmes 133, 276. *æ*₁ is *e*: exceptions are vycles 276, euer uycles 54, which descend from *yle*, agoþ 146, ouergoþ 143, without umlaut: *nenne* 296 is *nænne*. *æ*₂ is also *e*, but þar 4 &c., always. *ē* is *e*, but doþ 81. *ī* is *i*, often written *y*, but me 140 (*mīn*) is due to loss of stress. *ō* is *o*, but reowe 96 (*rōwan*), a French spelling. *ū* is *u*: for it *w* is written in hw 11, 22, 42. *ȳ* is *u* in byhud 163, cuþe 254, cuþeþ 170, lutel 215, 277, 312, lupre 257, but litel 281; þȳ has *i* in forþi 304, *e* in þe 82.

ea before *r* + cons. is *e* in erewe 156, *a* in arewe 152, þarf 108, 244; before length. groups, *e* in bern 311; its *i*-umlaut is seen in churreþ 53 (*cierran*), and, before length. group, yeorde 328 (*gierd*): *ea* before *l* + cons. is *a*, as al 105, &c.; before length. groups, *e* in weldan 130 &c., awelde 320, *o* in cold 237, holde 42, 102, 280, 304, &c., vpholde 113; its *i*-umlaut is seen in ealde 319, 330, elde 68, 71, 72 (*ieldo*), ildre 125 (*ieldran*). *eo* before *r* + cons. is *eo* in heorte 163, 166, smeorte 164, but *e* in werk 15, werke 16; before length. groups, *eo* in cheorl 58, eorl 4, eorþe 81, &c., yeorne 66, 69, leorne 170 &c., but furþ 113; its *i*-umlaut is shown in durlyng 7, hurde 6, vrre 136. The *wur* group has invariably *u*. *eo* before *l* + cons. is *eo* in seolf 308 &c., but sulue 284 (*sylfe*). *ea*, *u*-umlaut of *a*, is wanting in balewe 282, baleusypes 189. *eo*, *ā*-umlaut of *e*, is shown in feole 2, 249, and weole 78 (5), but fele 2, 132, 302 is without change; vale 300 is *feala* with shifted accent. *eo*, *u*- and *ā*-umlaut of *i*, is seen in heonne 115, heore 11, seoluer 121, 134, but is wanting in huntseuenti 79; *leofian* appears only as libben 135. *ea* after palatals is *a* in schal 35 (8), *gesc(e)apen* is *ischapen* 92; *ie* after *g* is *e* in foryetep 137, yeue 90: *eo* after *g* is *o* in yong 195, yonge 328, yongmon 87; youþe 105, youhþe 66, 69, 98 (*geogoð*) show combination with the following *g*: *eo* after *sc* is *o* in scolde 87 &c., scholden 11: *heom* is *heom* 9.

ēa is normally *a*, but reade 80, lyen (= *lēan*) 289; its *i*-umlaut is *e*, foryemep 137, ilef 132, 248, nexte 265, iherest 251, but *u* in ihure 10, ihurd 205. *ēo* is normally *eo*, but *e* in forleseþ 137, fremannes 299, *o* in wolde 278, loþ 234, the latter miswritten for leoþ. *r. w.* forteoþ; the rhyme istreon 125: lone (*lān*) is noteworthy: neode 141, 217, 265 is LWS.

nēod arising beside nīed by confusion with nēod, desire. īe in sciēne gesiēne gives schene 213, isene 75.

a + g is *aw*, but seye 152, seyþ 234, 246, sayþ, 305: æ + g is *ay*, but seyde 24, iseyd 236, ised 230: e + g is always *ey*: ayeyn 95 = ongegn: o + g always *ow*: u + g gives *mw*e 113 (LWS. muge), doweþes 118 (duguða).

ā + g is always *ow*: ā + h is *ah* in ahte 79: ā₁ + g occurs in feye 113; ā₁ + h in ayhte 125, 171, 274, but eyhte 145: ī + h in lyep 109 (lihþ): ō + g in inowe 133, plouh 61, brouhte 181: ū + g in buwe 201.

ea + h occurs in wexynde 112, 113 iauhteþ 171 (geeahtian), probably a miswriting of iachteþ in the scribe's exemplar (T has hachte for æht, nocht, &c.): eo + h in bryht 211, rihtwis 34, mixe 276 (meox), vouh 129 is feoh; in case it corresponds to fēo, dative; Skeat and Borgström read veoh. ēa + h gives þeih 88 (9), þey 79. ā + w is *ow* in mowe 53, 60, sowen 59, isowen 80, *au* in saule 23, *ou* in nouht 35 &c. and *ey* in iseye 186 (gesāwe): ēa + w is *ew* in fewe 301, þewes 195, 312, vnpewes 262, *eu* in glev 256, vnþev 198, *earw* in gleaw 30: ēo + w is *eorw* in greowe 81, reowe 330, treowe 202, *ew* in rewe 71: the *pron.* ēow is ou 21, eu 142, ēower 141, eure 20, 23.

The acute accent is used twenty-one times over long vowels, in ten cases over *e* representing æ: séé 95, 132 is furnished with two, as often in MS. O of Layamon, comp. 95/2. In úel 217 it serves to distinguish the vowel.

The consonants show little divergence from OE. use. For *w*, *u* is written in uexynde 112, for *u*, *w* in hw 22, 42: wur is *w*r in wrþsipes 22, wrþie 36, 286, wrþe 124: iwrche 83 is OE. gewyrcean, wrt 112 is *wyrt*. OE. *swa* is regularly so, but once swo 99, influenced by the initial *sw* of the following word. *l* is lost in vyches 276, eueruyches 54 and other pronominal words of similar formation: *n* is dropped in euelyche 49, owe 111, wyndrunke 184; uppe *prep.* 132 occurs beside vpen 123. *f* between vowels is commonly *v*, *u*, but hafst 133, oferhoweþ 323, wife 185 where it is probably voiced; initially it is largely maintained, but it is *v*, *u* in urouer 37, velde 112, vouh 129, forvare 147, 260, vere 148, vordrye 227, vayre 245, 6, avynde 291, vale 300, in all these cases before a vowel. *d* is *ɰ* in huntseuenti 79; schaltu 168 has *ɰ* for þ after a dental: þ is represented by *d* in vordrye 227; madmes 138 answers to LWS. mādm: *t* is omitted in lest 316. *c* + *s* is represented by *x* in arixlye 329. *hw* is generally preserved, but wile 149: in initial combinations with other consonants *h* is lost: swyhc 159 is written for swych, ischohte 303 for ischote. The prefix *ge* is regularly *i*: *k* is often used for *c*; *cw*

is *qu*; *ǣ* is *ch*, as *chireche* 57, *cheorl* 58, &c. *sc* is generally *sch*, but *scolde* 87, *wrpsipes* 22: *ġ* is regularly *y*.

In syllables of minor stress the vowels have mostly been levelled to *e*, as in *egleche*, *sadelbowe*, *sikerliche*, *vppen*, &c. An *e*, generally slurred in scansion, is inserted in *clerek*, *euere*, *seorewe*, *arewe*, *erewe*, *foleweþ*, *pouere*.

Accidence: Nouns of the strong declension *m.*, *neut.* have *s.g.* -es, *cristes* 283, *cunnes* 276; *d.* -e, *bure* 212, *balewe* 282, &c., but the termination is sometimes not written before a vowel, *god* 104, *word* 16, or omitted by the scribe, *lyf* 28, *lond* 12, *mod* 224, *þing* 188, or an accusative form is used, *cotlyf* 174, *fryþ* 58, *loþ* 234, through confusion of the prepositional constructions. The plural of masculines ends in -es, *n.* *þeynes* 1, *d.* *wrenches* 257, *a.* *acres* 79: neuter nouns with masc. terminations are *n.* *wordes* 24, *a.* *sedes* 59, *þinges* 21, *wyttes* 40, but the normal *þing*, *þl. a.* 143; *treowe* 202, *þl. n.* represents *trēowu*; *þinge* 250 is an isolated *þl. a.*; *worde* 300 is probably *þl. g.*, an OE. construction after *vale*; *worde* 301 is *þl. d.*: *englene þl. g.* 6, &c. (**Engla**), *iwriten þl. a.* 67 are weak forms. Of the strong feminines, *ayhte* 125, *blisse* 31, 282, 310, *lone* 126 (read *lon*), *neode* 141, *vnhelpe* 73, *youþe* 105 have added *e* in the *s.n.*, and *worlde* 278, *wunne* 279 in the *s.a.*: *worldes* 22, *s.g.* shows confusion of declensions: the *s.d.* ends regularly in -e, except *world* 122 (see note): *s.a.* in *e*. The general termination of the *þl.* is *e*, *n.* *eyhte* 145, *ayhte* 274, *leode* 20 &c., *wene* 74; *g.* *quene* 237 (*ewēna*), or *s.g.* (*ewēne*); *d.* *leode* 264, *honde* 259; *a.* *custe* 170, *saule* 23, but *d.* *blissen* 31, *deden* 47, *spechen* 249: *tales* 295, *þl. d.* *medes* 60, *þl. a.* (*mædwa*) show confusion of declensions: *doweþes* 118 appears to be meant for *s.g.*, but it answers to OE. *dugupa*; perhaps *doweþe* is to be read. Loss of final *n* has greatly simplified the weak declension, so *s.d.* *heorte* 163, *sadelbowe* 153, *weole* 82, 103, *ivere* 144, *vere* 148, *wille* 35; *s.a.* *tunge* 190, *tyme* 114, *weole* 91, 100, *wille* 185 &c., but *wyllen* 283: *dwales* 296 is a strong *þl. a.* The minor declensions are represented by *mon s.n.* 17, *monnes s.g.* 54, *fre-mannes* 299, *mon s.d.* 159, *wymmon s.a.* 204, *monne þl. g.* 32, *þl. d.* 253, 269; *boke s.d.* 39; *fader s.n.* 33, *s.g.* 212, *moder s.d.* 203; *freond s.a.* 83, 245, *þl. v.* 25, *þl. a.* 267.

Remnants of the strong declension of adjectives are *longes s.g. neut.* 109, *reade s.d. n.* 80 (*rēadum*), *yonge* 328 (*geongum*), *godne s.a. m.* 45, *vuelne* 231, *swikelne* 252; *wenliche s.n. m.* 68, *godlyche* 204 have *e*, contrary to OE. usage, but *vnlede s. n. m.* 238, is OE. *unlæde*. Weak forms are *wise s. n. m.* 287, *betere s. n. neut.* 325, 327, *wysuste s. n. m.* 17; for *mildest s. n. m.* 32 *mildeste* should be read. OE. *āna* is one 29, 41,

118, *ān* is o 79, 278. The participial *āgen* gives *s. n. neut. owe* 149, *d. f. owe* 54, *a. m. owene* 318, *a. neut. owe* 128. With exception of the above, the adjective is not inflected in the singular. The plural in all cases ends in *e*. Adjectives used as nouns are *arewe s. d.* 152, *erewe s. n.* 156, *ayre s. d.* 172, *feye s. g.* 113, *frakele s. a.* 172, *god[e] s. d.* 225, *god s. a.* 90, *ifon pl. n.* 129, *ivo pl. d.* 186, *ildre pl. g.* 125, *loþe s. a.* 247, *more s. a.* 162, *pouere s. d.*, *riche s. d.* 268, *s. a.* 50, *vuele s. d.* 90.

The personal pronouns are *ich*, *we*, *us*, *þu*, *þe*, *ye*, *ou* 21, *eu* 142: *s. n.* *he m.* 9, *heo f.* 169 &c.; *d.* *him m.* 35, 71, 88, 330, *n.* 312, 316; *a.* *hine m.* 36 &c., *hyne* 144 &c., *hi f.* 187, 192, 242, *hit n.* 118, *it* 96; *pl. n.* *hi*, *heo* 76; *d.* *heom* 9; *a.* *hi* 80, 170. Reflexives are *him seolue* 260, *hymseolue* 137; definitives, *heo seolf* 308, *himseolf* 41, *seoluen* 38: possessives, *mi*, *me* 140, *myne pl.* 25, 26; *þi s. n. m.* 272, *þin s. n. f.* 166, *þire s. d. f.* 163, *þin s. a. neut.* 323, *þi* 168, in all other cases *þine*, *þyne*; *hire*, *hyre*, *once heore* 11; *vre*; *eure*, *ower* 141. The definite article is *s. n. þe m.* 4 &c., *f.* 141; *þes g. m.* 63, *þas* 113; *þan d. m.* 55, 152, *þare f.* 5, 217, *þe* 216 (read *þare*); *þane a. m.* 247, 248, *þene* 114, 116, 198, *þe f.* 95 &c., *þe n.* 220, 234, *þat* 46, 56; *pl. þe* in all cases; for *þan adv.* 240. The compound demonstrative is *þis s. n. f.* 63; *d.* 122: the relatives, *þe*, *þat*, *once þet* 154, *hwat* 181: interrogative, *hwat* 84: indefinites, *opre pl. d.* 242; *non n.* 38, *no* 112, *nones g.* 299, *none d.* 169, *a. f.* 280, *non, a. neut.* 308, *nenne pl. a.* 296; *eny s. d. neut.* 225: *nouht n.* 35, *nouhte d.* 275: *me* 245, 247; *fewe pl. d.* 301: *fele*, *feole* 2, 249, *vale* 300: *vyches s. g. neut.* 276, *echere, s. d. f.* 161, *eueruyches s. g. m.* 54: *hwych s. a. neut.* 52: *swuch* 53, *swyhc* 159: *al s. n. neut.* 105, *alle d. f.* 29, 30, *a. m.* 185, *al a. f.* 278, 279, *a. neut.* 89 &c., *alre pl. g.* 62, 110, in other cases of the *pl. alle*; *mid alle* 128.

Two-thirds of the infinitives end in *e*, *ie*, *ye*, *y*, *lok*ie 41, *wrþ*ie, 36, 286; *wyssye* 21, *arixlye* 329, *leorny* 69, *weny* 244; *n* is retained mostly before vowels and at the end of lines and half-lines, but *leten* and *forleten* occur six times against *lete* once. A dative infinitive with inflection is *to fone* 55, others without inflection are *leden* 46, *mowen* 60, *reowe* 93, *sowen* 59, *swynke* 96, *for to do* 229, *for to werie* 56, *for to vordrye* 227. Presents are *s. 1.* *holde* 304, *munye* 25; *2.* *hauest* 151, *hafst* 133, *lest* 316 (*lātest*); *3.* *leorneþ* 66, *seyþ* 234 &c., *foþ* 289, *wurþ* 209, *iwinþ* 100 (read *iwinneþ*), *let* 204, 329, *bihat* 245: *pl. 1.* *wurcheþ* 283; *3.* *ibureþ* 45, *forteop* 235: *subjunctive s. 3.* *fare* 64, *lykie* 88, *lyke* 155, *loke* 64; *pl. 1.* *bipenche* 284; *2.* *adrede* 27, *luuyen*, *lykyen* 28: *imperative s. 2.* *seye* 152, *leorne* 170, *ilef* 132, 248, *ryd* 153, *let* 165, *wurþ* 184, *but wrþe* 124; *pl. 2.* *lusteþ* 140. Past of Strong Verbs: *s. 3.* *la. cwep* 19 &c.; *1c.* *bigon* 9, *pl. la. sete* 1;

subj. s. 2. Ia. iseye 186; 3. Ib. bycome 138; V. greowe 81, wolde 278. Participles present: I c. singinde 153; V. uexynde 112, 313; past: I b. iboren 138, 328, vnborne 327; I c. forswunke 200, aswunde 76; II. biswike 76, idryue 61; III. idrowe 105, iscohte 303; IV. ischapen 92; V. isowen 80; VI. bitowe 106. Past of Weak Verbs: s. 2. heuedest 187; 3. brouhte 181, hadde 80, luuede 15, seyde 24, wiste 181. Participles present: Iyuyinde 188, werende 316; past: ihurd 205, ilered 2, 39, iseyd 236, ised 230, iwrepped 187, 222. Minor Groups: wot *pr. s.* 118, 156, not 114; ahte *pt. s. subj.* 79; on *pr. s.* 160, 162; con *pr. s.* 154, 302, kunne *pr. s. subj.* 40, cunne 41; schal *pr. s.* 35 &c., schulle I *pr. pl.* 127, schulen 276, schulle *pr. pl.* 49 &c., schule *pr. s. subj.* 42, I *pr. pl. subj.* 119, scolde *pt. s.* 87 &c., scholden *pt. pl.* 11; myht 2 *pr. s.* 159, 263, may *pr. s.* 38 &c., mawe I *pr. pl.* 286, 2 *pr. pl.* 10, mvwe *pr. s. subj.* 113, myhte *pt. s.* 199 &c., 2 *pt. pl.* 22; mote *pr. s. subj.* 149; beon *inf.* 68, nys *pr. s.* 112, 125, biþ *pr. s.* 322, beoþ *pr. pl.* 74, 76, beo *pr. s. subj.* 35 &c., *pr. pl. subj.* 202, wes *pt. s.* 4, were *pt. pl.* 24, *pt. s. subj.* 200, 325, nere 82; wille I *pr. s.* 142, wile *pr. s.* 154, wule 91 &c., nele 254, nule 69, wolde *pt. s.* 21, 2 *pt. pl.* 20, *pt. s. subj.* 191; do *inf.* 197, for to do *dat. inf.* 229, deþ *pr. s.* 288, 321, doþ 81 (read deþ); agoþ *pr. s.* 146, ouergoþ 143, ago *pr. s. subj.* 145.

Noteworthy adverbs are frakele 246, ifurn 236 (*gefyrn*), lihte 198, muclele 162, vuele 171, 176, vayre 245, 246: **oft** is always ofte.

Dialect: Southern, free from South-Eastern influence. The wavering in the representation of *a* before nasals points to the Middle South, but ihure 10, ihurd 205 are South-Western. But this representation of *ie*, as well as *lyen* (= *lēan*), is found in MS. e of the Poema Morale, which is generally taken as of the Middle South. The forms *vyches*, *eueruyches* occur elsewhere in MS. J, and are probably due to the scribe.

Metre: The system is that of Layamon and the Bestiary; the Worcester Fragment B shows an earlier stage of its development. It is a mixture of the national alliterative verse loosely constructed and rhyming couplets. The latter are bound together by perfect, imperfect, even inflectional rhymes, and assonances. The halves of the couplets as they appear in MS. J are of varying lengths, two measures as 73, 216, more frequently two and a half 7, 44 &c., three 51 &c., three and a half 8 &c. Three-syllable measures are common, as, 'hé wes þe | wýsuste | mōn,' 17, 'his sé | des to sów | èn,' 59, 'his mé | des to mōw | èn' 60. The alliterative combinations present every possible variety, 2 + 2, as 16; the normal 2 + 1, as 67; 1 + 2, as 142; 1 + 1, as 23 and often. The couplet has sometimes the added ornament of alliteration, as 46, 47.

Where a line has neither alliteration nor rhyme, it may be assumed that the formless text is corrupt, as at 26, 68 &c.

There is then little to be gained by a metrical analysis of the poem in its present condition. It had originally a quite definite and regular structure, but this has been spoiled by copyists with little feeling for the structure of the verse and possessed by a strong desire to renovate the antique. It is highly probable that the last of them, the writer of MS. J, had a large hand in this alteration, for the copy of the Poema Morale in the same MS. has undergone a drastic revision which sets it apart among the versions of that poem, and the version of the Owl and Nightingale has suffered, though not to the same extent. On the other hand MS. T was copied by a man who was incapable of remodelling it; though a ruin, it often preserves in details the original.

The dilapidations wrought by the copyists may be classed as follow:

- i. Archaic and uncommon words are rejected: for þeynes 1, read sweynes; comp. L 28359, O 3297, 14953 for this word as meaning the immediate dependants of the king; the line then divides after 'sete': l. 13, see note: l. 24 for seyde þe, read wordede; comp. 'þe king wordede þus,' L 13052: l. 26 with the help of T may be restored, arme ȝ edie leode · of lifis wisdom: l. 38, see note: l. 56, adopting 'here' from T, read þat land for to werie | wiþ hunger and wiþ here (the Danish marauding host was forgotten): l. 62, for bihoue read biliue (bilif T, W): l. 68, for beon read wurþen: l. 71, 330 for rewe read suwe, smart; comp. 72/199: l. 82, see note and comp. L 30903: l. 87, for howyen, read ȝeomeren, be depressed: l. 88, 155, for lykie read wurþe: comp. 'Ne scyle nán wís monn gnornian to hwæm his wise weorþe,' Boeth. 40, 3 (B-T): l. 111, see note: l. 115, for turne read rume (rime T): l. 122, see note: l. 133, for inowe read muche (moch T): l. 136, for Monymen read moni gume: l. 137, for him seolue read his saule, with T: l. 138, for bycome read were, with T, restoring a couplet: l. 143 for þing, read weole (welþe T): half a line is lost after lere: read, And ich eu lere wille · [leoue freond myne] | wit and wisdom · þat alle weole ouergoþ.: ll. 202, 207, see notes: l. 278 for mon read wiht: l. 280 for holde read lenge, as in T.
- ii. Older forms and constructions are modernised: ll. 159, 160, see note: l. 169 read þat heo þe bringe, making a couplet: l. 187 read heuede: l. 216 read þare for þe: l. 305, read alle for al, comp. 185: other instances are noted in Accidence.
- iii. Words are rearranged mostly in a prose order, spoiling rhyme and rhythm: read l. 25, leoue freond myne: l. 41 himseólf one lokie: l. 55 bihoucþ þan knyhte, for the alliterating word in the first half of the line comes almost invariably last, the rare exceptions being mostly verbs: for l. 56 see above: read l. 80

and he isôwen hadde: l. 118 hit one wot dryhten: l. 130, vre maþmes welden | and vs byhinde leten: l. 142, lere wille: l. 156, if þu hauest serewe | and hit wot þe erewe: l. 203, þe kat museþ: l. 211, wiþute is bryht: ll. 232, 233, þe hire rede foleweþ | to seorewe heo bringeþ: l. 245, þat he habbe freond: ll. 321, 322, þanne hit sone deþ | þat þe unyqueme biþ. iv. Lines and parts of lines are transposed, most of these as affecting the interpretation have been dealt with in the notes, see 40, 90, 144, 186, 247; read ll. 72, 73, þenne cumeþ vnhelpe | and ek uniselpe: though the combination in the text is found elsewhere as 40/197, elde seems to be due to the preceding line; at l. 190 we should perhaps read wymmon is tungwod · ȝ haueþ wordes to wroþ. v. Padding is freely used: l. 4 omit þe: l. 7 read On Engelonde king: l. 9 read gon for bigon: omit l. 24, þe before king; l. 35, ne; l. 49, he; l. 66, his; l. 69, þat; l. 98, þe mon, and read þe on youhþe swo swinkeþ | and worldes weole her iwinneþ: l. 105, read on ȝouþe þat he haueþ idrowe: omit l. 132, þu; l. 149, owe; l. 152, þu; l. 188, hit; l. 189, scholde, forþ; l. 192, nowiht, and read ll. 191, 192 as an alliterative line: omit l. 205, ne, he; l. 209, blyþe and; l. 210, þe mon: l. 219-23, with the help of T we may restore, Ne ared þu nouht to swiþe | þe word of þine wyue. | If heo be i wreþþed · myd worde oþer dede; l. 231, for þat wymmon read heo; comp. T: l. 242 omit þe mon: l. 249, see note: l. 254, omit þe before wule: l. 262 omit þe, see note: l. 275, for schulle bicumen read bicumeþ: l. 280, for none read no: ll. 294, 296, omit þu: l. 324 omit þe. vi. The rhymes may, in some cases, have been spoiled by the substitution of alien dialectic forms; it is tempting to read ihere 10, iherd 205, but the *u* forms do not appear to belong to the dialect of the scribe of J: at l. 102 helde, a patois form (Bülbring § 175 note), might be read: at l. 240 þon. The combinations brouhte: myhte, 181, 182; ayhte: nouhte, 274, 275 are remarkable.

Many intractable lines remain, such as 284, where perhaps bet has been lost at the end.

Elision and slurring are frequent; pronounce þeorl 4, lawelyche 47, eueþyche 49, eueruyches, owerē 54, &c.

Introduction: The ascription of the Proverbs to Alfred rests on no firmer ground than an affectionate remembrance of the great king as a sage and teacher of his people. The only part of the poem which could with even artistic fitness be attributed to him is ll. 19-64, the rest is mostly the cautious wisdom of the common people, varied by reflections in a higher strain on the favourite mediaeval theme of the shortness and uncertainty of life. Up to l. 64 the poem is connected; afterwards it is without apparent plan, though there is occasionally a

slender thread of union between the stanzas. The editors indeed see a new exordium and the beginning of a second section in stanza xiii, which appears to me to be a weak imitation of stanza vii. Perhaps a structural difference may be detected between the more general observations of the first part and the advice to an individual which begins with stanza xiv. Stanza xxi appears to have strayed from its natural place beside stanza vii.

The version of MS. J is not necessarily the more primitive because it is shorter than that of T. A poem of such loose structure readily lends itself to selection on the part of the copyist; and the scribe of MS. J was evidently a critic.

If the suggestions offered in the section on metre have any weight, a considerable time and several copies must have intervened between the original and the present form of the poem. The composition of that original should, I think, be placed somewhere about 1180 A.D.

1. **Seuorde**: siforde T; Sifforde W, RJ., which is identified by Spelman 126 with 'Shifford, six miles west from Oxford.' That it is 'remote from the use of the southern dialect' does not prevent it from being the place where Alfred discoursed. But Seaford, a seaport in Sussex, is more likely to have been associated in the popular mind and tradition with Alfred.

2. **Bisces**, &c.: comp. 'Forð iwenden eorles.' forð iwenden beornes. | forð iwenden bisces.' & þa boc-ilæred men.' forð iwenden þæines.' forð iwenden sweines | . . . at þan hustinge,' L 14620. With **bokilered** comp. 19/39, 4/20 note.

3. **egleche**, valiant: OE. *aglæca*, a fierce warrior. egloche S.

4. **Alurich**: An Ælfric thesaurarius witnesses a charter of King Alfred, A.D. 892, Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 209.

5. **of . . . wis**: comp. 212/533.

6. **hurde**: comp. 'Swa se æpela lareow sægde, þæt se cyning & se biscop sceoldan beón Cristenra folca hyrdas,' BH 45/24; 'folces hyrde,' Beowulf 610.

7. **Englene durlyng**: so, 'com Alfred þe king.' Englelondes deorling,' L 6316: he has also 'Bruttene, Orka[n]es, Denemarkes, Irisce monnen, utlažen deorling.' See KH 488 note.

9. **bigon**: gon T, gan W, S: set to work to teach.

13. and may be redundant, as often in Layamon, as 'Ic wille mine riche to-don.' & allen minen dohtren,' 2945 but **Alured**, though it is in all the copies, may be an error for **Ælder**: comp. '& þu seolf læuerd king.' leoden þu ært ælder,' L 16835, 17252, in the latter place, leader. T, W, S read a.

16. **wis . . . war** : comp. 129/27, 156/148, 186/324, 190/456; 'þe wes þe wiseste.' þe wes þe warreste,' L 2107; 'wisliche þauh ȝ warliche,' AR 138/7.

21. **wisliche**, wise, advisable : OE. **wislic** : Layamon has 'to iwislichen þinge,' 21052. T has, of wi[s]liche þinges.

28. **lykyen**, please : in this sense it governs a dative, which may be understood out of hine. But Mätzner translates, like.

29. **one**, alone : comp. 19/41, 22/118, 60/2.

30. **glednesse** : after the manner of l. 29, we expect gleawnesse, but comp. 'Of alkin gladnes es þar gleu,' CM 23359. T has ȝ he is gleu | ouer alle glade þinhes : S omits. Line 31 is probably a gloss upon l. 30.

34. **riche**, powerful : comp. 6/30, 133/33; 'hit ne gerist nanum ricum cynynge,' Ælf. Ljves i. 382/260.

35, 6. that there shall not be wanting anything he desires to him who is purposed to honour Him here in this world. For the construction of **wone**, see 52/368 : for the double negative comp. 'for he ne mihte beon wurðe.' na þing of his wille,' L 18704 : in the MS. *wc* the scribe mistook þ for w. T has apparently þo, not wo : Skeat reads [hwo] : that relative is not found in J.

37. For stanza iii generally comp. 'Decet regem discere legem. | Audiatur rex quod praecipit lex. | Legem servare hoc est regnare. | Notitia litterarum lux est animarum,' Wipo 1-4. An echo of this stanza is evident in, 'The ferste seide, "I understonde | Ne may no king wel ben in londe, | Under God Almihte, | But he cunne himself rede, | Hou he shal in londe lede | Everi man wid rihte,"' Wright, Pol. Songs, 254/7 (date 1311 A.D.).

38. **may** has possibly its independent force, is strong, has power, comp. 29/12, but the line is evidently corrupt; **rightwis** is a reminiscence of l. 34, as is also *riche* in T. It is easy to supply beo after king, for TS have *ben*. But RJ, S are nearest the right reading with, Ne mai no riht cing ben under crist selve (selve SH₁, self SH₂, selfe SL). Read Ne may beon ryht king. **vnder criste**, a favourite expression in Layamon, as, 'þe beoð under criste.' cnihten alre kennest | and ich æm rihchest alre kinge.' vnder gode seolue,' L 27230, 27976, 28056.

40. It is obvious to substitute for **wyttes**, *wrytes*, or better *iwriten*, as at 20/67, 70, after **writes** in T, but 'his writings,' i.e. manuscripts, seems suspicious, and if correct gives a feeble threefold repetition of the same idea; and further the relation between ll. 41 and 42 requires the explanation of **hw** as, 'so as to know how,' Skeat. A transposition of ll. 40, 41 with *welde* read for *kunne* (which seems to be due to the following line), will give a better sequence of ideas, obviate repetition, and restore the

alliteration. Comp. 'ælc bi his witte.' wisdom sæiden,' L 25627; 'he wes swiðe wis mon.' and witful on bocken,' id. 22097. For cunne RJ, S have icweme.

41. **lok**ie, consult, examine, refer to records for himself: comp. 'þat yow tels sent Ieremi, | If yee wald lok his propheci,' CM 9333.

46. **læden**, guide; usually with personal object.

49. **he**, resumes the subject **clerek** and **knyht**: a frequent construction in this poem, comp. 20/66-68, 21/98-105, 24/204, 5; similarly 24/209, 10 where the pronoun is explained by a noun. It is common in AR 'þe wreche peoddare more noise he makeð to 3eien his sope,' 66/17. Borgström takes **he** as referring to **eorl** and **epelyng**, l. 44, with **clerek** and **knyht** as object of **demen**, on the ground that clerks and knights did not exercise judicial power. The matter is not so simple. **Clerek** may include bishops, who sat in pre-Conquest shire-courts by the side of the Alderman, and lawyers generally. And **demen** is a word of wide meaning, comp. 'Ne wandige ná se mæsse-preost no for rices mannes ege, ne for féo, ne for nanes mannes lufon, þ he him symle rihte deme, gif he wille sylf Godes domas gedégan,' BH 43/9; 'Ne sceall nan godes þegn for sceattum riht deman,' Ælf. Lives i. 430/244; 'And he hæhte alle cnihtes.' **demen** rihte domes,' L 22115. Alfred meant that there should be no discrimination between rich and poor; discrimination between clerk and knight was not likely. **demen** riht is a phrase in which riht is a noun: comp. 'Se rihtwisa dema sceall deman æfre riht,' Ælf. Lives i. 430/239: sometimes, as in the quotation above, it means simply, to administer justice.

52, 3. Comp. 'Ech man sal eft mowen bi þan þe he nu soweð,' OEH ii. 159/15; i. 137/31, 131/24; all referring to 'Qui parce seminat, parce et metet,' 2 Cor. ix. 6: here the reference is to 'Quae enim seminaverit homo, haec et metet,' Galat. vi. 8: l. 54 means that the judgment passed on each man is of his own making: comp. 36/115.

55. **on to fone**, may mean, to take on himself; its ordinary use is, to begin, 143/85. Skeat translates, undertake, but in the place referred to in support, L 31415, the meaning is, proceed. T, RJ have cnouen, cnowen; S. mowen: the former has been explained, to study, to know how to. I think these readings are substitutes for something the scribes did not understand, such as, keneliche to kepen, or keneliche him kepen.

56. T has, of here ȝ of heregong, where *of* is remarkable: the simple dative in OE., *wið*, 48/321, 141/41, and later *from* are the usual constructions with *werien*, of the thing guarded against.

57. **gryp**: 'pax regia per manum data,' Liebermann, Ueber die Leges

Edwardi Confessoris, 28: here it means vaguely, protection, much as *frið* with which it is constantly associated; comp. 'þonne nam man grið ȝ frið wið hi,' AS. Chron. 1011; 'a þisse londe he heold grið.' a þisse londe he hulde frið,' L 9912; Orm. 116/3380; 116/133.

58. Comp. 'þe ælc cheorl eæt his sulche.' hæfde grið al swa þe king sulf,' L 4260.

59, 60. Comp. 'cornes heo seowen.' medewen heo meowen. | al heo tileden.' ase heo to þohten,' L 1941.

62. *bihoue*: comp. 91/108: 'to his awere bihoue,' L 4565. T has *bilif*.

63. *lawe*, rule of conduct, practice: at 176/15, *habit*. In spite of the consensus of the MSS., the reading of the original was probably *lare*.

64. Let the knight see that it thrive, i.e. be well kept.

65-71. Comp. 'Disce puer, dum tempus habes, euo puerili, | Ne te nil didicisse fleas etate senili,' Flor. Gott. 98: 'Qui vacat in iuventute turbatur in senectute,' Wipo 63; Cato 231/12; 'He þ in ȝouþe no vertu vsiþ, | In Age Alle honure hym refusiþ,' ES xli. 262/27. See Kneuer, p. 19.

69. *lorþeu*: see 1/19.

72. *elde* . . . *vnhelpe*: for this combination, see 40/197, where *unhelðe* rhymes with *uniselðe*.

75. *wrope*, *pl. adj.* agreeing with *wene*, to which latter *heo* and *hi*, variant forms of the *pl. n.*, refer. When age and ill-health come, then the expectations of the improvident man are in experience found to be utterly perverse: not only are they cheated, but they actually vanish, i.e., he is left without hope at all. There is a play on *wene* and *wenliche*, l. 68.

78. Comp. 'Melior est sapientia, quam secularis potentia | Plus unicus sensus quam multiplex census,' Wipo 7.

82. *furþer*. T has *wrþere*, more worthy, which is, no doubt, original, as it alliterates with *weole*. noht wurþ, RJ.

83. of *frumþe*, from the beginning, betimes: comp. 65/59; 'þah þu liuedest of adames frumðe,' OEH i. 33/31. RJ reads of *fremðe*, but T *fremede*, and Skeat adding [of] translates, out of a stranger. But the point is not the making friends early or out of strangers, but the having wisdom along with your gold. Stanza xiii. is a weak echo of vii. and l. 144 is the key to l. 83. Read *hine to fremde* for *him of frumþe*, with the meaning, Unless he make Wisdom his friend to his profit. See 15/110; 176/24 note.

87-92. Comp. 'ȝif þou be visite[d] with pouerte, | take it not to hevyle, | for he þ sende þe Aduersite, | may turne þe Aȝen to wele,' ES xli. 261/5: Li Proverbe au Vilain, no. 133.

87. **howyen**, be anxious, distressed : comp. 'Ne beo ge na hogiende ymb þa morgenlican neode,' S. Matt. vi. 34.

89. **welde** : comp. 4/41.

90. Comp. 'After vuele cumeð god.' wel is him þe hit habbe mot,' L 3608. A transposition here restores the alliteration in two verses.

92. Comp. 195/634, where the verb is omitted after wel, as is usual in such expressions; 'Wel him ðe is clene iprowen,' VV 95/30; 'Ah wel hire þ̅ luueð godd,' HM 27/35. For **þat**=for whom, see 46/292 note, and for **ischapen**, destined, comp. 'after ðan ðe hem iscapen is,' VV 105/4 : **hit** is, of course, good after evil, weal after woe.

94. Comp. 'Whoso roweth aȝein the flod, | Off sorwe he shal drinke ; | Also hit fareth bi the unsele, | A man shal have litel hele | Ther aȝein to swinke,' Pol. Songs, 254/20; 'werig sceal se wiþ winde roweþ,' Exeter Book, 345/12. For **strong**, difficult, tough, comp. 48/312, 76/18, 200/111; 'hu strong hit is to arisen of vuel wune,' AR 326/28 : 'þes ilke Mon is strong to sermonen' (difficult to preach to, a tough subject), OEH i. 81/14.

98. **mon** is a suspended *nom.*, the construction being changed at l. 105 : analogous to 19/48.

102. **idelnesse holde**, enjoy leisure. T has hednesse, OE. *ēadnes*, happiness, comfort. 'Honestior est qui senectutem ad otium rettulit, quam quem in otio invenit,' Monita 22/75.

106. **wel bitowe**, well employed, profitably experienced. Comp. 'alle þe ȝeres weren wel bi-toȝe,' L 19902; VV 13/2; ON 702; 'uuele bitohe,' 74/225.

108. See 26/244 note, and for the form of the expression, comp. 'Ah her, þu wenest ȝet | þ̅ tu wenen ne þ̅erf,' SK 1153.

110. **lyues** : read lyf is . . . luued : 'Qui enim vult vitam diligere,' &c. I S. Peter iii. 10.

111. **lyf his owe** : the order is strange, and **owe** is pointless, quite different from 22/128, 23/149, 27/277, where there is a contrast with one's possessions, &c. Possibly the original had *lifes leowe*, life's warmth, shelter, OE. *hlēow* : comp. 'herd leouwe,' AR 368/12, poor housing. The word was uncommon and likely to puzzle the copyist.

112. **wrt** : Comp. 'Herba nec antidotum poterit depellere loetum ; | Quod te liberet a fato, non nascitur horto,' Fecunda Ratis 132/725. Skeat quotes as a proverb, 'Cur moriatur homo, cui salvia crescit in horto?' It is from the Regimen Sanit. Salern. l. 177, and the next line is, 'Contra vim mortis non est medicamen in hortis.' **a wude** : comp. 181/181.

113. **þas feye furþ**, the life of the doomed man.

118. **doweþes louerd** : prob. the original had *duȝeðe*, *pl. gen.* : 'duguča

dryhten,' Christ, 781 = Dominus exercituum, Dominus virtutum. T has domis louird.

122. Skeat explains the MS. reading, givest away and controllest; an unnatural order: Borgström takes yefst = yhefst <OE. gehæbban, 'If thou hast and possessest.' Morris's conjecture, *yetst*, may mean, gettest, gainest. The passage is corrupt: T has '3if þu hauest welþe awold iwis 3erlde: ' in *pis world* is mere padding arising from *vpen eorþe*: the original may have been, Gif þu havest a wold | seoluer and gold: comp. 22/133, 4; 'Whil 3e habbeþ wyt at wolde,' Hendyng 299; 52/387 note.

125. *ildre istreon*: comp. 'þæt he of his yldrena gestreone hine sylfne fercian mote,' Ælf. Lives i. 524/597, 528/669; 'þæ castles aþele weore' of his eoldrene istreon,' L 18608.

126. *lone*: Skeat quotes 'divitiæ . . . donum Dei,' Eccles. v. 18.

127. *þar of*, from them: comp. 22/117: the expression is unusual.

128. 'Homo vitæ commodatus, non donatus est,' Syri Sent. 220.

129. *vouh*, for *veoh*: OE. *fēoh*. Comp. 3/13: 'ffrendles ys þe dede,' Hendyng 288.

130. *Mayþenes* for *maþmes*: see 102/134. *leten . . . byhinde*: Skeat explains as, forget us; but 4/14 suggests a more pointed meaning.

131. Comp. 'Cum fueris felix, quae sunt adversa caveto,' Cato 218/18; 'Tranquillis rebus semper diversa timeto,' id. 232/26. The first four lines are imitated in, 'The ferthe seide, that he is wod, That dwelleth to muchel in the flod, | For gold or for auhte; | For gold or silver, or any wele, | Hunger or thurst, hete or chele, | Al shal gon to nohte,' Pol. Songs 256/1, where the writer has evidently misunderstood l. 132.

132. *fele* as adverb is not common; Einkenel, Anglia, xxxiii. 531, quotes 'þonne moton we . . . fela for urum synnum þrowian,' Wulfstan 151/5, and the present passage: add Beowulf 1385; 'He bounden him so fele sore,' Havelok 2442. *see*, the flowing tide of success: comp. 'Swo floweð þis worlde þenne men michel tuderīð . . . ȝ beð michel blisse among mannen,' OEH ii. 177/16.

134. *gnyde* in the intransitive meaning, 'be rubbed away': elsewhere active. T has *wurþen*. Comp. 27/274-6.

135. *to duste . . . dryuen*: comp. 'makede . . . godes deore temple to driuen al to duste,' SJuliana 41/1; a less frequent intransitive use. *Dryhten*, &c.: comp. 'geong ealdian · god us ece biþ,' Exeter Book, ed. Thorpe, 333/22.

136. *godes vrre*: comp. 46/276.

137. *foryemeþ* &c.: comp. 122/167, 8; 'Forrletenn ȝ forrjemmdenn,' Orm. 259/7502.

138. **by come** : comp. 27/275 : in T, were.

142. **wit and wisdom** are often so coupled : 'Wyt and wysdom is god warysoun,' Hendyng 21 ; Kneuer, 20 ; 130/81 : with sing. masc. pronoun hyne, l. 144.

143. **ouergop**, surpasses in worth : comp. 'þeo luue . . . ouergeð ham alle uoure 7 passeð ham alle,' AR 394/1 ; an extension of the meaning of OE. *ofergān*, conquer, overcome, which is that of 125/270, 207/340 : at 29/45 it means, pass away, so 'deð þ̅ ouergeað,' SK 1883 ; 'ðæt hi geðencen hu hrædlice se eorðlica hlisa ofergeað,' Cura Past. 447/29.

144. **sitte** : comp. 26/270. The recurrence of *þe* — *vere* at l. 148 and the divergence of B which gives for the last half of this line, and hwo hem mide senden, preserving the alliteration, shows that something is wrong here. A rearrangement in the order 143, 147, 148, 144, reading syker he may sitte 7 þat him mide syndon, 145, 146, 149 gives a good sense.

151, 2. Comp. 'Tel þou neuer þy fo þat þy fot akeþ,' Hendyng 93 ; Kneuer, 29. **arewe**, apparently found only here, malicious person, enemy : OE. *earg*, *earh*.

153. **þe**, an ethical dative ; see 13/34 note.

154. The subject of wile is the clause *þet* — *con*, he who is not acquainted with your circumstances. With 155 comp. 21/88.

158. **teleþ**, derides, makes sport of.

159. **swych mon þat**, &c., such a man as wishes you very well, said ironically : *þat* is not conjunction, but relative pronoun, and the construction is parallel to, 'talem igitur te esse oportet qui primum te ab impiorum civium . . . societate seiungas,' Cic. Fam. x. 6. 3 ; just as so . . . *þat*, 24/184, 5 is matched by, 'Quis est tam lynceus qui in tantis tenebris nihil offendat?' id. ix. 2 ; and similarly 'nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris maerore non movear,' Cic. Cat. iv. 3. Where the expression is generic, the dependent verb should be subjunctive, as is the case with *segge*, and probably here the original had *monne* — *onne*. Comp. 'ic bidde . . . swælc monn seðe to minum ærfe foe,' Thorpe, Diplom. 471/16 ; 'Nes þo non so hardy · þat on me leyde honde,' OEM 43/209 ; 'þat na man ne wurðe swa wod · ne witte bi-dæled, | þat in his hirede breke grið,' L 10282 ; 'þat na mon on worlde : swa wod no iwurðe, | no swa ær witte gume · þat his grið bræke,' id. 22069, 787. With *on* comp. 'ne beo he no swa luðer mon · þat his freond him wel ne on,' L 22963 : Skeat's insertion of *hit* spoils the meaning. **Swyhc mon** = such a one : *swillc an* appears for the first time in Orm. 11595.

166. **bywite** : *þenkeþ* T.

169. Comp. 'Uxorem fuge ne ducas sub nomine dotis,' Cato 228/12: 'Monimon for londe wyueþ to shonde,' Hendyng 280; Kneuer, 57.

170. **custe**, qualities, virtuous or otherwise.

171. **vuele iauhteþ**, estimates falsely, makes a bad bargain.

172. of **fayre**, not, out of what is fair, but, in choosing a fair wife: of = in the form of, in the person of. For **frakele**, comp. 'he bið wið-uten feire ȝ frakel wið-innen,' OE*H* i. 25/27. 'Munditiam seruat sinceram rara uenustas,' Fec. Ratis 114/581.

175. **So**: Holthausen, Archiv lxxxviii. 370, suggests *wo*, which gives a common phrase, 'Wo is hym alyue,' OEM 183/221; 'wa is me on liue,' L 3422.

177. **vppen eorþe**, a favourite tag: see 28/315; KH 247 O.

179-82. These lines are repeated with small variation in Hendyng, 133-7, but the 'wyf' is 'jonge'; Kneuer, 53. Zupitza, Anglia, iii. 370, quotes an inscription in Low German from a room in the Lübeck Rathskeller, which is identical with the English proverb, and Holthausen, Archiv, lxxxviii. 371, contributes two more versions in the same dialect.

184. **so wod . . . þat . . . segge**, so mad as to say: see 23/159; and comp. 'Ne wurðe nan cniht swa wod: ne kempe swa wilde,' L 8593, ' & þa drihliche gumen ⁊ weoren win drunken,' id. 8125.

185. **wille**, all that is in thy mind: comp. 27/305, 23/166.

186. **þu**: T has *hue*, and Skeat alters here to *heo*, but the text may very well mean, if you ever found yourself. Perhaps the original had: For if þu hi myd worde · iwreþþed heuede | And heo iseye þe · bi vore þine ivo alle. Comp. 'confundet te in conspectu inimicorum,' Ecclus. xxv. 35.

188. **lete**, omit, refrain from: form and meaning from OE. *lætan*, but with construction, *þat*- clause with subj., of OE. *lettan*.

189. Omit **scholde**, a mere repetition from the preceding line. Comp. 'gyf þonne þissa þreora þinga ænig hwylcne man lette, þæt hine to čam fæstene ne ónhágje,' Wulfstan 285/3 (quoted in B.-T.). **forþ**, openly, freely: comp. 'čane sei ču forč mid seinte Petre: Tu es Christus,' VV 25/31. **baleusyþes**, cast up to you your misfortunes: comp. 2/27. But one expects, after l. 185, something like, will reveal all your secrets.

190. **wop**: T has *wod* and *wordwod* may mean word-mad; in that case the second half of the line is little more than repetition. But T has often *d* for *þ*, and so his reading may be the same in effect as that of J, which does not put *þ* for *d*. Now in Layamon the younger MS. writes *wop* for *wouh*, *woh* in the elder, 3327, 4333, where the sense requires the latter, and *word woh*, perverse of speech, would fit well here.

191. *wel wolde*, though she desired it ever so much, she cannot control it at all.

194. *ouerprute*, excessive pride : the noun apparently only here ; the adj. *ouerprut* is commoner. In T, *orgul prude*. Comp. 'Bruttes hafden muchel mode.' & *vnmete prute*,' L 19408.

196. After *þat*, *heo* has dropped out.

198. That vice she would readily give up, if she were often in a sweat exhausted with toil. Comp. 'moni swinc moni swæt'... *þolede ich on folde*,' L 2281, 7 ; 'he swonc i þon fehte.' *þat al he lauede asweote*,' id. 7488.

202. Read, *þat beon uulle treowe* : lit. though it is ill to bend what are full-grown trees, i.e. though full-grown trees are hard to bend. It is not necessary to alter *beo*, but *n* of *nule* probably belongs to it ; it is subjunctive in an object clause expressing a class of things. For *uulle* comp. 42/219 ; 'min fulla freond,' Thorpe, Diplom. 525/8 ; 'heo beoð ure fulle feond,' L 963 ; 'Ech god giue ȝ fule giue cumeð of heuene dunward,' OEH ii. 105/17 ; 'fulliche cristene mon,' OEH i. 73/5. 'Dum curuare potes, vel curuam tendere virgam, | Fac sit ut ad libitum plantula ducta tuum : | Cum vetus in magnum fuerit solidata vigorem | Non leviter flectes imperiale caput,' Alanus 435. It is difficult to alter a grown-up.

203. *after*, following the example of : comp. 'Prendere maternam bene discit cattula predam,' Prov. Heinrici 169 ; 'Muricipis proles cito discit prendere mures,' id. 109 : said of innate tendencies. The hindrances to the training of the young wife are that she is already grown up and has an inherited disposition.

204. *þe mon þat . . . he* : see 19/49. Comp. 'Femina quem superat, nunquam uiuit sine pena ; | Libertate caret, turpi constrictus habena,' Flor. Gott. 724.

205. *ihurd*, listened to, or perhaps, spoken of, as having any independence in what he says. Had the writer in mind, 'labia nostra a nobis sunt, quis noster Dominus est?' Ps. xi. 5.

207. *steorne* is strange in form (it should be *sturne* in this text), and does not suit the context, and the verbs *to-trayen*, *to-teonen* are apparently found nowhere else. Read, *turne to treye* and *to teone*, change his life to sorrow and affliction : in that case the two lines should be printed as one alliterative long line. The combination is common ; comp. Minot vi. 2 note, and 133/61. T has, *ac he sal him rere dreize*, but he shall provide trouble for himself.

210. *þe mon* resumes *he* of l. 209. *qued* occurs again as *quet* T 702, in the metaphorical sense of devil, evil man. Here Skeat translates,

aversion; Borgström, following Morris, contempt, scorn, without any support from other examples. The word is a coarse term of contempt for a 'poor creature,' based on the primitive sense of OE. *cwead*: it is easily paralleled in modern dialects.

212. *fader* is pointless: the reading of T, in *hire faire bure*, which is for, *faire in hire bure*, points to the right way. Read, So is mony burde · bryht on hyre bure: 'bright in bower' is a common tag in the romances; see Guy of Warwick 2674 with Zupitza's note.

213. *Schene vnder schete*: comp. 'swete in bedde,' Havelok 2927.

214. Comp. 'Ne sont pas tuit chevalier, qui a cheval montent,' Li Proverbe au Vilain, no. 201.

215. This line is to be rejected: it spoils the symmetry of the contrast, and is not original.

216. *glede*, 'beside the glowing coal,' Skeat; 'in mirth,' Borgström; *glede* being identified with OWScand. *gleði*, joy, with an allusion to boasting at the feast. The original word was probably *wede*, comp. 'in wlanke wede,' Eng. Met. Homilies (ed. Small), 42/2 = *mollibus vestimentis indutus*; 'Whyte þe wlonkest wedes he warp on hym-seluen,' Sir Gawayne, 2025; 'awlencð his lichame,' OEI² ii. 211/36. The contrast would then be between his gay clothes and his unserviceableness. T has *werþe*, for which Borgström reads *werwe*, steed; and Skeat *weiþe*, way: for the former might be quoted, 'Nið so wlonk vnder crist · ridynde on stede,' OEM 91/19. With 217, comp. 26/265.

221. *arede*; take as advice. 'Femina quod iurat, errat qui credere curat,' Prov. Hein. 64.

222. 'Coniugis iratae noli tu verba timere; | Nam lacrimis struit insidias, cum femina plorat,' Cato 229/20.

226. *lude* ȝ *stille*, under all circumstances: comp. 28/317, 188/377: 'don we hit wullet | lude and stille,' L 3665: Minot viii. 54 note.

228. 'Didicere flere feminae in mendacium,' Syrus 74/130; 'Muliebris lacrima condimentum est malitiae,' id. 87/343; Fecunda Ratis 39/163.

231. Not said by Solomon, but by Syrus, 'Malo in consilio feminae vincunt viros,' 86/324.

234. *loþ*, read *leoþ*; OE. *lēoþ*, song.

235. Skeat equates *scumes* with Icel. *skūmi*, twilight, and translates, 'like twilight-shadows (they) mislead (us),' which is fanciful. *Scumes* may be miswriting for *scunnes*, which would represent OE. *scēones*, *scȳness*, suggestion, temptation, as in 'deofol þonne þurh þa attor berendan næddran mid hire þære yfelan scēonesse . . . beswac þone ærestan wifmon,' BH 3/17. The sense would be, as temptation they mislead. But more

probably the place is corrupt, and the original may simply have had, as cwen us forteoþ, with an allusion to Eve's bad counsel.

237. Björkman, 14, thinks that this proverb was originally Scandinavian, and it adds point to understand **cold** in the meaning, disastrous, of the Icelandic version. Comp. 'Wommennes counseils been ful ofte colde,' Chaucer, C. T., B 4446. 'Mulier cum sola cogitat, male cogitat,' Syrus 87/335.

240, 241. Skeat's version, 'I do not say this because a good woman is not a good thing,' shows that he takes for þan þat together, which is contrary to the metrical stress on þan and gives no sufficient sense: for þan is, therefore, i.e. in spite of all the hard things I have said about women: hit is an anticipatory object, which is expanded in the object clause, þat . . . wymmōn. The scribe deleted *n* before *ys*, Skeat restores it; T also has *is*, for which Skeat substitutes [n]is, quoting, 'Hic ne sige nout byþan | þat moni ne ben gentile man,' T 665. I think that what the scribe wrote should be retained. It is clear that the relation between a negative principal clause and its dependent object clause was often in ME. very loose and illogical. Comp. 'For sco was traist and duted noght, | þat godds wil ne suld be wroght,' CM 12321; 'Ne doð ham no þing swo wo | . . | swo þ̅ hi niten, þ̅ here þine | ne sal habben ende,' Poema Morale, MS. D. 140 (see 46/290); 'ihc nas na wurdra.' þenne ich nes weldinde,' L 3466; also 100/104. 'Ðat ne forȝeit ȝu naure . þat ȝu godd ne heriȝe,' 93/149, means, 'That forget thou never that thou honour God; what is more natural than to leave out the negative, if the contrary meaning is required? Our text may be paraphrased, Whatever I have said about women in general, I do not say it with reference to the proposition that a good woman is a good thing. For the sentiment comp. 'Femina raro bona, sed que bona digna corona,' Prov. Hein. 65; 'Femina pauca bona est; si forte inveneris ulla, | De celo cecidit, tessella caractere miro,' Fecunda Ratis 153/919.

242. þe mon þe, for the man who. icouere, &c. win her from his rivals.

244. Repeated from 21/108.

245. Comp. 'Nulla seior pestis quam familiaris hostis. Nis non werse fo.' þene frakede fere,' OEH ii. 189/33; 'Gravior est inimicus, qui latet in pectore,' Syrus 79/200.

246. vayre . . . frakele: see 23/172 note.

247. Skeat explains þane lope, the hostile one, and leod, keep on one's side, so, by fair words. T reads So moȝ mai welpe lengest helden, which is easier of interpretation, but is just as inept. I think both scribes or their exemplars have altered as best they could a displaced line to fit

it into its new context. Its proper place is after the good advice of ll. 248-51 (comp. l. 263), and it may have originally run, So myght þu fayre lif · lenguste leden.

248. 'Nolito quaedam referenti credere saepe: | Exigua est tribuenda fides, qui multa locuntur,' Cato 224/20.

249 is a very lame verse; we might read, þat feole speken can.

251. With **singen**, comp. 'Noli homines blando nimium sermone probare: | Fistula dulce canit, uolucrum dum decipit auceps,' Cato 220/27.

252. **swikelne**, deceitful: comp. 'Ueond þet þuncheð freond is swike ouer alle swike,' AR 98/5; 'Habet suum venenum blanda oratio,' Syrus 80/214.

254. **cupe**, give warning.

256. Alfred would hardly have said that a man learns wisdom from proverbs and prudence from good luck. Read for **sawø**, sorewe (the scribe has overlooked the contraction for *re*), and for **hiselpe**, uniselpe, misfortune. Comp. 'In þes middeneardes iscole · selðen ȝ uniselðen,' OEH i. 243/7: 'Vitat maiora sapiens post dampna minora,' Prov. Hein. 240. Borgström reads his elde, where *his* is surely doubtful and þ interchanging with *d* without parallel.

258. The editors leave out **And**, which is not in T., but l. 257 is complete in itself; **And vnwurp**, and despicable, is a sort of afterthought: for the combination comp. 4/37; 'þat he biðe vnworð & lah' (loþ, MS. O), L 3464, and further for this meaning of **vnwurp**, 143/92; 'þe idele ȝelp us beo eure unworð,' OEH i. 107/8.

259. **hokede**, thievish: in thieves' slang, a hook is a pickpocket, his fingers are hooks. Comp. 'Sutoribus custodem addidit et ut eorum curvos unguis observaret . . rogavit,' *Disciplina Clericalis*, ed. Hilka u. Söderhjelm, 28/19; 'Arpiis similes armantur in ungue ferino,' *Fec. Ratis*, de Predonibus, 173/1154. **þat he bereþ** is rejected by Skeat as a 'gloss.' It is certainly feeble; perhaps we should read, þat he herzeþ, with which he plunders; the relative would be under the régime of the preceding þurh.

261. **From** — **wune**, (dis)accustom thyself from lying: a singular phrase.

262. **þe** may be the reflexive dat. as at 13/34, but it is more probably a mistake, due to **þe** in the previous line: its omission improves the metre.

263. on **peode**, a tag beloved of Layamon: with him it is always local; comp. 'he þohte to quellen' þe king on his þeoden,' 20056 (in his londe, MS. O); 'þa weoren Rom-leoden' bliðen oð heore þeoden,' id. 11144:

it corresponds to 'vpen eorþe,' 22/123, and differs from *in alle leode*, among all the people, Layamon's 'on folke,' 2218.

265. Comp. 'behoueð ðe ðat ðu bie well warr þ̅ tu luuiþe ðine nexte, ðat is, aurich mann ðe berð ðin anlicnesse,' VV 39/13: a translation of *proximus*, S. Luke x. 29. þe: comp. 22/141, 25/217: 'Au besoing voit on qui amis est', Li Proverbe au Vilain, no. 72.

266. Comp. 188/378; 'Vrom mulne ȝ from cheping, from smiðe ȝ from ancre huse, me tiðinge bringeð,' AR 88/26; 'At chireche and at chepyng | hwanne heo to-gadere come,' OEM 189/57; Bōddeker, AE. Dicht. 112/82.

270. *syttē*: comp. 22/144: rest in contentment; 'sit soft.'

271. Skeat takes *lond leas* as a mere scribal error for *londe* which T reads. I think it points to an original *londe ȝ se*: comp. 40/194; 'Mid mede man mai ouer water faren And mid weldede of giue: frend wuerche,' OEH ii. 41/20 (possibly a reminiscence of this place). For the proverb comp. 'Mieux vaut amis en voie, ke deniers en corroie. Melius valet amicus in via quam denarius in corrigia,' Hauréau, Notices et Extraits, ii. 283.

274-6. Comp. 22/133-5. *mixe*: T has *nocht*.

280. *holde*, *maintain*: 'vpholde,' 21/113.

285. Comp. 18/9-11.

288. Comp. generally 32/39-65; 29/20-24. Perhaps the allusion is to 'In timore Domini esto [tuum cor] tota die: Quia habebis spem in novissimo, et praestolatio tua non auferetur,' Prov. xxiii. 17, 18.

289. *lyen*: comp. 'þ̅ sind þa gecostan cempan þa þam cyninge þeowað | se næfre þa lean alegeð þam þe his lufan adreogeð,' Exeter Book, ed. Gollancz, 108/91. See 32/64 note.

293. *gabbe*, talk mockingly or derisively: the meaning of Fr. *gaber*, to talk boastingly, would suit well here, but it lacks support. *schotte* is difficult: the obvious sense is, to pay scot, to take part in convivial assemblies, but this does not go well with *gabbe*. Borgström thinks that it may be *schoute*, to shout, or possibly to scout, sneer, modified for the sake of the rhyme. If that principle may be admitted, *stroute*, to swagger (Havelok, 1779), would be preferable.

294. *chid*, wrangle, engage in a 'flyting,' or scolding match: 'Ne respondeas stulto iuxta stultitiam suam,' Prov. xxvi. 4. Whether *tales* be taken with the preceding or the following line, it is equally unsuitable, unless it may mean reproaches, charges, after OE. *talian*. It goes best with l. 296; *ne* should be omitted before *chid*. *dwales*, not 'fools' in the general sense, but erring ones; *dwall* in mod. dialects means to wander in mind, to talk incoherently. With *cunnes* comp. 81/80.

298. 'Rumores fuge, neu studeas novus auctor haberi,' Cato 218/12. With 299 comp. 'Pauca in convivio loquere', id. 217/51. 'Inter convivas fac sis sermone modestus,' Columbanus 92; 'Contra verbosos noli contendere verbis: | Sermo datur cunctis, animi sapientia paucis,' Cato 217/10.

302. **biluken**, enclose, comprehend: the brief utterances of the wise man are weighty.

303. See Hendyng 85 and Kneuer 28.

305. With **wille**, comp. 24/185.

307. Comp. Hendyng 144 and Kneuer 55; Förster's note, ES xxxi. 6; 'Osse caret lingua, secatur os tamen ipsa maligna,' Prov. Hein. 149; 'Mo sleað word þene sweord,' AR 74/1; 'plaga . . . linguae comminuet ossa,' Ecclus. xxviii. 21.

310. 'Exultat gaudio pater iusti,' Prov. xxiii. 24: 'Him stondes wel þat god child strenes,' Havelok 2983.

311. **ibideſt**, dost obtain: OE. **gebīdan**, to await, experience, attain to.

312. **mon þewes**: comp. 'hauest þu nu quene þeouwes inume,' L 30281. 'Curva cervicem eius in iuventute, et tunde latera eius dum infans, ne forte . . . erit tibi dolor animae,' Ecclus. xxx. 12. The 'child unpewed' is one of the 'Ten Abuses,' OEM 185/9.

314. The better things will ever go in the world. For **buuen eorpe**, see 23/177.

316. **werende**: Skeat reads *wexende*; if any alteration is made, *wuniende* would give a common OE. and ME. combination: as 'þæt he her in worulde wunian mote,' Christ 817; 'wuniende ȝ rixlende on worlde,' OEH 1. 25/17. But **weren** is equated in Stratmann-Bradley with Mid. Dutch, OHG. *weren*, to remain, with this place as the only instance.

317. **lude and stille**: see 25/226.

327. Comp. 'For betere were child ounboren þen ounbeten,' Hending, MS. O, Anglia iv. 191/4.

328. 'Qui parcit virge, sua pignora protinus odit,' Fec. Ratis 93/438; 'Quippe diu male cesus lamentabitur infans,' id. 65/289. **ſpareþ**, with dative.

329. **areche**, get at, control.

VII. MEMENTO MORI

Manuscript: As for no. vi. There are other copies in (C) MS. Cotton Caligula A ix., B.M., of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and (B) MS. Laud 471, Bodleian, of the end of the same century. In (A) MS.

Arundel 57, B.M. there is a fourteenth-century version of nine lines. CJ form a group, B belongs to another branch.

Editions: Of CJ; Morris, R. OEM, pp. 156-9 under the inappropriate title, *Long Life*: of B; Zupitza, J., *Anglia* i. p. 410: of B, corrected by CJ; Kluge, F., ME. *Lesebuch*, p. 56; of C; Wright, T., *Percy Society*, vol. xi. p. 63. Of A; Morris, R., *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, p. 129.

Literature: Zupitza, J., *Anglia* i. 410; Varnhagen, H., *Anglia* ii. 71; ii. 67.

Phonology: The position is the same as that of piece vi: words not in it are *blench* 4 (*blencan vb.*); *falwy* 6 (*fealwian*); *luteþ* 29 (*lūtian*); *sterk* 11 (*steare*); *steo* 38 (*stigan*, imitating in the *inf.* *flēon*, *wrēon*, *Bülbring*, *Ablaut* 88), *sunne* 10 (*synn*). MS. C does not differ materially from it: it has however *drinche* 8, *deapeþ* 8, *sterch* 11, *strench* 14, *tahte* 23, *fole* 33, *wormes* 34, *nowt* 50. MS. B is South-Eastern bordering on Kent; it has *rene* 3 (*rēn*), *senne* 10, *starc* 11, *sene* 13, *to yenes* 16, *Man let lust and senne stench* 19, *sede* 23, *stie* 38 and *st* for *ht* in *brigst* 13. The text is often faulty as if written down from memory, and l. 26 is missing, but the rhymes are correct: the original was doubtless in the South-Eastern dialect.

Accidence: *longe s.g. neut.* 1 (comp. *longes* 21/109); *heyust adv.* 38; *endi inf.* 39 (*endian*), last 2 *pr. s.* (*lædest*) 36 are the only forms which require notice.

Metre: The ten-line stanza of this poem is unique in ME. literature. It is an expansion of the common eight-line stanza: its rhyme formula is *abab | baab | bb*, two quatrains with contrasted rhymes and a two-line close in which the sentiment of the stanza culminates. In the last stanza the effect is spoiled by the absence of a break at the end of the eighth line.

As a rule the line contains four measures, but four out of five times the ninth line of the stanza has only three, so, *Món | er þu fál | lē of þi bēnch | 9*; *Ac dēþ | lúteþ | in his schó | 29*; *In dēþ | schal þi lýf | endí | 39*; *wúrcþeþ him | pýnē eu|er mó | 49*. Further, in the original form of the verse, as preserved by MS. B, the tenth line has only two measures, *þi sēnnē | aquēnch | 10*; *wel dó | wel þēnch | 20*; *hím to | fordó | 30* (Zupitza's correction of the MS. *do him for do*); *on wóp | þi glé | 40*; *ne dó | þu só | 50*. The rhythm is mostly trochaic, as *Món may | lónge | lyúes | wéne | 1*, but sometimes iambic, as *Nis nón | so stróng | ne stárk | ne ké|nē 11*; *her náú|estu blís|se dáy|es þré | 35*. Lines with three-syllable measures like 9 are 22, 26: with monosyllabic first foot are 19, 22, 31, 32.

Introduction: The comparative smoothness and finish of the verse points to a date considerably later than that of the Proverbs: perhaps about 1210 A.D. The piece seems to have been inspired by stanzas x and xxi of the earlier poem.

1. A man may look forward to a long life, but the trick often deceives him; an oft-quoted proverb, as at 21/108, 222/274; 'Mani man weneþ þat he wene ne þarf, longe to liven, and him lieþ þe wrench,' Hending MS. O, Anglia iv. 200. The second line occurs in another connection in AR, 'moni mon abit to schriuen him uort þe nede tippe. Auh ofte him lieð þe wrench,' 338/18. For the case of *liues* comp. 'Ðær sceolan þeofas . . . lifes ne wenan,' Christ 1608; with *wrench* . . . *blench* comp. 157/125; 'wrenceþ he 7 blenceþ · worn geþenceþ · hinder-hoca,' Exeter Book, ed. Thorpe, 315/18.

3. *turneþ*: went, BA.

4. *makeþ*: hit makeð, C; the subject is *weder*, *neut*: *turneþ* he, B; i. e. *reyne* (OE. *regn*, *m.*). Comp. 'Hope maketh fol man ofte blenkes,' Havelok 307; 'þenne þe kyng of þe kyth a counsail hym takes, | Wyth þe best of his burnes, a blench for to make,' Cleanness 1201, 2.

6. *falwy*: *falewi*, BC: comp. 133/39, 'faleweþ so doþ medewe gres,' OEM 93/16.

8. *deþes drench*: comp. 'þær Cristess mennisscnesse | Drannc dæþess drinnch o rodetreo,' Orm. 45/1373.

9. *bench* implies feasting: comp. 'Ne schaltu neuer sytten · on bolstre ne on benche | Ne neuer in none halle · þar me wyn schenche,' OEM 175/89; 'Ye þat weryeþ þat riche schrud · and sytteþ on eure benche,' id. 169/3; 'Ac þu sete on þine benche, underleid mid þine bolstre,' Worcester Frag. C, 26; L 9693.

10. With *aquenche*, comp. 'Her-of we owe þenche. | And vre sunnen aquenche. | Mid beden and myd almesse,' OEM 79/217.

12. B reads, þat may agein deapes wiþer clench, that has power against death's hostile grip: *wiper-clench* appears to be without parallel. In our text, Morris takes *ago* for *agon*; escape, but, as Zupitza points out, it is probably for *agon*=agein, which is also found as *age*, *aʒe*. Strattmann-Bradley translates *wiper-blench*, attack, quoting this place only: more probably it means sly, treacherous attack.

14. *ryueþ*, rakes: Icel. *rifja*, to rake hay into rows: 'Ryvyn, or rakyn,' Prompt. Parvul. ed. Mayhew, col. 386. on o *streng*: so B, but C in one *strench*, which would represent OE. *strenc*, a by-form of *streng*, recorded in *Funiculus, modicum funus*, rap *uel* *strenc*, Wright, Vocabularies 245/6, just as *drench*, *wrench* represent *drenc*, *wrenc*. If that be

the case here, then C agrees with BJ, save in the preposition *in*. For Death armed with a rake comp. 'Hwen he com to arudden | of deaðes rake oðre, | hwi deide he him seoluen?' SK 1137: Satan is often so represented, 'ƿer is sathanas þe qued · | redi wyþ his rake,' OEM 181/213; SM 11/11; SK, MS. C 917. Death sweeps in his victims with his rope; 'Ded has vs wit-sett vr strete, | · | All sal we rin into his rape,' CM 23727; 'Ded sal rug us til his rape,' CM 21920; 'Deþ shal take vs al in rape,' id. MS. T. The conception then is that of Death sweeping in all sorts and conditions with the same rope. It is just possible that the reading of C, stretch, is meant for strech, i.e. stretch, the word still used in Dorsetshire for 'the space taken in at one stretch of the rake,' EDD. v. 813. Streche is not common at this period, but comp. 42/231; 'on his modes streche,' OEHL i. 111/25, in the sweep, or compass, of his mind.

15. **fox**, *adj.*: comp. 187/351; 'fox of fyl' (*read* wil), Horst., S.A.L. 12/251; Orm. 230/6646: for **wrench**, comp. 'Else þe fox þe mid his wrenches walt oðer deor.' ȝ haueð his wille þerof,' OEHL ii. 195/7.

16. B has, ne mai him noman to yenes.

17. **þreting**, menace, or possibly upbraiding: B has weping. The nouns **þreting**, **bene**, **Mede**, &c., are subjects of may, l. 16.

18. **Mede**, bribery: B reads, ne listes ne leches drench.

21. Possibly a reference to the advice given at 27/288.

23. Do as He who bringeth thee to thy end taught thee and said. Comp. 27/282-286.

25. **mysdo**, misfare. B leaves out **þenne** and the whole of the following line, which means, But thou hast good reason to live in fear and trembling. 'A peyne joie avra un sul jur | Ke de sa fyn bien pensera,' MS. Lambeth 522, Archiv lxiii. 76/23.

27. **such**, such and such a man, indefinitely.

29. **lutēþ**, lurkeþ. Comp. 'Ja n'ert tant prus ne tant vaillanz, | Ne tant de richescs en avra, | Ke tuit nel perde a un launz: | Kar mort tapit enmi sun gaunt, | Kant meyns quide | Chescun,' Archiv lxiii. 76/33; 'within the hollow crown | That rounds the mortal temples of a king | Keeps Death his court,' Shakspeare, K. Richard II, iii. ii. 160. The reading of B, 'deþ him ledes on his sóó,' apparently means, death on his shoes (OE. **scōum**) directs his footsteps.

33. **fule fulpe**: comp. 134/94. 'Cum faex, cum limus, cum res vilissima simus, | Unde superbimus? Ad terram terra redimus,' Hauréau, Notices, vi. 124.

37. Comp. 'Quor deades strenge warp him dun,' GE 21/714.

38. Comp. 21/110; 'Quen þu best wenis to haf all, | Fra al þan

sal þou titest fall,' CM 21939; 'þenne þu wenest þ þu scalt libben alre best · þenne gest þu forð,' OE H i. 7/23; 'quant mielz quidet vivre | e estre a delivre, | la mort li cort sore,' Reimpredigt 32/16.

41. Comp. 'Wela · weolla · wella.' hu þu biswikest monine mon. | þenne he þe treoweðe alre best on.' þenne biswikes tu heom,' L 3411.

45, 6. Evidently a popular saying, so 'Mon let þi fol lust ouergo · and eft hit þe likeþ,' Poema Morale MS. J. 15 an interpolated line; 'auh let lust ouergon 7 hit te wule liken,' AR 118/26; 'Let lust ouergon 7 hit þe wule liken,' id. 238/27; Hendyng 53. For likeþ comp. 30/11, and for ouergo, pass by, 22/143.

VIII. POEMA MORALE

Manuscripts: i. Lambeth 487 (L), a small quarto, 177 × 135 mm., of 67 leaves, written towards the end of the twelfth century. Its contents are described in Wanley, p. 266, and printed in OE H i. pp. 2-189: nos. x, xi. of this book are also taken from it. The words printed in clarendon in these three pieces are written in red, not inserted afterwards by a rubricator but done at the same time as the rest of the text. The PM ends with *fordemet*, l. 270, in the middle of a page; the final t has a flourish for its cross stroke; the copyist had apparently no knowledge of any more.

ii. iii. Egerton 613, B.M., described in the List of Additions, 1843. Its contents are mostly in Norman French, but it has two copies of the PM: the second (e) furnishes here a complement to the Lambeth MS. as far as l. 370, with which it ends; the first (E) is used to complete the text. e was written in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, E is somewhat later; the former has accents, the latter none. In e every other line has a red initial, but the rubricator went wrong at ll. 308, 312. These copies are in different hands.

iv. Trinity College, Cambridge, B. 14. 52 (T), on vellum, 135 × 105 mm.; written early in the thirteenth century. Its contents are described in James, M. R., *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 1900, i. 459. A leaf is lost after f 8, and a new hand begins with f 9; the PM appears to be a distinct MS. (*Anglia*, iv. 408). The initials of each line are capitals and written apart from their words. A later hand has glossed *aihte* 42, *goodes*; *ore* 53, *favour*, *grace*; *lean* 64, *deserving*; *manke* 70, *Manca*, *Mancus*.

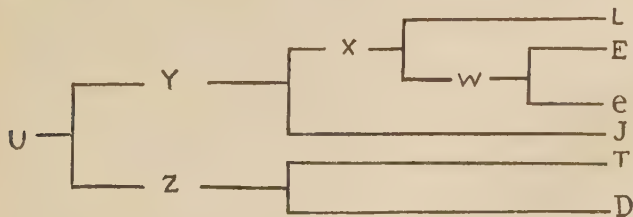
Other MSS. are v. Digby A 4, Bodleian, of the beginning of the thirteenth century; described in Macray, W. D., *Catalogue of the Digby MSS.*, Oxford, 1883. The PM is written in half lines and stanzas; it is in a hand found nowhere else in the MS., which was probably copied at Christ

Church, Canterbury (James, M. R., *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge, 1903; Förster, M., *Archiv* cxv. 167). Its dialect is Kentish. vi. Jesus College, Oxford, E 29 (J): see p. 285. vii. McClean MS. 123 (M), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 122 leaves on vellum, 262 × 167 mm.: about 1300: the Nuneaton Book, described by Miss Anna C. Paues, who discovered this copy of the poem, in *Anglia* xxx. 217-26, and in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Manuscripts* by M. R. James, Cambridge, 1912. Like Egerton 613 it has the *Bestiary of William the Norman* and the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in French. The dialect of PM is South-Eastern, bordering on Kent. It begins with two lines from *Sinners Beware* (OEM p. 72), and has four other lines not found in any other copy: on the other hand, it wants seventy lines found in T; it diverges from the other MSS. in the order of the lines, and in other respects gives the impression of having been written down from memory.

Facsimile: Of vi. Skeat, W. W., *Twelve Facsimiles*, Oxford, 1892; plate vi gives ll. 1-34.

Editions: Of L: OE H i. 159-75 with modern version. Kluge, F., ME. *Lesebuch*, 57-61. Of E: Furnivall, F. J., *Early English Poems*. Philological Society, 1862, 22-34, with readings of e and OE H i. 288-95, 175-83. Of e: Zupitza-Schipper, *Alt-und Mittelenglisches Übungsbuch*, Wien, 1907, 80-91, completed from E. Of T: OE H ii. 220-32 and *Specimens* 195-221. Of J: OEM 58-71 and *Specimens* 194-220. Of D: Zupitza, J., *Anglia* i. 6-32, part in *Hickes* i. 222. Of M: Paues, A. C., *Anglia* xxx. 227-37 (I read l. 29, hire; 63 þon; 65 nammore; 71 ouersicþ; 84 þurȝsicþ; 105 diaþe; 147 þar pine; 152 ysicþ; 191 ofspreng; 223 hi neure; 236 Mot; 268 wulle; 314 hī = him; 333 byseo = yseo).

A critical edition based on all the MSS. then known was issued by H. Lewin, Halle, 1881. He adopted Zupitza's filiation of the MSS. as expressed in the following table:



Miss Paues thinks that M is descended from V co-equal with U, thus

displacing the latter from its position of original : to me it seems to belong to the Z group, and to be most nearly related to D.

The MSS. thus fall into two groups, which are here adequately represented by the printed texts, for D is inferior and J much altered, indeed often rewritten. U, the original, was probably written about 1180 A.D.

Literature : Einkenel, E., *Anglia* iv. Anz. 88-93 ; Jordan, R., *ES* xlii. 38-42 (dialect of L) ; Krüger, A., *Sprache und Dialekt der ME. Homilien in der Handschrift B. 14. 52.* Trinity College, Cambridge, Erlangen, 1885 ; Paues, A. C., *Anglia* xxx. 217-37 ; Zupitza, J., *Anglia* i. 5-38 ; iii. 32, 33 ; iv. 406-10.

Analogues : Reimpredigt, ed. H. Suchier, Halle, 1879 ; Le Sermon de Guischart de Beaulieu, ed. A. Gabrielson, Upsala, 1909 ; Guischart de Beaulieu's debt to religious learning and literature in England, by A. Gabrielson, *Archiv* cxxviii. 309-28.

Phonology : (1) of the Lambeth MS. Oral *a* is *a*, *bapien* 245, *faren* 176 ; *a* before nasals is normally *o*, *mon* 22, *þonc* 71, but *a* in *manke* 70, *þanke* 241, and *þenne*, *þene*, *þen*, *wenne* are the usual spellings, with occasional *þanne* 18, 160 ; *a* before lengthening groups is *o*, *honde* 81, *ifonded* 147 ; *ent* 159 is Anglian *end*. *æ* is mostly *e*, *brec* 183, *et* 92, *feder* 148, *efþ* 171 (*hæfð*), *hwet* 92 &c., *weter* 248, but *a* in *bað* 218, *fader* 186, 195, *habbe* 3, 5, *hwat* 90, *water* 142, 194, 240. *e* is *e*, *beren* 95, *ende* 179, *strengþe* 168, but *sullic* 181 (*syllie* ; comp. *seollic* L 18035), *ni* 77, *meind* 142 (*mengde*). *i* is *i*, *biden* 125, *binden* 216, *child* 148 ; after *w* it is *u* in *wule* 34, 39, 155, *wulleð* 97, 226, *uuel* 123 (= *nule*), *nute* 236, *nusten* 102, 225. It is *e* in *þerdde* 138, *u* in *ofsprung* 207 ; *boð* 120 is miswritten for *bið*. *o* is *o*, *bifore* 16, *borde* 260, but after *w*, *a*, *walde* 49, *nalde* 185, 261 ; *cumen* 202 is *e(w)omon*. The prep. *on* is mostly *a*, sometimes *an* ; *u* is *u*, *cumeð* 234, *funde* 68, but *come* 124, 221, *iwoned* 57 in contact with *m*, *n*, *w*. *y* is mostly *u*, *abuþeð* 195, *cunne* 202, *duden* 265, *sunne* 201, *swuch* 80, *þunchen* 62 ; before lengthening groups, *sungede* 258, but *i* in *afirst* 37, *hwice* 136, *lifte* 83, *ofþinchþ* 130 (5), *swich* 80 (3), and *e* in *dede* 2, *vnnet* 5 : *king* 50, *drihten* 80, *drihte* 110 are the only forms of these words.

ā is normally *a*, *an* 26, *are* 179, *hwam* 202, *þa* 190 ; before consonant groups, are 207, *hattre* 247, but it is *o* in *hom* 95, *hwon* 105, *þo* 53, *wori* 142, *e* through loss of stress in *se* 80 &c., *þe* 169. *æ₁* is *e*, *eni* 53, *er* 11, *þen* 71, *ech* 32, *efre* 68, *ledden* 209, but *a* in *anige* 269, *þan* 74 : *uches* 90 descends from *yle*. *æ₂* is always *e*, *adrede* 6, *brede* 143, *lende* 122, *uniselþe* 198. *ē* is always *e* ; *ī*, *i* ; *ō*, *o*, but *e* in *te* 108 : *na* 134 is Anglian

nā. ū is always *u*. *ȳ* is normally *u*, *cudde* 191, *fur* 76, *hud* 77, *lutel* 46, but *litel* 28, *hwi* 104.

ea before *r* + cons. is regularly *e*, *erȝe* 17, *ȝerf* 43; before lengthening groups, *erninge* 64, *herde* 157, 169, *wernin* 228, but *arme* 227, *warni* 226: the *i*-umlaut is represented by *derne* 78, *smirte* 114. *ea* before *l* + cons. is once *ea*, *bifealt* 7; normally *a* (Anglian absence of breaking), *al* 7 &c., *salt* 248, *ald* 4, -*fald* 54, 247, *waldeð* 84, but *welde* 2, *welden* 55 (by confusion with *gewieldan*): the *i*-umlaut is seen in *elde* 14, 15, *eldre* 192, *helde* 197, but *alder* 1. *eo* before *r* + cons. is mostly *e*, *herte* 74, *werke* 27 (9), but *horte* 113; before length. groups it is *o* in *ȝorne* 49, *horȝe* 75, *orðe* 81, *orðliche* 153. The *wur* group is represented by *wurð* 140; the *i*-umlaut by *wurs* 236, *wurst* 217, 219: *bernd* 249, *berinde* 218, *bernunde* 245 come from *bærnan*. *eo* before *l* + cons. is written *o* [ö], *solf* 12 (13), but *u* in *sulf* 214 (LWS. *syf*). *ea*, *u*-umlaut of *a* is represented by *kare* 45. *eo*, *u*-umlaut of *e* is *o*, *houene* 25 (7), *world* 153, 222, but *e* in *heuenriche* 42, 63, and by influence of *w*, *u* in *suster* 148, 185: *eo*, *ā*-umlaut of *e* is written *o* [ö], *brokeð* 91, *fole* 9 (4), *unfrome* 226, but is *e* in *fele* 70, 166, *wele* 222. *eo*, umlaut of *i* is written *o* [ö], *binopen* 87, *hore* 101, *solure* 264, *souene* 26, *soððen* 9, 117, but is *e* in *biclepie* 107, *iclepede* 104, *seue* 140; *u* in *suððen* 205, *hure* 141. The palatal diphthong *ea* is *a* in *scal* 24, 35, *schal* 19, -*gate* 180; *e* in *scefte* 84, *ȝere* 110; *sceamian* is *skamie* 163, 165, *sceomu*, *scome* 166. *ie* after *g* is regularly *e* (Anglian), *ȝeuen* 64, 261, *ȝefð* 144, *ȝeue* 45, 74, *ȝelde* 45, *forȝeten* 34, 98, but *i* in *giue* 56; after *č*, *e*, *chele* 197, 233 (without umlaut); after *sc*, *i*, *scilde* 220. *eo* after *g* is *u* in *ȝung* 4, 10; after *sc*, *u*, *sculen* 20 (8), *sculde* 118, 263, *sculden* 60, 265, but *o* once in *solde* 51. *eom* is *em* 1, 4, *heom*, *hom* 18 &c. *ēa* is *ea* in *deape* 182, *uneade* 181, otherwise *e*, *brede* 189, *chep* 68, *deče* 115, *uneče* 189: *lan* 64 is Scandinavian. The *i*-umlaut is *e*, *alesed* 134, *iheren* 262, *ileuen* 255. *ēo* is *eo* in *beoð* 17, *beo* 29, *freonde* 220, *seon* 16, otherwise regularly *o*, *bon* 2 (5), *bo* 134 (10), *boð* 26 &c., *dore* 143, *doule* 97 (5), *frond* 30 (4), *son* 158, *ȝoue* 43, but *e* in *lef* 252, *sec* 199, *tening* 253: *bið* 233 is due to confusion with the singular. The *i*-umlaut is represented by *dore* 144, 184, *fond* 219, *frond* 220, *node* 261, *ȝostre* 78, but once *ȝestre* 76. *giēt* is *ȝet* 5; *gēar*, *ȝer* 140. *ō* after *sc* is seen in *scop* 84.

a + *g* is *aȝ*, *draȝen* 47, 49, *laȝe* 170: *ah* 14, 119, *ach* 58 is Anglian *ah*. *æ* + *g* is *ei*, *dei* 134, *mei* 14, *seið* 114, 133. *e* + *g* is *eȝ* in *weȝes* 72, *ei* in *eie* 18, *weien* 63: *ongegn* is *aȝein* 76; *e* + *h* is seen in *hechte* 268; *i* + *h* in *iwichte* 212; *o* + *g* in *unwron* 160 (*unwrogen*); *o* + *h* in *bohte* 184, *unbocht* 59; *u* + *g* in *fuzeles* 83, *luȝen* 159, *muȝe* 21, *wruȝen* 160; *y* + *g* in

abuh 144 (abygb). $\bar{a} + g$ produces $a\gamma$, $a\gamma en$ 30 (5), $ma\gamma e$ 29, but $ahen$ 161 $\bar{a} + h$ is seen in $ahte$ 2, $achten$ 129. $\bar{a}_1 + g$ is ei in $ei\delta er$ 62, $seiden$ 223; $\bar{a}_1 + h$, eh in $ehte$ 259, $echte$ 42 (3), but ach in $tachte$ 268. $\bar{a}_2 + g$ gives $e\gamma$ in $ise\gamma en$ 98, 102, but ei in mei 29, 185. $\bar{e} + g$ is seen in $forwreien$ 97; $\bar{o} + g$ in $inoch$ 235; $\bar{o} + h$ in $bi\gamma ocht$ 8, $brochte$ 183: $uwer$ 88 is $\bar{o}wer < \bar{o}hw\bar{a}r$, comp. $ouhwar$ AR 60/25. $ea + h$ gives $mihte$ 13, $michte$ 16, 52, $mahte$ 222, $isech$ 261; the i -umlaut is represented in $nihte$ 78: $eo + h$, $brichte$ 75, $rihte$ 109; its i -umlaut is represented in $ouersich$ 75, $\beta ur\beta siche\beta$ 90. $\bar{e}a + g$ is $e\gamma$ in $e\gamma en$ 75; $\bar{e}a + h$ gives βah 4, βach 102, 222, βech 181; $\bar{e}o + h$, $lihte$ 76, $lihtliche$ 145. $\bar{a} + w$ is au in $cnaud$ 146, $knau\delta$ 110, $saule$ 136, 245, $naut$ 48, 212; aw in $nawiht$ 150, 249 (but $noht$ 190, $nocht$ 132 are from $n\bar{o}wiht$); auw in $iknauwen$ 161; otherwise aw , $blawe\delta$ 136, $mawen$ 20. $\bar{e}a + w$ is aw in $scawe\delta$ 135. $\bar{e}o + w$ is ou in ou 50; ow in ow 228, $rowen$ 19, $sowen$ 20, eow in eow 25: its i -umlaut is represented in $untrownesse$ 265.

In syllables without stress a is levelled to e , $abuten$ 267, $bihinden$, $bino\beta en$ 87, $biforen$ 25, $sone$ 38, but $biforan$ 63; o to e , $atter$ 142, $siker$ 41, $swikele$ 251. e is added in $areles$ 216 ($\bar{a}rl\bar{e}as$), $ofte$ 57. The prefix ge is i , $ilome$ 47, $iswinc$ 36, $itit$ 125.

For sw , su is written once in $suilch$ 120; qu is the regular equivalent of cw , $iquemen$ 95, $quike$ 79. An l is lost in ful 6, 145, $fulenden$ 243: gg is written for ng in $biginnigge$ 119. Initial f is once u in $uersc$ 248: f between vowels or vowel and voiced consonant is generally u , $buuen$ 87, $eure$ 86, $iure$ 229, $solure$ 264, $uuel$ 251, but f in $ufel$ 59, 93, $ufele$ 17, $ifere$ 102; $frure$ 232 is probably $fr\bar{o}fre$. In $heste$ 242 t is added, but $hesse$ 91: ts is c in $milce$ 72. d is lost in $leden$ 93 and added in $ordlinghes$ 103: t is written for d in ent 159, $fordemet$ 270, $idemet$ 106, 171, $maket$ 230, $undret$ 208, 247. β is lost in $abuh$ 144, $ouersich$ 75; written for d in $hef\delta$ 147; for it th is written in $with$ 216, t in $etlete$ 148, 153, 257, $hauet$ 65, $offpinchet$ 10, $seit$ 133, $\beta unchet$ 233, d in cud 159 (but $ku\delta e$ 9), $uneade$ 181, h in $\beta ench$ 33, wih 220, c in $eclete$ 74: it is assimilated in $attere$ 127, $at ta$ 156. sc [š] is sc in $scal$ 24, $scame\beta$ 165, $scilde$ 220, sch in $schal$ 19, s in $bisunien$ 152, ss in $fisses$ 83 and notably sk in $skamie$ 163. $\check{e}$ is generally ch , $chele$ 197, $child$ 3, ich 1, but $drunke$ 258, $smike$ 16; c [k] is palatalized in $hech$ 232, $werch$ 108, 116, $werche$ 254, but $werc$ 177; it is g in $\beta ing\beta$ 5; ah 14, 119, 120, ach 58, 166, hi 221 (= ih) have Anglian h : $\check{e}\check{e}$ is ch , $feche$ 222, $reche$ 221, $rech\delta$ 133, $strece$ 231, $stuche$ 189, $wreche$ 232: cg is gg , $seggen$ 94, $buggen$ 65, but $abu\gamma e\delta$ 195. Palatal g is very regularly represented by γ , $for\gamma eten$ 34, γeue 74, γere 110, but i in $medierne$ 256 ($georne$), h in $ahen$

161 and *g* in anige 269 : gate 180 is plural : *ng* is *ngħ* in ordlinghes 103, *ngg* in eueningges 162 : *g* is lost in murþe 154. The prefix *ge* is lost in bon 137, hud 77, meind 142, write 101. *h* has been added initially in hech 232, helche 89, his 72, 121, 229, honde 193, dropped in is 217, rapen 131, undret 208, 247 : *þ* displaces *h* in þurþ 90. For *hw*, *w* appears in wa 114, wet 79, 94, *h* in hom 95. *ch* for *h* is frequent, achten 129, brochte 183, brichte 75, hechte 268, isech 261, ouersich 75, þurþsicþ 90, &c. In soht 30, *ht* is written for *tt*.

(2) of the Trinity College MS. Oral *a* is *a*, fare 180, hebben 39 ; *a* before nasals regularly *a*, man 20, þanc 245, þanne, þane, þan are the usual forms, but þene 343 ; *a* before lengthening groups is *o*, fonded 149, longe 3, but hangeð 312. *æ* is regularly *a*, after 28, almesse 28, brac 185, fader 150, water 244, but sæd 392, hweðer 240. *e* is *e*, bed 222, beren 95 ; before lengthening groups, bende 398, felde 348, imengd 144, strengþe 317, but ængles 94, angles 284, 355, 380. *i* is *i*, þridde 140, child 3, finde 54, but *e* after *w* in nele 336, nelle 291, nesten 229, 388, also in ofsprenge 211, þese 312, þesse 328, 383, þesses 338 (*ðyssum*, *ðysses*), *u* after *w* in swunche 208, 373, as also in ofsprung 198. *o* is *o*, bode 264, borde 311, but on prep. is most frequently *a*, an. sorg is soreþe 142 (4), but sareþe 378. *u* is invariably *u*, bigunne 218, grunde 180. *y* is *e* in deden 269, 270, euel 26 (11), hlesten 230, 387, kenne 206 (4), senne 129 (7), senden 290 (*syndun*), steche 191, vnnet 5, unwenne 212 ; *u* in abugeð 197, abuið 146, bugge 65, dude 2, duden 96, fulle 352, furst 37, gulteð 315 (4), gult 197 (4), hulle 351, misduden 101, 194, muchel 76 (8), murie 156, murihþe 396, þunche 62, ofþunche 207 (3), sunegeden 262 ; *i* in tihte 272, þincheð 5, 10, 166, swilch 79, 399, hwilch 138, unwinne 250 : king, drihten, drihte are the only forms of these words.

ā is mostly *o* ; the exceptions are aquerne 366, bihat 368, hat 308, hatere 251, hwan 206, lac 203 (loc in corresponding line 73). *æ*₁ is mostly *a*, ani 53, are 124, has 91, 349, hate 236, sa 83, sade 131 (LWS. *sæde*), tache 305, þare 346 ; before two consonants, ache 235 (4), afre 86, mast 7, unhalþe 16 (4) ; but *e* in hete 199, mene 170, ðer 216, and before two consonants arerde 172, ech 23 (8) ; *æ* in ænes 185 ; *ea* in hease 296. In forgoð 358 a plural form is used for the singular. *æ*₂ is mostly *a*, adrade 6, dade 3 (4), lache 306, misdade 132, 166, 275, rade 4, strate 235 (4), before two consonants naddren 277, ofdrad 43, 94, 288, unisalþe 200, 378, wapne 340, but *e* in mere 393, misdede 209 *r. w.* ofdrade, unsele 201, iselþe 15 ; *æ* in læte 345, and *ia* in þiar 165. *ē* is *e*, beten 242, demde 274, iquemd 174, but *a* in ache 364 (*æce*) : doð 35 (8) is plural form for singular. *ī* is *i*, abiden 140,

þriste 19, but syrreue 50, ȝietceres 271 (Bülbring, § 306, anm. 1). *ō* is *o* except in *cam* 117 (4), *te* 316. *ū* is invariably *u*. *ȳ* is *e* in *forbet* 307, here 45, *kedde* 193; *u* in *cuðen* 99, *fure* 43, 152, *hudden* 162, *i* in *litel* 46, 264, 331.

ea before *r* + cons. is, as a rule, *a*, *arme* 231, *narewe* 343, *swarte* 282, before lengthening groups mostly *a*, *hardde* 171, *warnie* 304, but *e* in *erninge* 64, *metheschele* 366; *ea*, *æ* in *middencard* 140, 200, *middenærd* 195: the *i*-umlaut is represented by *erminges* 323, *derne* 77, *smierte* 114. *ea* before *l* + cons. is regularly *a*, *alle* 22, *bualle* 198, before lengthening groups mostly *ea*, *bihealde* 288, *eald* 4, but *bihelden* 392, *holde* 55: the *i*-umlaut is seen in *elde* 16 (5), *elder* 1, 326, *elderne* 194. *eo* before *r* + cons. is mostly *e*, *herte* 74 (3), *werc* 108 (10), but *storre* 279, *hierte* 113; before lengthening groups it is *ie* in *ȝierles* 324, *ȝierne* 49, *e* in *erðe* 75, *erðeliche* 155. In the *wur* group *u* is the rule, *wurðe* 142, *wurðen* 334. The *i*-umlaut after *w* gives *werse* 299, *werest* 221 (LWS. *wyrsa*, *wyrrest*): *barneð* 253, *barnende* 222, descend from *bærnan*; *oerre* 280' represents *oorre*. *eo* before *l* + cons. is always *e*, *self* 131 &c. *eo*, *u*-umlaut of *e* is *e*, *heuene* 27, *wereldes* 271, but *o* in *woreldes* 226, 338; the *â*-umlaut is represented by *fele* 9 (3), *wele* 155 (4): *eo*, umlaut of *i* is *e*, *icleped* 104, *henne* 400, *seðen* 9, *seuene* 28, *bineþen* 87, but *binime* 44, *ȝieue* 74, *niþer* 347, *quike* 78, 192, *siluer* 268, and after *w*, *suster* 150, 187, *wude* 348. *ea* after palatals is *a* in *sal* 21, 26, *saftē* 84, *same* 168, *samie* 165, *sameð* 167, *scat* 367. *ie* after *g* is *ie* in *biȝiete* 105, 126, *ȝielde* 45, *forȝiete* 34 (4), *ȝieuen* 64 (12), *forȝieue* 217; after *sc*, *o*, it is *i*, *silde* 224 (5), *e* in *chele* 199, 236, *bicherd* 322. The conj. *gif* is *ȝief* 121, 166. *eo* after *g* gives *ȝeunge* 10, *ȝeunger* 326, *jung* 4, *ȝieuð* 377 (*geogoð*): *eo* after *sc*, *solde* 37, 267, *solden* 60, *sulle* 22, *sullen* 103. *heom* is *hem*; *eom*, *am*.

ēa is mostly *ea*, *breade* 191, *deaðe* 106 (7), *eaðe* 210, 288, 376, *uneaðe* 183, 191, but *ec* 46, 107, *eðlate* 74, 150, 261, *rauing* 257. The *i*-umlaut of *ēa* has regularly *e*, *alesed* 136, *hereð* 89, *ileuen* 49, *temen* 108, but *ȝiemeð* 80. *ēo* is mostly *e*, *ben* 39 (12), *biflen* 154, *deflen* 97, *lef* 73, *frend* 30, *rewen* 358, but *ie* in *bien* 389, *bie* 4 (4), *biede* 266, *bieð* 291, 315, *diere* 145, *fiendes* 223, *friende* 224, *lief* 203, 261, *hielden* 172, 298, *isien* 18 (5), *swiere* 146, *ȝieue* 43; *i* in *sic* 201. The *i*-umlaut is represented in *diere* 146, 186, *fiend* *pl. n.* 283, *friend* *pl. a.* 224, *niede* 265, *piesternesse* 281, but *derlinges* 389, *frend* 185, 304, *þuster* 77. *gesīene* is *isene* 344; *gīet*, *ȝiet* 5, 293; *gear*, *ȝier* 142: *ō* after *sc* is seen in *sop* 84.

a + *g* is *aw* in *drawen* 47, *aȝ* in *laȝe* 172, 295. *æ* + *g* is *ai*, *dai* 370, *fair* 392, *mai* 16, 44, but *maiȝ* 88, 124, 217. *e* + *g* is *ei*, *wei* 353, *eiseliche*

285, eie 20, seið 112, 135, but treiþe 375, weiþ 341, weiþen 63: ongegn is aþien 351. *i* + *g* is *iē*, nieðe 342, unwrien 162; final *ig* is *i*, peni 300, weri 244: *i* + *h* is *iĥ*, sihte 369, wihte 78. *o* + *h* is *oh*, bohte 186. *u* + *g* is *uþ*, luþen 161, muþe 23, 55, muþen 159, but fueles 83. *y* + *h*, drihte 79, 110 with *i* as usual, abuið 146, abugeð 197. *ā* + *g*, *h* is *oþ*, moþe 187, oþen 163; *ow*, mowe 29, owen 30; *oh*, foh 365. *æ*₁ + *g* is *ei* in eiðer 62, 239, but aiðer 306, aihware 88: *æ*₁ + *h* is *ai*, aihte 42 (5), taihte 272, but eihte 321. *æ*₂ + *g* is *æi* in mæi 29; *ai* in mai 187, grai 365; *ei* in iseie 118, iseien 98, 99, 102. *ē* + *g* occurs in forwreien 97, leie 282: *ō* + *g*, *h* in inoh 391, inoþh 389, biþoht 8, brohte 185. *ea* + *g*, *h* is *eī*, iseih 265; the *i*-umlaut is seen in mihte 15, 52, 202, 226, mihte 76, nihte 77, 370. *eo* + *h* is *iĥ* in brihte 75, rihte 109, rihtwisnesse 72, unriht 93; the *i*-umlaut is represented in ouersihð 75, þurhsihð 90. *ēa* + *g* is seen in eien 75, 381, raketeie 283; *ea* + *h* in heie 16, 284, þeih 4, 102, 131: *ēo* + *g* in drie 292, lie 291; *ēo* + *h* in liht 316, 382, lihtliche 147. *ā* + *w* is *ow*, bloweð 138, cnoweð 110, icnowen 163, nowiht 152, sowle 138, but naht 48, &c., naðer 367. *ī* + *w* is seen in glie 292; *ēa* + *w* in feawe 349; *ēo* + *w* in newe 313, rewen 21, sewen 22, untrewnesse 269: *ēow* is *eow* 157.

In unstressed syllables levelling to *e* takes place as in L: *e* is inserted after *r* between consonants in arefeð 315, harem 198, iboreþe 167, narewe 343: quica 192, þa 349 have *a* for *e*; comp. alla 81/76, blaca 82/99.

r is lost medially in metheschele 366; *rr* is simplified in werest 221. *n* is lost medially in ore 383, raketeie 283, druken 257, seuenihte 142; *nn* is simplified in done 37, isiene 392. *bb* is simplified in haben 53, 100, habeð 179, 194, libeð 208. *f* between vowels is *u*, buuen 87, eueten 277, deueles 179, but deffen 97, defles 258. *t* is dropped in a te 92, foremes 197, nah 129; *ts* is represented by *c* in milce 8, by *ch* in milche 219. *d* is lost in godcunnesse 393, exchanged with ð in idemð 173, and doubled in hardde 171. For *p*, *d* is written in habbed 141, 177, bed 104, 381; *th* in lothe 61, metheschele 366, sathanas 287: *p* is simplified in seðen 9, 117, 209. *sc* [š] is *sc* in scat 367; *s* in bisunien 154, safte 84, sal 21, same 168, sameð 167, samie 165, senche 335, silde 224 (5), sineð 279, solde 37, sop 84, srud 367, sulle 22, syrreue 50; *ss* in fisses 83. *gītsere* is *þietceres* 271. *č* is expressed by *ch*, muchel 12 (23), ich 1 (25), but mukel 209, ic 12, 229: *čč* is also *ch*, feche 226, reche 135, 225, steche 191, ? wichen, 103: *cg* is *gg*, seggen 92, *g*, abugeð 197 (but abuið 146), ligeð 283: *ow* is always *qu*, aquerne 366, quike 78. *ġ* is regularly *þ*, forþieuenesse 302, forþiete 34, but *j* in jung 4. A *y* sound has developed initially in þierles 324; comp. þeie 13/43. *g* before *ð* is *c* in strenceðe 170, *h* in murihðe

396. For *almihtin* 337 see 79 17 note. *hw* initial is preserved, but *hr* is *r*, rather 133, *rewen* 358.

Accidence: (1) of L. Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. In the *s. n.* were 31 has added *e*; *sune* 186 represents *sunu*. *Gen.* -es, *swinkes* 64; *golde* 70 is probably miswritten for *goldes*: *d.* -e, *gode* 73, *middenerde* 193, *iure* 43, *werke* 27; exceptions are *festen* 145, *god* 49, *hunger* 145 (*hungrei*), *king* 63 (*r.w.* *erninge*), *middenerd* 198, *unriht* 209, mostly before vowels, *fur* 150, *werch* 116, at mid pause of the verse: *misse* 234, *acc.* has added *e*. The *pl. n. a.* of masculines ends in -es, *engles* 94, *wejes* 72, *bendes* 188, but *wintre* 208 (*wintru*): neuters are -*zer* 140, *iswine* 36, *lif* 246, *ping* 84, *word* 9, 158, *double* 97 (*dēoflu*), *gate* 180 (*gatu*), *werkes* 63, 72, 111 with *masc.* termination: *g.* *manke* 70; *d.* *doulen* 269, *wrenchen* 251, *bende* 134, *wintre* 1. 4, *write* 101. Of the *fem.* nouns, *blisse* 233, *endinge* 120, *mihte* 211, *milce* 72, *murpe* 154, *rihtwisnesse* 72, *sorpe* 140, 194, *sunne* 201, *tilpe* 57, *unheide* 197, *witnesse* 113, 116, *wombe* 145 have added *e* in the *s. nom.*, *echte* 42, 55, *ehete* 259, *node* 261 in the *acc.* The other cases *sing.* and *pl. end* in *e*, *helle* 216, *s. g.*, are 179, *s. d.* 53, *s. a.*, but *tening* 253; *pl. n.* are *blisse* 153, *glede* 218, *mihte* 77, *saule* 136, *uniseide* 198, *wihte* 79; *g.* *misdede* 130, *souenihte* 140, *a.* *dede* 10, *hese* 91, *saule* 245, *scefte* 84, *sorpe* 166, *stunde* 147, *sunne* 238, *tide* 137; *worldes* 222 *s. g.* is a *masc.* form, *deden* 89 *pl. a.* a weak form. In the weak declension the termination of all cases in the singular is *e*: *n.* *mone* 76; *g.* *houene* 65; *d.* *deme* 96, *wawe* 151; *a.* *grome* 166, *swore* 144: *plural n.* are *reuen* 256, *swicen* 103, *ezen* 75, *ifere* 102, *iure* 229. The minor declensions are represented by *mon s. n.* 22 &c., *monnes s. g.* 30, *monne s. d.* 117, but *mon* 201, 250, *men pl. n.* 41, *monne pl. g.* 161, *pl. d.* 18, but *men* 18; *boke s. d.* 118, (*a*) *boken pl. d.* 224 (*on bōcūm*); *feder s. n.* 148, *fader s. g.* 195, *s. a.* 186; *broder s. n.* 148, *s. a.* 185; *suster s. n.* 148, 185; *frond s. n.* 30, *freonde pl. d.* 220, *frond pl. a.* 183, 219, 220, *fond* 219.

With the exception of the weak forms *lafe* 268, *betere* 26, 142, *hattre* 247, *loure* 20, 263, *mare* 2, 18, *wunderlukeste* 68, the adjective in the *s. n.* is uninflected: *alder* 1 is *ieldra*. The *s. d.* regularly terminates in *e*, except *uel* 24. The *s. a.* is mostly uninflected, as *wurst* 217, but *endelese* 141, *hercne* 160, *lesse* 60, *muchele* 191, 205. The participial *āgen* is unvaried, *ažen* 30, 108, 113, 116, 201, once *ahen* 161. The *pl. n.* ends in *e*, *arme* 227, *erze* 17, *herde* 169, *oršliche* 153, but words in -*ig*, *gredi* 264, *edi* 227, *weri* 240 and *idel* 9, *lut* 104 (*lýt* indeclinable), *ofdred* 94 are uninflected: *pl. d.* are *fulle*, *gode* 219, *uel* 251; *pl. a.* with *e*, *bare* 137, *zunge* 10, *sare* 36, *ueele* 170, *wreche* 170, 250. OE. *āna* is *ane* 86, 110, 213: *ān* is an

s. n. f. 26, are *d. f.* 205, 207, enne *a. m.* 137; *nān* is na *n.* 22, 80, 181, nan 59, nane *d. neut.* 236, nenne *a. m.* 119, nane *a. f.* 235; *naþing a. neut.* 98. Adjectives are used extensively as nouns, *s. n.* *sullic* 181, *ufel* 59, *uersc* 248; *s. a.* *beste* 51, *litel* 28, *lutel* 46, *lesse* 71, *lest* 112, *mare* 2, 54, *mest* 7 (4), *muchel* 28. In the *s. d.* and throughout the *pl.* the termination is regularly *e*, *s. d.* *gode* 21, 61, *laðe* 61, *ufele* 17; *pl. n.* *eldre* 192, *fremede* 34, *laðe*, *loue* 44, *sibbe* 34, *inholde* 36, *pl. a.* *dede*, *quike* 190, *uuele* 192.

The personal pronouns are *ich*, *hi* 221 (= *ih*), *i* in *ilede* 5, *me*, *we*, *us*, *þu*, *þe*, *þe*, *eow* 25, *ou* 50, *ow* 155, 228. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n.* *he m.* 21, *hit neut.* 11, *d.* *him m.* 24, 44, *a.* *hine m.* 12, 34, 116, *him* 110, *ha f.* 215 (Mercian), *es* (see p. 274) 55, 239, *is* 144, *his* 40, 259; *hes*, *hies* 56 (= *he + es*), *hit neut.* 15, 38, *pl. n.* *hi* 66 (4), *ho* 19 (11), *d.* *him* 165, 184, *hom* 18, 62, 181, *hi a.* 180, *hom* 182, 184. Reflexives are *him s.* 124, *him solue* 23 (5), *him solf* 115; definitives, *solf s.* 46, 129, *sulf* 214, *þe solf* 29, *him solf* 40, 114, 184, *hom solf pl.* 225; possessives, *mi* 2, *þin* 29, *his* 30, 31, 42, is 217, *hire* 31, *vre* 57, 247, *hore* 101, *hure* 141. The definite article is *s. n.* *þe m.* 39, 68, *þe f.* 74, *þa* 116, 201, *g.* *þes neut.* 193, *d.* *þe m.* 63, 92, 96, *þa* 156, (at) *ta* 156, *þere f.* 233, (at) *tere* 127, *þe* 83, *þan neut.* 212, *a.* *þe m.* 232, *þe f.* 13, 261, *þat neut.* 51, *pl. n.* *þe* 94, *þa* 103, 136, (ent) *ta* 103, *a.* *þa* 190. The article is also frequently used as pronoun antecedent to relatives, *þe* 69 (5), *þa þe* 215, *þo þe* 53, 261, *þe þet* 55, *he* who; *þa þe* 93 (8), *þa þi* 173, *þo þe* 61, 96, *they* who; *þa þe* 250, *þe þe* 252, *þe þ* 263, *they* to whom; with *þa þe* 216, with those whom; *þen þe* 71, to him who; *þan þe* 225, to those who; *þ þe* 58, what. Other pronominal uses are of *þan* 74, of him of whom, *þe* 169, *þa* 270, *they*; *þer fore* 144, for it. The compound demonstrative is represented by *þisse s. g. f.* 267, *þes pl. n.* 41, *þas pl. a.* 230. The relatives are *þe* 33 &c., *þa* 12, 139, 169, *þi* 173, often meaning he who, they who 12, 19, 23, 253, *þet* 21 &c., often meaning that which, what: *þe* 10 is *genitive*, of which, *þ þe* 65, 257 *dat.*: *þen* 269 is *þe + en*. Interrogatives are *hwa s. n.* 133, *hwam d.* 202, *hom* 95; *hwat* 244, *hwet*, *wet* 79, 103, to *hwon* 105; *hweþer* 236, *hwilke s. d. m.* 130, *hwice s. n. f.* 136, correlative *suilch s. n.* 120, *swich*, *swuch* 80, *swilche pl. d.* 220: *ilca* is *ilke s. d.* 112. Indefinites are *wa se* 114; *me* 48 &c.; *sum s.* 25, *summe pl.* 147; *fole* 9 (4), *fele* 70, 166; *eiðer* 62; *oðers s. g. m.* 30, 263, *oðer* 257, *s. d. m.* 186, *s. a. neut.* 147, *oþre pl. n.* 166; *ech s. n.* 32 &c., *hech* 232, *ec* 171, *uches s. g. m.* 90, *elches s. g. f.* 222, *eche s. d.* 231, *ilche s. d. m.* 86, *helche s. a. f.* 89; *eni s. n. m.* 68, *anige s. d. f.* 269, *eni s. a. neut.* 53; *moni s. n.* 38, *monies s. g.* 36; *al s. n. a.* 81, 54, *alle pl. n. a.* 79, 173, 174, 195, 84, *alre pl. g.* 161, 187.

Five-sixths of the infinitives end in *en*, showing Anglian influence,

the remainder mostly in *e*, as *bode* 262 *r.w.* *node*, *ileste* 242 *r.w.* *unstedefeste*, *ofpinche* 203 *r.w.* *swinke*; exceptional are *wernin* 228, *warni* 226, *seon* 16, *son* 158. Dative infinitives are to *bapien* 245, *beten* 132, *habben* 39, *swenchen* 250, *swinden* 57, *þenchen* 252, for . . . *cumen* 154, for *habben* 53, for *lesen* 180, 182; possibly to *frure* 232, see note. Presents are *s. I.* *adrede*, *biþenche* 6; 3. *biswikeð*, *fulieð* 12, *þunchet* 233, *ofpinchet* 10, *hauet* 65, *þurpsicheþ* 90, and the contracted forms (as numerous as the uncontracted), *abuh* 144, *bernd* 249, *bet* 126, 164, *bit* 126, *iherð* 89, *itit* 125, *lest* 167, *sent* 42, 46, *ouersich* 75, *þench* 33, *wit* 84: *pl. I.* *abuþeð* 195, *brokeð* 91, *þenke we* 190; 3. *fareð* 232, *þolieð* 202, *wuneð* 136: *subjunctive s. I.* *bidde* 134; 2. *wende* 86; 3. *þeue* 122, *giue* 56, *helpe* 156, *lipnie* 22, 31, *rede* 8, 156, *scilde* 220, *wite* 122, *wurð[e]* 140: *pl. 3. ? come* 124: imperative *s. 2.* *wende* 86: *pl. 2.* *sendeð* 25, *vnderstondeð* 227. Past of Strong Verbs: I a. *s. 3.* *isech* 261; *pl. I.* *iseþen* 102; 3. 98: I b. *s. I.* *com* 221; 3. *binom* 259, *brec* 183, *com* 117, *nom* 205; *pl. 3.* *comen* 139, 202, *helen* 160, *stelen* 159: I c. *s. 3.* *unbond* 188; *pl. 3.* *bigunnen* 243, *swunken* 254; *subj. s. 3.* *bigunne* 214, *funde* 68: II. *pl. 3.* *witen* 244, *writen* 224, *wruþen* 160: III. *pl. 3.* *luþen* 159: IV. *s. 3.* *scop* 84: V. *s. 3.* *let* 260, *hechte* 268 (weak form); *pl. 3.* *biheten* 242, *holden* 170, *sowen* 20, *leten* 266. Participles present: I c. *berninde* 218, *bernunde* 245: V. *wallinde* 218; past: I a. *biþeten* 105, *forþeten* 98, *iqueðen* 9: I b. *bistolen* 15, *forholen* 77, *iborene* 105: I c. *iborþen* 165, *r.w.* *sorþe*, *ifunde* 177, *sprunge* 173, *unforzolden* 59: II. *iwriten* 118: II, III. *unwron* 160: III. *biloken* 81, *icorene* 104, *forlorene* 106: IV. *forsworene* 103. Past of Weak Verbs: *s. I.* *hefde* 13, *sede* 155; 3. *bipohte* 150, *cudde* 191, *herde* 262, *likede* 11, *seide* 129, *r.w.* *misdede*: *pl. I.* *hefden* 51, *leden* 93; 3. *ledden* 209, *luueden* 93, *iquemde* 269: *subj. s. 3.* *hefde* 137, *hefð* 147 (miswritten for *hefde*). Participles past: *alesed* 134, *ibet* 132, *idemet* 106, 171, *fordemet* 270, *igult* 27, *hud* 77, *ihud* 28, *ofdred* 43, *offerd* 157, *meind* 142, *iclepede* 104. Minor Groups: *wat pr. s.* 79, 89, 111, *nute hi pr. pl.* 236, *wiste I pt. s.* 15, *wisten pt. pl.* 139, *nuþten I pt. pl.* 102, *pt. pl.* 225; *ahte pt. s.* 2, *achten I pt. pl.* 129; *kon pr. s.* 71, *cunne pr. s. subj.* 213, *kuðe I pt. s.* 9; *þerf pr. s.* 43, 44, 45, 163; *scal pr. s.* 24, 35, *schal* 19, *sculen I pr. pl.* 47, 95, 161, *scule we* 92, 95, *sculen 2 pr. pl.* 20, 49, *pr. pl.* 94, *sculde pt. s.* 263, *sculden I pt. pl.* 60, *solde* 51, *sculden pt. pl.* 265, *sculde pt. s. subj.* 118 (the past forms in *u* are Anglian); *mei I pr. s.* 14, *mai pr. s.* 35, 40, 69, *mei* 65, 88, 124, 145, *muþen I pr. pl.* 157, 206, *pr. pl.* 66, 237 (in form subjunctive), *muþe pr. s. subj.* 21, 55, 125, *muþen 2 pr. pl. subj.* 25, *pr. pl. subj.* 19, *mahte I pt. s.* (Anglian *mæhte*) 222, *mihte* 13, *michte* 16, *I pt. pl.* 52, *mihten pt. pl.* 200; *mot pr. s.* 33; *bon inf. 2 &c.*, *bo* 134, *em I pr. s.*

1, 4, is *pr. s.* 26, his 72, 121, 229, nis 77, 80, boð *pr. s.* 120 (in form plural), beoð 1 *pr. pl.* 17, boð *pr. pl.* 26, 75 &c., bið 233 (in form singular), bo 1 *pr. s. subj.* 4, *pr. s. subj.* 21 (7), beo 29, bo *pr. pl. subj.* 177, bon 94, wes 1 *pt. s.* 1, *pt. s.* 187, 208, weren *pt. pl.* 102, 230, 251, were *pt. s. subj.* 153, nere 199, ibon *pp.* 3; wule 1 *pr. s.* 155, *pr. s.* 34, 39, wile 55, uuel (miswritten for nule) 123, wulleð *pr. pl.* 97, 226, walde 1 *pt. s.* 14 (Anglian), *pt. s.* 35, *r. w.* unholde 149, wolde 147, nalde 185, 261, nolde 138, walde 3e 2 *pt. pl.* 49, wolden *pt. pl.* 244, 266, nolden 238; don *inf.* 37, 69, 92, do 185, 186, to doné *inf. dat.* 17, 37, deð *pr. s.* 35 &c., doð 53 (plural form), doð 1 *pr. pl.* 58, 60, misdoð 206, doð *pr. pl.* 19, 79, do *pr. s. subj.* 18, 21, 69, 210, dede *pt. s.* 2, misduden 1 *pt. pl.* 99, duden *pt. pl.* 265, misduden 192, dude 96, idon *pp.* 7 &c., fordon 270.

(2) of T. Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. In the *s. n.* aquerne 366, were 31 have added e: sune 188 represents *sunu*. *Gen.* -es, godes 313, goldes 70, werkes 64: *d.* -e, ate 262, biede 266, daie 80, 158; exceptions are deað 200, deuel 273, druken 262 (for *drunke*), fasten 147, 339, god 284, hunger 147 (*hungre*), peni 300, siluer 268 (*seolfre*), þanc 245, þing 320, mostly before a vowel, and fur 152, middenærd 195, peni 67, werc 116 at mid pause of the verse: misse 238 *s. a.* has added e. The *pl. n. a.* of masculines ends in -es, ængles 94, ʒietceres 271, bendes 190, but wintre 212, 356: neuters are folc 217, ʒier 142, iswinc 36, þing 84, word 9, 160, ibede 301 (*gebēdu*), werkes 63 (4) (with *masc.* termination), defen 97, a weak form: *g.* angles 355, 380, manke 70: *d.* dichen 41, ibeden 339, wallen 41, wrenchen 255, bende 136, 293, 398, wapne 340, winter 4, worde 312, write 101, angles 284, derlinges 389, erminges 323, gultes 318, werkes 258, wines 223. Of the strong feminines blisse 237, 380, este 363, idelnesse 7, mihte 76, 215, milce 72, reste 364, 373, rihtwisnesse 72, senne 129, 196, 205, sihte 369, soreʒe 142, 196, 378, strate 345, tilþe 57, ʒiesternesse 281, unhalþe 327, unisalþe 378, witnesse 113, 116, wombe 147, have added e in the *s. n.*, aihte 42, 55, 263, niede 265 in the *s. a.* The other cases *sing.* and *pl.* end in e, *s. g.* blisse 357, helle 220, sowle 306; *d.* bote 318, dade 3, dure 124; *a.* milche 219, murihþe 396; *pl. n.* glede 222, unhalþe 199, wihte 78; *g.* blisse 355, misdade 132, 275, seuenihte 142; *d.* aihte 271, 321; *a.* dade 10, 89, 160, laʒe 172, soreʒe 168. Exceptions are woreldes 226 (4) *s. g.*, sa 83 *s. d.*, has 91 *s. a.*, rauing 257; wihten 285 *pl. n.*, honden 81 *pl. d.*, luues 314 *pl. a.*, tiden 139. Nouns of the weak declension have e in all cases of the singular; *n.* moʒe 187, almesse 28; *g.* lichame 306; *d.* deme 96, herte 309; *a.* grame 168, swiere 146: *pl. n.* are eien 75, 381, eueten 277, iferen 102, 233, 297; *a.* swiken 278. The minor declensions are represented by man *s. n.* 165, noman 24, mannes *s. g.* 30, 90, 113, manne *s. d.* 117, man 20,

maniman 205, men *pl. n.* 162, 260, manne *pl. g.* 163, 380, *pl. d.* 342, men 263, 354; boc *s. d.* 118, 228; brođer *s. n.* 150, *s. a.* 187; fader *s. n.* 150, faderes *s. g.* 197, fader *s. a.* 188; suster *s. n.* 150, 187; frend *s. n.* 30, friende *pl. d.* 224, frend *pl. a.* 185, 304, friend 224; fiend *pl. n.* 283, fiendes *pl. d.* 223, *r. w.* friende.

Remnants of the strong declension of adjectives are wreches *s. g. m.* 338 (with *woreldes f.*), ealde[s] 195, euele *s. d. m.* 335, godelease 348, wrongwise 48, bare *s. d. f.* 211, stronge 283, gode *s. d. neut.* 73, unstedefaste 320, wilde 145, hardne *s. a. m.* 171, endelease 143, possibly *dat.*, muchele *s. a. f.* 396. Weak are ealde *s. n. m.* 287, lođe 272, 287, narewe 349, swarte 282, brode *s. n. f.* 345, murie 156, bare *s. d. m.* 348, heuenliche 96, muchele 92, muchele *s. d. f.* 156, narewe *s. a. m.* 343, brode *s. a. neut.* 341, the comparatives and superlatives as betre 28, wunderlukeste 68, except elder 1 (*ieldra*), niđer 299, 347, werest 221. All other adjectives are uninflected in the singular: the termination in all cases of the *pl.* is *e*; arje *n.* 19, lichamliche *d.* 398, wreche *a.* 172, but arefeðheald 315, eadi 231, euel 172, 233, gradi 268, idel 9, iwar 334, weri 244 are not inflected. *āgen* is owen 30, ožen 113, 116, 163, 265 without variation: *āna* gives one *n. s. m.* 86 (7): *ān* is on *n. s. m.* 67, *f.* 28, one *s. d. m.* 348, on 335, ore *s. d. f.* 383, one 209, 211, one *s. d. neut.* 384, on *s. a. f.* 139, *nān*, none *n. s. m.* 367, non 110, no 37, 50, non *s. n. f.* 289, nones *s. g. neut.* 372, none *s. d. neut.* 240, *s. a. f.* 239: *ilca*, ilke *s. d. neut.* 216. Of the numerals *twam* 312 is *dat.* Adjectives are freely used as nouns, *s. n.* foh, grai 365, sellich 183; *s. g.* godes 371, 372; *s. d.* gode 23, lothe 61, juel (*yfle*) 19; *s. a.* emcristen 310, beste 51, lasse 71, mast 112: the *pl.* has *e*, *n.* fremde 34, elderne 194, heie 164, unholde 36; *a.* deade 192; exceptions are elder 326 (*ieldran*), 3eunger 326 (*geongran*), quica 192.

The personal pronouns are ich, i in ibie 4, ibiženche 6, idude 2, ilade 5, ime 6, ine 16, 225, me, we, us, þu, þe, zie, eow. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n.* he *m.* 21, hie 114, ? hi 38, hit *neut.* 13; *d.* him *m.* 20, 21, 44; *a.* hine *m.* 110, 116, 385, him 34, him *f.* 129 (*masc. form*), hes 219, 241, his 263, hies 243, hes 40 (= he + es), 55, 56, hit *neut.* 17; *pl. n.* hie 22 &c., hi 382, he 248 (5), *d.* hem 62, 167, 180, 239 &c., *a.* hem 184, 305, hes 102, 186, 288, 314, mes 259 (= me + es). Reflexives are us self 310, him 21, 124, him selfen *s.* 14, 107, 115, him selfe 25, him self 111; definitives, þe self 29, him self 40, 114, 186, self 131, 218, 379, *pl.* himself 229; possessives, mi 2, mine *pron.* 304, þi 29, his 30 &c., hire 31, ure 57, *pron.* 251, here 101. The definite article is *sing. n.* se *m.* 287, þe 39 &c., þa 349, þe *f.* 116, 205, þet 68 (*neut. form*), *d.* þan *m.* 63, 96, þe 83, 158, te in ate 92, þare *f.* 346, 347, 397, þe 83, 237, (a)te 127, ðer *neut.* 216 (*fem. form*), *a.* þane *m.* 341, 343, 353,

þene 343, þe *f.* 265, þat *neut.* 51; *pl. n.* þe 103, *d.* þo 291, 340, 354, *a.* þo 278, þe 192, 278. The article is also frequently used as pronoun antecedent to relatives, as þe þe, he who 25, 66, se þe 53, 55, se þit 112 (= se þe hit), þan þe, to him who 71, þo þe, those who 213, 234, þar þat, of those who 192, þo þe, to those who 229, those to whom 267, 275, those who and those to whom 256, wið þo þe, with those whom 220. Other pronominal uses are of þare, of that other 328 (representing *neut.* noun), þar fore, for it 146, after þan(e) þe, *conj.*, according as 362, þo, those 171. The compound demonstrative is þis *s. g. f.* 271, þesses 338 (*masc. form*), þesse *s. d. neut.* 328, 383, þos *pl. n.* 351, 352, ? þes 103, þese *pl. d.* 312, þos *pl. a.* 234, 303, 314; relatives þe 33, 73, in combinations þis 156, 251 (= þe is), þit 112, 141 (= þe hit): þe often means he who 14, 21, 30, se 221; þe, they who 257, þat, that which 22 &c., þe, to whom 296, of which 10. Interrogatives are hwo 135, hwat 78, 103, 137, hwan *d.* after prep. 95, 206, 330, to hwan, why 105, hweðer 240, hwilch 138 with correlative swilch 79, 399; ilca is ilke 216: indefinites, hwo se 114; me 48, 63, 342; sume *pl.* 149, 361; fele 9, 70, 212; feawe 349, 354; eiðer 62, 239, aiðer 306; oðer *s. g.* 30, 261, 267, 363, *s. d.* 116, 188, 360, *s. a.* 149, þoðre *pl.* 168 (= þe oðre), oðer 390; elch *s. n. m.* 107, 173, eche 344, ech 23, elch *s. n. f.* 360, aches *s. g. f.* 226, *neut.* 371, eche *s. d. m.* 86, achen 350, ache *s. d. f.* 235, elche *s. a. m.* 132, *f.* 89; ani *s. n. m.* 68, *d. f.* 273, *a. neut.* 53; mani *n. s. m.* 38, *s. g. m.* 36; afric *s. n. m.* 32, africh 65, afri 117; al *s. n. m.* 198, *neut.* 7, alle *s. d. neut.* 307, 340, *pl. n. m.* 22 &c., *f.* 78, alre *g.* 163, 189, 355, alle *d.* 318, 389, *a. m.* 224, *a. f.* 84, 89, *a. neut.* 84.

The infinitives are equally divided between -en, including isien 18, 379, 385, and -e: exceptions are fulendin 247, warnin 230, 232. Those of the second weak conjugation have -ien, -ie, wunien 153, 181, 249, samie 165, wunie 214, 376. A dat. inf. with inflection is to isiene 392, uninflected are to bete 134, to bihelden 392, to falle 316, to habben 39, te læte 345, te stonde 316, to swenche 254, to swinde 57, to þenchen 256, for to haben 53, for . . . to fulle 352, for lesen 182, 184. Presents *s. i.* adrade 6, bidde 136; 3. barneð 253, bihoteð 38, exceptionally biswicað 14, mislicað 13, haueð 70, 340, singeð 311, contracted forms, three-sevenths of the total number, abit 130, abuið 146, bet 126, 166, bit 126, 357, itit 125, last 169, lat 129, lat 342, sent 42, wit 84 and others; *pl. i.* abugeð 197, brekeð 91, findeð 332, wilnieð 319, but ileueð 176, þenche we 192; 3. fareð 236, folgeð 346, but habbed 141, 177: *subjunctive s. 2.* wende 86; 3. bringe 397, cume 156, 3ieue 56 (4), 3eue 317, helpe 158, hopie 31, rade 158, reche 135, sende 27, silde 224, 303, warnie 304, wurðe 142; *pl. i.* late 307, 341, luue 309, silde 308, ute 337, werie 339, all followed by we, haben 100, wurðen 334;

3. wende 400: *imperative* s. 2. wende 86; *pl.* 2. understondeð 231. Past of Strong Verbs: I a. s. 3. sat 266, iseih 265; *pl.* 1. iseien 98, 99, 102; *subjunctive* s. 3. iseie 118: I b. s. 3. brac 185, cam 117 (4), nam 209; *pl.* 1. come 330; 3. binomen 263, comen 206, halen 161, stalen 162, come 141: I c. s. 3. swanc 362, unbond 190; *pl.* 3. bigunnen 247, gunne 276, swunken 258; *subj.* s. 3. bigunne 218, funde 68: III. *pl.* 3. lužen 161: IV. s. 3. sop 84: V. *pl.* 3. biheten 246, hielden 172, 298, leten 270, 352, sewen 22, lete 264. Participles present: I c. barnende 222: V. wallinde 222; past: I a. bijete 105, foržieten, 98, ispeken 9: I b. bistolen 17, forholen 76, iborene *pl.* 105: I c. iboreže 167, ifunde 179, sprunge 175, unforžolden 59: II. iwrite 117, write 228: II, III. unwrien 162: III. biloken 81, icorene *pl.* 104, forlorene 106: IV. forsworene 103: V. bialle 198. Past of Weak Verbs: s. 1. hadde 15, sade 157; 3. bohte 186, kedde 193 (eȳðde), likede 13, sade 131, taihte 272; *pl.* 1. iadden 93, luueden 93; 3. arerde 172, hudden 162, ilaste 246, iquemde 273, leide 263, saden 227, sunegeden 262; *subj.* s. 3. hadde 139, 149 (= hadde he); *pl.* 1. swunke we 321. Participles past: aleded 136, ibet 100, 134, bicherd, bikeiht 322, idemd 106, demde 274, ofdrad 43, 288, ofdradde *pl.* 94, ispend 12, teald 120, wuned 57. Minor Groups: witen *inf.* 386, wot *pr.* s. 78, 89, 111, not 148 (= ne wot), witen *pr.* *pl.* 294, niten 240 (= ne witen), iwiste 1 *pt.* s. 17, wiste *pt.* *pl.* 141, nesten *pt.* *pl.* 229, 388 (= ne wisten); oh *pr.* s. 2; cunnen *inf.* 336, can 1 *pr.* s. 306, *pr.* s. 71, cunnen *pr.* *pl.* 305, cunne *pr.* *pl.* *subj.* 217, cuče 1 *pt.* s. 9; þarf *pr.* s. 43, 45, 165; sal *pr.* s. 21, 26, sullen 1 *pr.* *pl.* 163, sulen 58, sulle we 92, sullen *pr.* *pl.* 103, sulle 22, 106, solde *pt.* s. 37, 267, solden 1 *pt.* *pl.* 47, 60, solde 51, solden *pt.* *pl.* 269; mai 1 *pr.* s. 16, miht 2 *pr.* s. 129, mai *pr.* s. 35, 44, maiž 88, 124, 217, mužen 1 *pr.* *pl.* 159, 210, 332, *pr.* *pl.* 241, 288, 374, muže 207, *pr.* s. *subj.* 23, 55, 125, 338, muže we 1 *pr.* *pl.* *subj.* 325, mihte 1 *pt.* s. 15, 226, *pt.* s. 202, 1 *pt.* *pl.* 52; mot *pr.* s. 33, moten 1 *pr.* *pl.* *subj.* 317, 400; ben *inf.* 39 (12), bien 389, to be 2, am 1 *pr.* s. 1, is *pr.* s. 7, 72, nis 76, 79, beð 23, 32, 114, 1 *pr.* *pl.* 19, *pr.* *pl.* 75, 94, 237, bieð 291, 315, hed 104, 381, senden 290, bie 1 *pr.* s. *subj.* 4, 136, *pr.* s. *subj.* 29, 77, be 32, 251, bien *pr.* *pl.* *subj.* 80, ben 28, was 1 *pt.* s. 1, *pt.* s. 189, 212, waren 1 *pt.* *pl.* 100, 333, *pt.* *pl.* 102, naren 383, ware *pt.* s. *subj.* 155, nare 201, 1 *pl.* 322, iben *pp.* 3; wille 1 *pr.* s. 227, wulle 157, nelle 291, wile *pr.* s. 39, 55, nele 336, willeð *pr.* *pl.* 34, 97, 230, nelleð 374, wolde 1 *pt.* s. 16, *pt.* s. 35, nolde 140, 187, 265, wolde žie 2 *pt.* *pl.* 49, wolden *pt.* *pl.* 248, 270, nolden 247, nolde 242; don *inf.* 37, 69, 270, to done *inf.* *dat.* 37, to don 19, deð *pr.* s. 21, 221, doð 35 (8), 1 *pr.* *pl.* 60, *pr.* *pl.* 61, 78, do *pr.* s. *subj.* 8, 20, 23, 214, 1 *pr.* *pl.* *subj.* 308, dude 1 *pt.* s. 2, duden 1 *pt.* *pl.* 96, misduden 101, deden

pl. pl. 269, 270, *misduden* 194, *idon pp.* 7, *ido* 304, *fordon* 274; *forgoð pr. s.* 358, *goð pr. pl.* 351, *go we I pr. pl. subj.* 343, 353.

Dialect : L is a copy of a Southern original made by a Midland scribe of the Southern border. His alterations, casual and inconsistent, affect mainly the sounds; the inflections are on the whole Southern, but the extensive retention of inflectional *n* is due to the scribe: the pronoun *ha* 215 and the infinitives *warni* 226, *wernin* 228 are Mercian features of the Katherine Group. T is South-Eastern bordering on Kent, with some trace of Midland influence, such as the exclusive representation of *æ* by *a*, the development of *æ + g* as *ai*, distinct from that of *e + g* as *ei*, the absence of breaking in *ea* before *l + consonant*, the past participles without prefix, the infinitives in *-in*, features which point to the northern border of the South-Eastern area as its place of origin. In phonology it closely resembles Vices and Virtues. The dialect of *e* is Middle South: its rhymes are mostly correct, and it is probably the best representative of the original. MS. E is assigned by Jordan to the same area, but nearer its northern border.

Vocabulary : The foreign element in these texts is small. French are *bikehte bikeihtē* (first appearance), *cunin kuning*, *ermine* (f. a.), *martres* 50/362 (f. a.), *sabeline* (f. a.), *serueden*, *werre* : *sōt* is pre-Conquest French, *soht* 30/30, written for *sōtt*, a pre-Conquest Latin borrowing: *Sathanas* with *th* is French. Scandinavian are *bene*, *efninges eueningges* (influenced by *efen*), *ille*, *laȝe loȝe*, *lofte*, *nīpinges*, *þralles þrelles*, *wrange wronge*, and possibly *fruden frute*, *lan* 32/64: *baȝe boȝe* in a Southern text may descend from OE. *bā pā* (Björkman, 108).

Metre : The Septenarius is a purely syllabic metre of seven feet, with or without end-rhyme, fashioned on the model of such mediaeval Latin verse as the well-known *méum | ést pro|pósit|úm || ín ta|béna | móri*; the first section of the line having four stresses with a masculine and the second three with a feminine ending. The trochaic rhythm of the verse is very often changed into iambic by the addition of a syllable as prelude before either half of the verse: the full scheme is accordingly (x)xx́xx́xx́ || (x)xx́xx́xx́. This is perfectly exemplified in the Ormulum with its invariable line of fifteen syllables, but in the PM, the earliest known attempt at the metre in English, the influence of the native prosody is strong, and a regular line like *þe Món | þe wúl|e sík|er bón || to háb|ben Gód|es blíssē* L 39 is uncommon. The following scansion of L illustrate the deviations from the norm of the verse:

ich ém | nu áld|er þéne | ich wés .| awín|tre ént | a lóre

Ich wél|de má|re þéne | ich déde || mi wít | áhte | bon máre

Wel lónge ich háb be chÍld ibón a wórd e ént a déde	
þáh ich bó a wíntre áld to ʒúng ich ém on réde	
ýnnet líf ich hábbē i léd ʒ ʒét me þíngþ iléde	5
þénne ich mé bi þénche wél ful sárē ich mé adréde	
mést al þét ich hábbē i dón bífealt tó child háde	
Wel látē ich háb be mé biþócht búte Gód me nu réde	
Fóle id el wórd ich hábbē iquēʒen sóʒʒen ich spék e kúʒe	
fóle ʒúnge déde i dón þe mé ofþínch et núʒe	10
Mést al þét me líkedē ér nú hit mé mis líkeʒ	
þa múch el fúl íeʒ his wíl híne sólf he bi swíkeʒ	
Ich míh te háb be bét idón héfde ich þé i sélþe	
Nú ich wáldē ah ích ne meí for éldē ʒ fór unhélþe	
Élde me ís bistól en ón ér ich híft wíste	15
ne míchte ich séon bifór e mé for smí ke né for míste	
Érʒe we béoʒ to dón e gód ʒ to úf elē ál to þríste	
Marē éi e stónd eʒ mén of mónne þánne hom dó of críste	
þe wél ne dóʒ þe hwíle (þe) ho múʒen wél oft hit schal rówen	20
þénne ho máwen scúlen ʒ répen þét ho ér sówen	
Ðó he to gód e þét he múʒe þe hwíle (þ) he bó alíue	
ne líp nie ná món to múchel to chÍld e né to wíue	
[þé] þe híim sóluē forʒét for wí ue né for chÍlde	
hé scal cúmen in úuel stúde búte him Gód bo mílde	
Séndeʒ sum gód bifór en éow (þe) hwíle (þ) ʒe múʒen to hóuene	
for bét erē is án elmés se bifóren þénne bóʒ efter sóuene	26
Álto lómē ich hábbē i gúlt a wérk e ént o wórde	
Ál to múchel ich hábbē i spént to lítel ihúd in hórde	
Ne béo þe ló ure þé ne þe sólf ne þín mei né þín máʒe	
Soht is þét is óʒ ers món nes frónd bétre þén his áʒen	30
for þer wé hit mích te fínd en éft ʒ hább en bú ten énde	52

Elision of e occurs under the usual conditions: pronouns like me 6, 10, 15, þe 23, and nouns of the type of wintre 1, 4 are not subject to it. Instances of hiatus are worde 3, þe 13, werke 27. Syncopation of e occurs in muʒen, houene 25, biforeŋ, souene 26, lítel 28, and probably in muchel 28, though it might be regarded as forming part of a trisyllabic verse. The prelude is wanting in the first section, 4, 5, 6, 14, 20, 27, 28; in the second section, 8, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 26, 30; in both, 7, 11, 20, 24. It is doubled in the first section, 30, 52; in the second, 17. The first foot of each section is sometimes a trochee instead of an iamb; so in the first section, 9, 15, 17, 21, 25; in the second, 9. The unstressed element in a foot is sometimes wanting, 15, 20, 22; sometimes it is of two syllables, 8, 12, 24, 26 (three

times), 29. Feminine endings before the caesura are not uncommon, 2, 9, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24; but the ending of the line is invariably feminine. A comparison of the manuscripts shows that the author's practice was more correct than the representation of any of them; thus the unmetrical second section of 25 is in e, þe hwīle | he méi | to héuene. But it is clear that he used all the licences detailed above.

Introduction: The Moral Ode is, to all appearance, an original work, the natural product of an old man's musings on life with its lost opportunities, death, and judgement. Its manner and spirit, simple, earnest, austere, sententious, are of the Old English cast. The author lived in Hampshire somewhere near the junction of the Stour with the Avon. He was probably a secular priest, for he makes no reference to the life of the cloister and names no saint or holy place. His theological learning was of a commonplace kind and without subtility. He may have had some skill in medicine. He lived through the Anarchy, and the faithless vassal and the tyrannous noble wallow in his Inferno with the corrupt judge and extortionate official.

Another poem of similar content, the Sermon of Guischart de Beaulieu in Anglo-Norman, was written in England about the same time as the Poema Morale. If the author took his name from Beaulieu in Hampshire, where King John founded a Cistercian Abbey in 1204 A.D. (Dugdale v. 680), he may have written not far from the home of our poet. It abounds in striking parallels to the PM, but the editor of the Sermon thinks the resemblances are not sufficiently close to prove that Guischart used the English poem.

1. **nu:** in LT only. **awintre** ȝ **a lare:** a winter and ek on lore J; of wintre ȝ of lore M. ȝ = ent; see 38/159.

2. **welde mare:** not in the usual meaning, possess more wealth, as at 21/89, 22/122, 130, 32/55, but either, am more respected, honoured, as at 18/22; 'for worulde weorðscypes wealdan,' Thorpe, Laws, ii. 324. 4, or more probably, possess more knowledge; if so, 'knowledge comes but wisdom lingers.' Comp. 'of wisdom wilde,' OEM 96/94. For **welde** D reads ealdi, M eldi, age, grow old.

3. **child:** comp. 'Adhuc enim non pueritia in nobis sed, quod est gravior, puerilitas remanet: et hoc quidem peius est quod auctoritatem habemus senum, vitia puerorum,' Seneca, Ep. iv; 'To longe ich habbe sot ibeo | Wel sore ich me adrede,' OEM 160/31. **a worde,** &c.: comp. 30/27: on worde ȝ on dede D; of wordes & of dede M.

4. **a:** on D; of JM. **on:** at E; á e; of M.

5-8. Comp. 'Ki se fie en cest secle por fol tenc mult celui | Par mei

meimes le sai ne mie par altrui | Folement le menai itant cum ieo i fui | Kar unkes ne fis riens de quanke faire dui | Trop i dui demurer trop tart men apercui,' Guischart 32-36; 'vnut lif to longe ich lede | hwanne ich me bipenche.' wel sore ich me adrede,' OEM 192/3, 4.

6. **wel ful**: wel, wel D; ful J; the other MSS. wel, but T alters the first half of the line. **wel** qualifies bipenche.

7. **þ** = þet; see 32/55. **bi fealt** &c. is not original, but an avoidance of the rare word chilce, which is in E e J T; D has chilðe, M chilse. chilce, childishness, appears to be formed from child, on the analogy of milce from mild; it occurs here only. L alters l. 8 for the sake of the rhyme; the other MSS. are with T.

8. **bute**, unless; comp. ll. 24, 210, 271.

9. **iqueðen**: ispeken T; ispeke J. Comp. 'Ifurn ich habbe isunezet mid wurken 7 midd muðe | 7 mid alle mine lime siððe ich sunehi cuðe | 7 wel feole sunne ido 7c me ofþincheð nuðe,' OEM 193/29-31.

10. **þe**: so T e, but þat EJM; þet D. OE. **ofþyncan** is impersonal, it takes dative of the person and genitive or, rarely, nominative of the cause; 'him ðæs slæpes ofþuhte,' Ælf., Hom. Cath. i. 86/19 is normal. The indeclinable relative þe here and in similar places, as 'Ne do þu non oðer man þing þe þe wolde ofþunche gief me hit dude þe,' OEH ii. 179/20, may be doing duty for the genitive (see 46/292 note). But in ME. generally hit is expressed as subject, 52/370, or the cause is nominative, 38/164, 42/203 (notwithstanding the verb in the singular), 145/104, or the subject is actually personal, 46/271; 'his freonden hit ofþuhten,' L 197. **þat** in the other texts is nominative. •

11. Comp. 'Or me semblet puillent co ke ieo mult amai | Quant del plait me souent enz en mun queor mes mai,' Guischart 1205, 6. **Mest**: Best J. The scribe should have put the stop after er.

12. Comp. 'Mult est fous ke fait trop de sa volonte,' Archiv lxiii. 84/301. After this line J interpolates, Mon let þi fol lust ouer-go • and eft hit þe likeþ; see 29/45.

13. **þe** is possibly miswriting of þen. M has also þe selþe, but e T D þo; E þer; J eny selhþe. The meanings given in the dictionaries for iselþe, luck, good fortune, happiness, do not give a good sense here; if it could mean experience, the sentiment would be like 'si jeunesse savait, si vieillesse pouvait.' Morris in OEH i. 160/13 translates discretion.

14. **elde** &c.: comp. 20/72; 40/197; 48/323.

15. **wiste**: awuste E; á wyste e; iwiste TD; er þan ich hit wiste JM.

16. **smike**: smeke E; smeche e D; smoke J; smiche M.

17. **al to priste**, all too bold, ready; comp. 157/127.

18. **stondeð**: B-T quotes under **standan** (of direction) 'Swa micel ege stod deoflum fram eow,' *Ælf. Hom. Cath.* i. 64/25, with meaning, came over; similar is 'Norð-Denum stod atelic egesa,' *Beowulf*, 783. In ME. **stonden** has developed the meaning, exists (comp. Fr. *être* > *stare*). For the construction comp. 'non eige ne stand of louerde,' *OEH* ii. 39/20, 139/28; 'of iwel and dead hem stondeð greim,' *GE* 392: **men** here is dative like **hom**. Variations are, 'þer hem stod eie' þer hem ne sholde,' *OEH* ii. 73/30; 'him ne stod æie to naping,' *L* 11694; 'alle heom stod him æie to,' id. 27100; 'wið dead him stood hinke and age,' *GE* 432; 62/37; 'uor elles vuele us stode,' *AR* 312/9. For **do**, subjunctive after **þanne** with comparative, comp. 31/28; 'he brycð swiðor on ðone suðdæl þonne he do on þone norðdæl; 7 sio hæte hæfð genumen þæs suðdæles mare þonne se cyle þæs norðdæles hæbbe,' *Orosius* 24/26.

19. See 32/35. **hwile þe**: comp. 32/33, 55: elsewhere *L* has the more usual **hwile þ** (always unmetrically), or **hwile**.

20. **3e**: hy *E* e; hi *DM*: but *J* has, *Hwenne* alle men repen schule þat heo ear seowe. For **þ** *E* has þer þe; e, þer; *M*, her þat.

21. to **gode**, for good; comp. 32/61. **he** (*mu3e*): hi *D*; 3e *E* e *M*; ye *J*: similarly in the case of the following he.

22. **lipnie**, depend on, trust to: *hopie* *E* e; *leue* *D*; *truste* *M*.

24. **bute—milde**: a formula of frequent occurrence; see *KH* 80 note.

25. *D* alters, *Sende* sum god biuoren him | man, þ wile to heuene; the scribe of *E* copied the end of l. 21, reading, þe wyle 3e ben alieue, and in the second half of the next line, þanne ben after vyue.

27, 28 are misplaced, the other MSS. have them as in *T*. With 27 comp. 'Ifurn ich habbe isunehed mid worke 7 mid worde,' *OEM* 193/21; and with 28, 'muchel ich habbe ispened' to lite ich habbe an horde. | Hord þat ich telle is almesse dede,' id. 193/24, 25; 'Ne des altres uertuz nule ne reseruai | . . . | Or ai si spendu ke ieo nule nen ai,' *Guischart* 1184, 6.

29, 30 are wanting in *D*. **þe self**: þi self *EJ*. With *mei . . . mæ3e*, comp. 'Ne naueþ he mey ne mowe. | þat durre one þrowe. | Bi hym siite ne stonde,' *OEM* 79/208-10, 179/161, 2. With l. 30 comp. 'Qui mieux aime autri que sei au molin fu mort de sei.' 'Videtur enim quod quis alium plus quam se amat qui alios admonitionibus et correctionibus pascit et seipsum non emendat,' *Hauréau*, *Notices*, ii. 281, an application which robs the proverb of its apparent crude selfishness.

31. **lipnie**: *lipne* *J*; *hopie* *E* e *T D*; *truste* *M*.

32. **ech**: *vych* *J*; the others are with *T*.

33. to him: the others have him. **þe mot**: he is to be understood

from him in the preceding clause, see 6/18 note. E has þe he mot, D, ƿ he, M, þat he, the other MSS. he.

34. *fremede . . . sibbe*: a formula, see KH 64 note. A variant is, 'to freomeðe ȝ to kunne,' OEH ii. 259/30. *wule* is singular; comp. T. .

35. Comp. 30/19, 44/238. The proverb is common, as, 'he ne mei hwon he wule, þe nolde hwule þet he muhte,' AR 338/19; 'hit is riht Godes dom, þet hwo ne deð hwon he mei, he ne schal nout hwon he wolde,' id. 296/22; Hendyng C., stanza 46.

36. The fruits of many a man's hard toil often pass into the possession of his enemies. Comp. 22/129, 30. From 'Scrutetur foenerator omnem substantiam eius: et diripiant alieni labores eius,' Psalm cviii. 11, in the OE. version, 'Ealle his æhta unholde fynd, rice reðe mann, rycene gedæle; and his feoh onfon fremde handa,' Thorpe, Psalter, 317/11. *sare iswinc* is plural.

37. *don afirst*, put off: OE. *fyrst*, respite: comp. 'Vre deð he do in firste ȝet,' OEH i. 71/294. *slawen*: so e; but *slakien* E; *slakien* J; *slauhþen* D; *slakie* M. 'Nolite deficere beneficientes,' 2 Thess. iii. 13.

40. *he his*: he it E; he hit JD; he e M. *mid iwisse*, of a certainty: OE. *mid gewisse*: 'mid iwissen,' 38/139 is *mid gewissum*: 'iwis,' 187/349 represents *s. neut.* of *gewiss*: 'fuliwis,' 79/17, 'fullȝewiss,' 89/20 is the same strengthened by *ful*: 'to fuliwis' 190/445 shows the same treated as though it were a noun: similarly 'to fuligewis,' 192/508, a compound of *fulli* + *gewiss*; Orm. has contracted 'fuliȝwiss.' From *wisse*, *mid wisse* come 'to nafre none wisse,' 45/240, 'mid neure nane wisse,' 44/236. See KH 1209 note.

42-65. Comp. generally 27/274-291.

43 T. After For, þar ne has been omitted by the scribe.

44. *perf he*, copied by mistake from the preceding line. The MSS. agree substantially with T: e has, þer ne mei hí be nime. *laðe . . . loue*: formal; comp. 'mid lufe ge mid laþe,' BH 45/8; 'litel me is of ower luue, leasse of ower laððe,' SJ 27/14.

45. *of ȝeue ne of ȝelde*, of bribes to officials and of taxes; things which subtract from his gains on earth. Comp. 'hem þat desireth | ȝiftes or ȝeresȝyues · bi cause of here offices,' Piers Plowman, B. iii. 98, 99; Bōd-deker; Alteng. Dicht. 104/53; 44/256: Mede was very busy in those days. This is undoubtedly the original reading; J D concur, but E has of wiue ne of childe, similarly e; M of ȝunge ne of ȝelde: here in T is hire, usury.

46. For *solf bereð* E has the singular variant, *suuel* and *bred*, savoury meat and bread.

47, 48. Not in D. *draȝen ȝ don*, convey our wealth and deposit it:

comp. 'La devriüm traire | trestot nostre afaire, | nostre estage prendre, | le nostre doner | por nos delivrer, | partir e despendre,' Reimpredigt 56/110, which is possibly the source of the English; see also 51 note. Otherwise **drazen** with **pider** would naturally mean, proceed to that place, as in 'Traez uers cel pais chascun a grant espleit,' Guischart 1259, but that leaves **don** without meaning. It has the sense of the fuller phrase in l. 42: see NED, **do** I 3. Morris indeed connects **don wel** which is against the metrical pause as indicated by the point after **don** in E e J: E e moreover read **wel oft** J **wel** 3elome, and J has **hit** in l. 48 for **naut**. For **wel ofte** see 49/329, for **wel ilome**, 134/97. M reads **pider we scolde bere** J **draze**, **ofte** J **wel ylome**, with **hit** in the next line, as in J. **ofte** J **ilome**: OE. **oft and gelōme**; comp. 48/325, 119/78, 127/360; 'Hi hedden teone and seorewe · ofte and ilome,' OEM 89/14, 169/22; ON 1545; L 16500.

48. **wrangwise dome**: comp. 44/256. E reads **mid wronge ne mid wo3e**.

50. **ne reue**: ne se ireue e, the others with T. The 'reue' is the sheriff. Comp. 'Ia nuls hom ki cel (i.e. luer) ad ne se deit esmaer | Kar li nel pot tolir ne prouost ne ueier,' Guischart 614, 15; 'Il nen i ad prouost ne nad plaiz ne contez | Sun aueir ni ert pris ne a marche menez,' id. 375, 6.

51. **hefden**: hedde e; the others have the present. Comp. 'Tut le mielz ke aum a deu nus deurum traire,' Guischart 329.

53. **er**, for **her**, which the other MSS. have.

55. **halden wel**, possess to good purpose, make good use of. M reads **wel wile wite**.

56. **hies**: his E e; hit J; hi D; he M. **hes**: heo hit E; he his e; he hit J; he hi D; hi M.

58. **doð**: yeueþ J, with T.

62. **Eiðer**, both. Both of them shall hereafter seem both too little and too much; a curious way of saying, He shall think his good deeds too little and his bad deeds too much. The MSS. are in accord. Comp. 'De tut le plus kat fait est dolens e pensanz | Del bien li semble poi · li mals li semble granz,' Guischart 30, 31.

63. **weien**: comp. 'Dunc serrat a chascun tuz ses biens demustrez | Sulum nostre labur dunc serrum mesurez | E les biens e les mals tuz nus serrunt pesez,' Guischart 442-4.

64. **swinkes lan**: comp. 'J ta shall ure Laferrd Crist | Att ure lifess ende | Uss 3ifenn ure swinnkess læn | Wiþþ enngless eche blisse,' Orm. 111/3256-9; 'lure ow is to leosen | ower swinkes lan,' SK 804; 'La receura chacon luer de sun labor,' Guischart 311. **lan**: lyen E; lien e M; lean JTD: see 27/289.

66. **þe (mare):** þe þe E e M; se þ D. J rewrites, þe riche and þe poure boþe · ah nouht alle ilyche. **muzen:** mai E; mei e; the others omit as T.

67. **Al se,** just the same: e Eal se, omitting the nominative, like L, but He also E; þe poure J; Al suo on D; Ase wel þon M. **alse oðer:** se þe oþer E e; also þe oþer M; swo oþer D; þe riche J.

68. **cheþ:** ware e J D T M; ʒare E, a case of letter substitution.

69. **mid—þonke:** equivalent to 'of gode wille,' l. 73: see 10/167 note.

70. **se þe þe:** se þe E e; swo se D; so he M; J omits 69, 70. **manke:** the mancus was 'not current coin but merely money of account,' Grueber, Handbook of Coins, introd. p. ix: 'fif penegas gemacjað ænne scylling and þrittig penega ænne mancus,' Ælf. Gram. ed. Zupitza 296/15, 16. The word was in OE. **mancus**, *g.* -es. *m.* its *pl. n.* **man-cussas**, *pl. g.* **mancussa**; *s.* manc, *pl.* manc^s also occur (ES xxxix. 349). The Latin forms were mancusa, mancus, manca, from the last of which may have been derived an OE. ***manc** with *pl. a.* ***mancas** = mancys, Kemble, Codex Dipl. ii. 380, and *pl. g.* ***manca**, the original of manke here. e reads marke. **golde** may mean, in gold; OE. on **golde**, but more probably it is a mistake for **goldes** as in the other MSS. For **fele** with genitive see 132/9 note.

71. **kon mare þone**, acknowledges, feels more thankful; like Fr. *savoir gré*. **þen þe**, to him who: ʒan þe E e D; ye þat J; him þat M.

73, 74 T: see 203, 204 T.

74. **ec lete** appears to be a mistake for **eðlete**, of small account as in the other MSS.; ʒelete M: comp. Et lete 38/148, 153. **of þan**, of whom, of him whose; ʒenne E e; þer J; þanne D; of him þat M. J rewrites ʒ **lutel** he let on muchel wowe · þer þe heorte is ille; wherein 'wowe' is explained by Kock (Anglia xxv. 318) as = wove, votive offering.

76. **houen fur**, probably daylight; possibly lightning or the stars: heuene · ʒ fur J; dai ʒ fur E; dei ʒ fur e; ʒ alle sterren D; sterre ʒ fur M. **pestre:** see 123/230. T omits this line and substitutes a new line at 80, not in the other MSS.

79. **þenkeð . . . doþ:** doþ . . . queþeþ M.

80. **swich se**, such as: swilc se E e; comp. 'þa com þær heofonlic leoht . . . swilc swa hi ær ne gesawon,' Ælf. Lives, ii. 184/262; 76/29. **swilch** in T, with which the other MSS. agree, = such as; comp. 36/120; 'Ðonne ic wæs mid Iudeum ic wæs suelc hie,' Cura Past. 101/5. The fuller expression is seen in, 'we ne magon . . . nan þing geseon swylc swilc hyt is,' Blooms, ES xviii. 354/26.

80 T is probably the scribe's own attempt to remedy the omission of

1. 76 : **Boðe** appears to refer to 'crist' and 'drihte.' **þe his bien**, such as be his, his own.

81. **biloken** : comp. 13/37.

82. **wettrē . . . londe** : a common formula : comp. 26/271 note ; 40/194 ; 'Vor hi bynomen him saulen · in water ȝ in londe,' OEM. 56/682, 162/13 ; 'a londe ȝ a watere,' L 550, 562, 17990. See KH 245 note.

83. **fuzeles &c.** : comp. 143/79.

84. **wit ȝ waldeð** : wit ȝ walt E. Comp. 139/17.

85. **buten** : abuten, in both places E e ; al buten D : a buten ende represents OE. *ā būtan ende*, ever without end ; by union of the first two words a false form abuten, without, grew up, as at 52/369, 371, 373, alongside abuten, OE. *abūtan*, *onbūtan*, around, about. J rewrites, He wes erest of alle þing · and euer byþ buten ende.

86. **wende &c.**, go where you will ; so 'Ga quar þou ga,' CM 14072 ; 'for wende woder þou wende.' þine dazes beoþ at þe ende,' L 16110. Expressions of the same form are 'comen þer heo comen,' L 20667, 23021 ; 'fare wha swa auere fare,' id. 20849, 23223 ; 104/176 ; 'likien swa me liken,' L 22511, 30544 ; 'wreače se þu wreače,' 141/54 ; 143/84 ; 145/115.

88. **þe—wille** : the MSS. have the order in T. **uwer**, anywhere : aihwar ð (= OE. *æhwær*, everywhere) ; ichwer J ; oueral M ; but E e . have eiðer, OE. *ægðer*, both ; perhaps for eaðe, or eaðere, easily, more easily.

90. **Wi**, alas ; not in E e ; wy J ; wai D. Comp. 36/105 ; 'wei þet he eure hit wule iþenche,' OE H i. 21/28 ; 'Awi leof ware þu me, Heu dilecta mihi,' OE H ii. 183/7 : Heu is translated by Aweilewei, id. 183/15. **hwat—rede**, what shall be to us for advisable ? a common tag ; see KH 825 note.

91. **gulteð, &c.** : comp. 117/18.

92. **et—dome** : comp. 'at þaz muchele dome,' L 23056 ; 16/136 note. D has at to heaze dome ; M, atte heze dome.

93-96 are omitted in D. J has them in the order 93, 96, 94, then a new line, Crist for his muchele myhte · hus helpe þenne and rede, 95, 97.

94. **engles** : comp. 17/146 ; 'Dunc tremblerunt li angle qui tant sunt beaus e clers | E nus que ferum dunc chaitif maleurez | Ki en peche uiuom,' Guischart 446-8.

95. **beren biforen us** : e, omitting us, has the right reading. The phrase is Fr. *mettre avant*, put forward, allege as a plea ; comp. 'Mes tu iés si engresse e fole, | qu'avant vuels metre ta parole,' Marie de France, *Fables*, ed. Warnke, 305/15, 16. Gabrielson, *Archiv* cxxviii. 327, notes the similarity of the expression to 'Mais eiez charite ke uus metez de uant,'

Guischart 1896, but the metaphor there is that of interposing a shield against the darts of the devil. **hom** : wan E ; hwan e J T ; wham M : all the readings mean, what.

96. **þo**, a mistake for **we**, which the other MSS. read. **deme** is object of **iquemen**.

99. The variant **iseien** is peculiar to T : it is evidently due to l. 98.

101. Comp. 119/70, 72.

103. Comp. 'Quant ileoc tremblerunt martir e confessor | Dites mei que ferunt parirur e traitur,' Guischart 319, 20. **pes wichen** in T may be a false division of words, or it may be a deliberate variation, meaning, these witches (**wicca**, **wicce**).

104. **hwi**: the other MSS. have the exclamation like T ; a wei D ; Awi M. The corruption in L has brought about the insertion of **ȝ**, which is also in D. 'Multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi,' S. Matt. xxii. 14.

105. **wi hwi**: comp. 'Wei hwi beo we uule on þisse wrecche world,' OEH i. 33/36 ; 'Wi qui þan mak we us sa kene,' CM 23845. **to hwon** : to hwi D ; hwi J.

107. **bi clepie**, accuse. D has **biclepien**, **bitelle ȝ deme**.

108. All MSS. except L have **temen** or **teme**. For **he** J has **hit**, which is probably object of **temen**, the subject of **schal** being that of the preceding line.

110. **ʒere**, fully ; OE. **geare** : the other MSS. have **wel**. For **him** J has, **his þonk**.

112. **bi seiþ**, declares ; with **mest**, has most to say about it. Comp. 'Seó wearð gebróht and besæd þám cyninge,' B-T. suppl. s. v. **besecgan** ; 'elch sinne þare him seluen biseið,' OEH ii. 173/6. **he seið** e J ; the others **seiþ** only ; **seit** E. With **stille**, silent, comp. 135/105 ; 'sedebit solitarius et tacebit, Me schal sitten him one ȝ beon stille,' AR 156/18.

114. **hal** : **vnhol** J. M has **þe man þat saiþ þat he is lame**, himself he wot **þe smerte**.

115. 'Igitur ex nostro iudicio iudicat nos Deus,' Alcuin ii. 131.

116. J agrees with L, but E e have **oðer** with T, and D **aider** : all meaning, either death or life.

117. **com to monne**, was born ; comp. 113/30.

118. The original is preserved in **swilc hit si abóc ȝwriten e**, as if it were written in a book ; similarly E ; J has **Al so he hit iseye** ; D **swich hit were on boc iwrite**, | **isien he sel hit þanne**. **iþenchen**, remember : OE. **geþencan**.

119-121. Compare generally, 'forðan ðe god ne besceawað na, hwilce we ær wæron, ac he besceawað, hwilce we beon, þonne we dælan sceolon

sawle ȝ lichaman. Þæt is to witanne, þæt god ne secð na þæs godan weorces angin, ac he secð þæne ænde, forðan ðe ælc man sceal beon demed be ðam geearnungum, þe he hæfð, þonne he of ðisum life hwyrfan sceal,' AS. Hom., ed. Assmann, 149/138-43; Orm. 111/3248-55. S. Bernard quotes as from Isidore, 'Non iudicat Deus hominem de praeterita vita, sed de suo fine,' Opera ii. 840: for further parallels see Alcuin ii. 141; Fecunda Ratis 4/8.

119. **etter**: in accordance with: comp. 119/80.

120. **suilch**, such as; comp. 34/80: swulc se E; swich se e; DM have iteald, iteld, estimated; J rewrites, Ah dom schal þolyen vych mon · after his endinge.

121. **ʒefe** is probably due to ʒeue in the next line; ʒif E e; ʒef M; yef J; ef D. The inversion in T is peculiar to it. e reads for the last half of the line ȝ gód ʒif gód is þenne.

122. **wite**—**lende**: in T lende is probably *pr. s. subj.* of lenden, OE. lendan, to arrive, in the very rare causal use, bring to land (lānde, *pt.* of lānan, would, by rule, be lande in this text): the sense then may be, grant that he convey us to heaven, a forced meaning for lende; similarly J with, God yef vs vre ende gód · hwider þat he vs lende. On the other hand the scribe of D, regardless of the rhyme, can have meant only lānde in writing, wite whet he us lende, meaning, preserve what he has entrusted to us, i.e. our souls; the expression of a familiar idea as at 121/144; 127/339, 368, and similarly lenne in e r. w. þenne, must be taken to represent lāne, *pr. s. subj.* of lānan. The meaning of L, with which E and M agree, is probably the same, but if lende means convey, then **wite** must have the rare sense of, see to it, provide, as in, 'Wite ʒe þet ʒe ʒemen þenne halie sunnendei,' OEH i. 11/28. It would seem that all the texts derive from a corrupt source; the author may have written ȝ wite us þen we wende; comp. 'For-þi er we wende. | Makie we us clene and skere. | Þat we englene iveren. | Mawe beon o buten ende,' OEM 73/27-30; 21/116-17.

123. **uuel**: mistake for nule, due to the persistence of uuel from 121.

124. J reads, þat deþ cume to his dure. **him** is in L only: comp. 30/6.

125. Comp. 'Mult avient sovent, | quant li mals le prent, | qu'il ne puet parler, | penitence prendre | ne le suen despendre, | partir ne doner,' Reimpredigt 32/64. **itit**: bilimpeð D.

126. for **þi**: þi E e, with same meaning; D omits. **biet** is difficult; possibly it is a mistake for beiet, kneels; see 132/3; 143/84. For **bit** J **bet**, prays for pardon and amends, comp. 86/120. The variations in the MSS. here look like attempts to mend a faulty source. E, like T, has bit ȝ beʒit ȝ bet, prays for pardon, obtains it and amends: e has beot ȝ beat

ȝ bit, the first verb probably from beoden, the second possibly for beȝat : þat bit ore J ; þat ore bit M gives a good sense, but is plainly from the previous line. Finally the reading of D, þ bit ȝ bete ȝ bet, suggests that the author wrote, þat beot bote ȝ bet, that offers satisfaction and reforms ; comp. 136/132, and for bet, 38/164.

127 T. þe deað : the article is often so prefixed in ME. ; see NED. iii. 73 for examples.

128. latheð : leted E ; leteþ e J M ; uorlet D : probably the scribe of L meant to write lateð as in T, he does not elsewhere use th.

129, 130 T. These lines, not in L, were added on the margin of e and then partially erased. They are not, in my opinion, original. J has, Bilef sunne hwil þu myht · and do bi godes lore. | And do to gode hwat þu myht · if þu wilt habben ore. nah : for naht ; Sin leaves you and not you it, when you cannot commit it any longer. him shows confusion of genders, synn is *fem.* For him þan þu, e has hi þanne þus, E hire þanne þus (=þu es). With the sentiment comp. 'Nulla igitur laus est non facere quod facere non possis,' Lactantius 579 ; 'Si enim tunc vis poenitentiam agere, quando peccare non potes ; peccata te dimiserunt, non tu illa,' Alcuin ii. 135 ; 'Or l'estuet laisser, | ne puet mais pechier, | n'at mais a durer,' Reimpredigt 36/71 (l' = son pechié).

130 T. abit, puts off, delays.

129, 130. Comp. 'Ceo dit escripture : | Tant cum li huem dure | en sa poesté, | se dunc se repent : | a deu veirement | s'est ja acordé,' Reimpredigt, 38/73. The reference is possibly to Isa. lv. 7. þ : E e agree with T ; For we hit ileueþ wel J ; Swa ileuen we hit muȝen D.

132. þer : probably a miswriting of er, previously, hitherto : her T ; hier D, in this world. haueð to : scal E ; sceal e.

134. Ne—bet, ought I not rather to pray ? In 136 T, bie ich means, may I be. For alesed . . . of bende, see 52/394. D reads, ne recche ic bote bi ic alesd ; and M similarly.

135. seaweð, shows, is pointless : with T the other MSS. have icnaweð e ; iknoweþ J D ; knoweþ M ; but icwoweð E, an error of anticipation.

137–140. Comp. generally, 'El mund n'ad nul home, tant eit de leaute, | S'il aveit par mort le siecle trespasse, | E en enfern un oret este | E sentu la puur e veu le oscurte, | S'il reveneit en vie e en prosperite, | Ke james feit mal, tant serreit effree,' Archiv lxiii. 81/152–7. In 138 T hit is a scribe's mistake for hete.

137. twa bare tide, merely two hours ; comp. 221/227. After 138, J has Swiþe grimlych stench þer is · ȝ wurþ wyþ vten ende | ȝ hwo þe enes cumeþ þer · vt may he neuer þenne wende, which are not in any other MS.,

followed by two lines corresponding to 42/221-2, which fit in better here.

139. þa hit : þit E T = þe hit ; þe ; þ hit D ; heo hit J ; & wite hit M. The allusion is to such legends as those of Owain and Tundale. For *mid iwissen*, see 32/40.

140. wa wurð : so T M ; but, uel is E e ; þer wurh D ; þer þurh J. for, in exchange for.

141. In is a scribe's mistake for Ent : wa wurð, or in E e uel is, must be supplied from the preceding line. The second þe is a superfluous repetition of the last word on the preceding recto. J avoiding for reads J for þe blysse þat ende haueþ : endeles is þe pyne.

142. water drunch, water-drink ; comp. 'Alls iff þu drunke waterr-drinnch,' Orm. 149/14482. The other MSS. avoid the compound ; water to drinke E ; weter í drunke e ; wateres drung J ; betere were drinke wori weter D ; wateres drinch M. atter : comp. 'God for ure secnesse dronc attri drunch o rode,' AR 364/17.

143. brede, roast meat ; OE. bræde : comp. 'he nom his aȝe þeh | ... þer of he makede brede. | he bredde heo an hizinge,' L 30581, 3, 4.

144. All too dear he buyeth it, who giveth his neck for it.

145. 'Plenus venter facile de ieiuniis disputat,' S. Jerome, Epist. 158, 2.

146 is intelligible if of pine is understood after enauð. E has þe naht not · hu hi scullen ilesten ; similarly e.

147. stunde : hwile E.

148. Et lete : see 34/74 note. J reads J lete for crist beo wif.

149, 150 are wanting in e M. For oðerluker, see 125/270.

151. wawe . . . wene : the combination is formal : comp. 142/77 : but E has wa . . . pine, e, wa . . . wawe ; D, wo . . . wope ; J, Eure he wolde in bonen beon · J in godnesse wunye | Wip þat he myhte helle fur · euer fleon J schonye, and similarly M.

152. Wið þ þe, provided that, if only ; wið þan þe E, wið þan ȝe e M, = wip þæm þe ; Wip þat J ; wið þet D. T J D M add he, unnecessarily, as it is in the principal clause.

153. J reads, J lete sker al þes worldes weole, where 'sker', utterly, is OW Scand. skærr, clean.

154. L appears to mean, Because to attain to that great bliss is joy of a certainty. But *cume* in T E e, come in D are subjunctives dependent on for, in order that he may come, the subject not being expressed because of *him* in the principal clause ; see 6/18 : for . . . cumen in L could have the same meaning, comp. 'for lesen' 40/180, 182, but a subject is needed for is. For with the subjunctive is not common, but see NED. iv. 412,

col. 3; in this use it descends from *for þām þæt*. J has *Wiþ þat he myhte to heouene cumen*. In *Te þis* = *þe is*; D has *þet is*, E *þat is heuenriche*. For *mid iwisse*, see 32/40.

155. *þ*...of: see 1/3.

157. *eþe*: so E e D; J M omit; sore T is isolated, but J reads *ȝ sore vs of-drede*.

158. *he*: in L only: the others agree with T: *al* is in L T only.

159, 160. *þer men*, wherein men. *stelen*...*helen* change places in T M only. *wruzen*...*ȝ helen*: the combination is formal; comp. 'ase *þe uikelares wreoð ȝ helieð*,' AR 88/18; a reminiscence of 'quoadusque veniat Dominus, qui et illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum et manifestabit consilia cordium', 1 Cor. iv. 5.

162. *riche*: so J only; *heize* E; *heze* e D M.

164 T. *to þe*: a mistake which has probably arisen out of an original *þo*: *efning* is constructed with *wið*.

163-166. Not in J. After *scal* E has *þei*, e *þeh*, D *þeð*, T *þeih*, nevertheless.

164. *ofþincþ*: see 30/10 note. The subject of *bet* is *he*, as implied by him preceding.

165. *scameþ*...*gromeð*: comp. 'Teonen *þolien ȝ gromen ȝ schomen umbe stunde*,' HM 7/8, and for the corresponding nouns in the next line, 'þu vs hauest iwroht *þes schome*. | And alle *þene eche grome*,' OEM 83/334, 5; 'Me to *sorge, scače and same*,' GE 302; OEH ii. 173/13, 14, 23.

166. *þo þre*: so D *þoðre*, but *þe oþre* E e M. *oft*: e D M agree with T; but E has, *þat sculle beon forlorene*.

167, 168. Comp. 'Ia ne porrat nuls dire ke il seit enganez | En tant com li oil clot serrat li plaiz finez,' Guischart 444, 5.

168. *mene*, with *him* reflexive, complain; comp. 'þat he ne mahte nanes weis | meanen him of wohe,' SK 1235, 6. D has *bimene*; comp. 'Men hem *bimenin of litel trewthe*,' Rel. Ant. ii. 121/11. At 196/663, 205/280 it has the more usual sense, with reflexive, of bemoan. *strengþe*...*wronge*: comp. 19/48-51, 32/48-50, 44/256: the perversion of justice by bribed or overawed judges is a common theme in the literature of the time; see Wright, Political Songs, pp. 224-30. *strengþe*, violence, has usually a determining adjective in this sense, as 'nawt *wið luðer strenče*,' SK 1234; 'liste ne *luðer strengče*,' id. 1516, but see 60/18.

170. *uuele holden*, handled, treated, hardly; comp. 'and heom heold swa harde.' ȝ mid *hærme heom igrette*,' L 29937, 8. *redde*: a mistake

for *rerde*, as in E; the others have *arerde*, set up, instituted; comp. 15/80, 85.

171. *ec*: Ac E; *Ende* e; *ech* D; *Euerich* M. 171, 172 are not in J.

176, 178. *forð mid*: see 1/19.

177. *habbeð doules were*: *nabbeð god idon* E e: comp. 44/254.

178. *grunde*: comp. 46/295; 'alesde us of helle grunde,' OEH i. 19/8; 'al forloren into helle grunde,' id. 21/35; see also 119/82. For *faren forð mid*, E e have, *falle swiþe raþe*.

179. *are*: ore E J D. The text means, ever without mercy and without end, but *Lewin* confusing ore with orde as in 'Wipputenn ord ȝ ende,' *Orm.* 234/6775, translates 'ohne Anfang und Ende.' e reads á ȝ buten ende.

180. *gate*: dure E e J D; M omits. *for lesen*: for lese e; the others have to. The infinitive of purpose with *for* is uncommon, comp. 173/409.

181. *sullic*, wonder. *wa . . . uneade*, OE. *unēaðe*, are historically adverbs, lit. though to them it be wofully and grievously; *bet*, *wwrs*, &c., are used in the same construction; see 46/289: comp. with *uneade*, 'þer fore hire wes uneðe,' L 4503; 'an heorte him wes unneðe,' id. 26730. J has, he mawe wunye eþe, they may easily remain there.

182. *for lesen*: variants as in l. 180, but E for *lesen*. Comp. 'Ki deu ne uolt conustre tut serrat cureicus | Il ne morrat ia meis ne por mei ne por uus,' *Guischart* 223, 4.

183. *helle brec*, harrowed hell. 'The Gospel [of Nicodemus] probably reached the climax of its popularity in England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,' *The ME. Harrowing of Hell*, ed. Hulme, p. lxxviii.

184. Comp. 'Tant cher nus achatað de sun sanc precius,' *Guischart* 220; OEM 49/434, 187/20. *hom*: hi D; the others, us.

185. *mei . . . mei*: comp. 30/29, where L has the usual pair, representing OE. *mæge*, kinswoman, *mæg*, kinsman: *mouwe . . . mey* E; *mazhe . . . meie*; *moze . . . meie* D; *moze . . . mei* M: but J *Nolde hit nomon do for me*.

188. *bendes*: comp. 81/67.

192 T. *þar þat*, of those who: comp. 1 Cor. vi. 2.

192. *þ*, because. *uuele*: *harde* J D M, meaning hardship; comp. ON. 459, 527. *habbeð . . . on honde*, have to do with, have to suffer: similar expressions are 'sorhen heom com on honde,' L 30428; 'for al hit trukeð us an hond.' *þ* we to temden,' id. 16799; 'and eoden him luðere an hond,' id. 31265; 'him for ðissere worulde wel on hand eode,' *Ælf. Lives* i. 488/13. For the matter, comp. 183/241, 193/551-2.

193. *honde*: comp. 56/50: *ande e*.

194. **sake**: in L only. It means here, guilt, as in 'Þa lakess mihhtenn clennsenn hemm | Off sakess ȝ off senness,' Orm. 36/1126, 7. Other similar combinations are 'sorge, scaȝe and same,' GE 302; 'sorge and sare,' Ælf. Lives i. 266/90; 'swinc and sorwe and deades strif,' GE 268. With T comp. 42/204, 136/136; 'on sorhge leofodon and on geswincum,' Ælf. de Vet. Test. 3/10; 'labor et dolor,' Psalm lxxxix. 10. For **a watere**, &c., see 34/82; on se ȝ on londe D.

195, 196. Comp. 'Adam le (i.e. nostre pais) nus tolit e sa fole moiller | E nus ki deaus uenimes lauum compare chier | En grant cheitiuison mult nus pot en nuier,' Guischart 695-7. **forme**: formes E e; uormes D.

197. Comp. 48/323; 'þurst and hunger · chele and hete · þis beoð stronge pyne,' OEM 37/9; 'muchel hunger ȝ hæte : at æuer ælche monnes ȝete,' L 20441, 2. **helde** ȝ **unhelðe**: comp. 20/72, 30/14, 48/323, 52/373. But, eche ȝ al unelpe E; eche · ȝ eal un helðe e; ache and vnhelpe J; ecȝe (= eche) ȝ al unhelȝe D; eche ȝ unhelpe M, show the original reading: OE. **ece**, **æce**, **ache**.

198. **uniselðe**: comp. 52/374; 26/256 note. J has vnyselyhpe.

199. **unsele**: vnhele J; vnvele D.

200. **a hele**: on hele E e D; myd blysse and myd wele J.

203, 204 T are copied by mistake from ll. 73, 74. As in both cases the lines are at the top of a folio, it may be inferred that the scribe of T was copying a MS. exactly page by page, and that l. 202 completed a gathering in his original with an added catchword Litel; that he, after beginning f 5^a with the catchword, laid aside his work, and on resuming it began at the wrong place. On discovering his mistake he started afresh.

201. **lutel—mon**: so T J D, it seems a small matter to many a man; but E e omit hit, read iþenchȝ, iþencȝ, and hu for ac, many a man little thinks how great, &c.

202. **hwam**: hwan e; whan M; whon J = for **hwæm**, for **hwon**, why; vor hwy D = for **hwȳ**; E has for þan. **hore** must mean Adam and Eve; M reads adammes: but e reads þe, D þo, yet they begin the next line with Heore e, Here D, and J with heore in this line has Vre sunne and vre sor · vs may sore of þunche.

203. **ofþinche**: see 30/10.

204. **sorȝe**: see 40/194.

206. **eðe**: sore E J M.

208. **an helle pine** &c.: e M go with L; E with T; in pyne ȝ on vnwunne J.

209. **lædden**: the other MSS. have the present tense. **mid unriht**: comp. 'Ne wurp þer vnryht ne wrong,' OEM 143/85.

210. **buten**—do, unless God's mercy intervene. **longe**: comp. 48/327, 169/342.

212. **bi pan ilke iwichte**, by the same measure, i.e. as great as his might; comp. 53/384: *ah al by one wyhte J; nis him no þing litlinde, | ac bi emliche wihte D* (litlinde, decreasing, see 126/327; emliche, equal). In T 216 **mihte** is a mistake for **milce**.

213. 'Nuls ne pot tant pecher com deus pot parduner,' Guischart 948.

214. **hit bigunne**, made a beginning, took the first step, i.e. repentance, **hit** being indefinite; comp. 'Li sires est tut prest certes de nus aider | Se il en fust alkun kil uosist comencer,' Guischart 703, 4. Less probable is, began to show mercy, Einkenel, Anglia iv., Anz. 92. Morris takes **bigunne** as subjunctive of **bigan**, to seek for. E reads, it bidde gunne.

218. **wallinde**: the other MSS. add **pich**, and have **bed** instead of **bað**: see 44/245, 120/104.

219. Comp. 'Ke plus fait sun servise, plus fait ke maleurous,' Archiv lxiii. 81/171; 'Ki plus fait sun plaisir a celui fait il pis,' Guischart 59; 'Ki kunques mielz le sert cil ad peines plus granz,' id. 102; 'Hec est natura Diaboli, qui semper malefacit amicis suis et non aliis; pessime remunerat illos qui ei seruiunt,' Eudes de Cheriton 232/7. **fulle**, utter, deadly: comp. 'þat is my fulle i-vo,' OEM 42/174; 'nawt ane to hare freond, ah to hare fulle fon,' HM 31/3; 24/202. For **frond**, E e M have **wines**; D wine. J omits ll. 219–22. **Wurst** is adverbial.

220. **wih**: **wihd** E; **wið** e D; **fram** M.

221. **hi** = **ih**, I.

222. **þer**—**feche**, might there procure for myself: but E e D M have for **þer** me, **þerinne**, **þarinne**, and D **wende** for **mahte**.

223. **þ his** is a misreading of an original **þeh ic**, and **on** is for **ou**. **wise men**: comp. 'De ceo ke io dirrai asez en ai garanz | Les mielz de seinte glise e tuz les plus uaillanz,' Guischart 9, 10.

224. **aboken**: comp. 'Hit is write in þe bok · þer me hit may rede,' OEM 41/131.

226. **unfrome**, detriment: **unfreme** e; **unureme** M; **hearne** E; **harme** J; **unwines** D.

227. **edi men** 'j **arme**: comp. 'Arme j edie ledin,' Prov. of Alfred, ed. Skeat 7/39; 'ne ermne ne eadine,' OEH i. 115/19. For **arme** M reads strangely **areje**. 'Entendez ca uers mei les petiz e les granz,' Guischart 1.

229. **twa ueele**: **ueele** **twa** e, and similarly the other MSS. **iferen** in T is certainly the noun, companions, so **iueren** D and probably **iüere** in L: in the others **ifere**, in company.

230. **maket nipinges**, made worthless men, a reading due to the misunderstanding of the compound, as in T and the other MSS., stingy in giving away food: comp. 'mete custi,' L 19266. M has, **þat were nipinges** here.

231. For **waning**, D has *sorinesse*; for **wow**, all MSS. *wop*; comp. 'þær nan stefne styreð butan stearc-heard | wop and waning, na wiht elles,' Be Domes Dæge, 14/200; 2/10. **after eche streche**, at every stride, on every hand; comp. 29/14; 'bið swa mihtles on his modes streche,' OEh i. 111/25, for the verb, 'bot inwyth not a fote, | To strech in the strete þou hatz no vygour,' E. E. Allit. Poems, 29/969. The other MSS. agree with T: **after ache strate**, along each road: for **after** comp. 'Ðonne licggað ða giemmas toworpne æfter strætum' (= dispersi per plateas), Cura Past. 135/4; 'Al þat verden æfter wæi,' L 13776. M reads in *eueriche strete*.

With 232-4 comp. 120/100-2. **from hete to hete** may mean from one degree of heat to another, but the MSS. agree with T. The last half of the line which is peculiar to L does not mean, 'and nearly freeze the wretches,' as Morris translates, but, and each (change) for comfort to the wretches. The construction is probably the same as at 86/125; see 176/24 note: if **to frure** is a *dat. inf.*, it is the only one in L without final *n*.

233. **blisse**: J has here and l. 235, *lisse*, rest, respite; a word often associated with *blisse*, as, 'Blisse ȝ lisse ic sende uppon monnen', OEh i. 15/2.

234. **of-misse**, they feel the privation of heat. The verb is also constructed with *of*, 'Hwo þat for lyue þisse | þer-of schal mysse,' OEM 73/34, 5, 87/7, 8; Minot ix. 13 note.

235. **hi**, heat and cold; the MSS. agree with T. The omission of the subject to *nabbeð* T 239 is grammatically correct, but the metre requires *hie*. **lisse**: T, so E e J M.

236. D reads *Niteð hi hwer hi wonieð mest*, they know not where they lament most. For **mid-wisse**, see 32/40.

237. **walkeð**: not 'rolls' as at 2/12; the place in the writer's mind is 'Cum immundus spiritus exierit de homine, ambulat per loca inaquosa, quaerens requiem; et non inueniens dicit,' &c., S. Luke xi. 24.

238. See 32/35.

239. **for þi**: so J; for *hi* D; *ȝ hi* M, but E has *ac þi*; e *ȝi*, therefore; comp. 'Ich rede þi þat man bo ȝare,' ON 860, 1548: 'þi bileafden heo heore timbrunge,' OEh i. 93/23.

240, 241. Suggested by 'Qui enim haesitat similis est fluctui maris, qui

a vento movetur et circumfertur,' S. James i. 6 ; 'Vir duplex animo inconstans est in omnibus viis suis,' id. i. 8. **walkeð** here seems to mean, rolls, tosses; see 2/12. **weri**: comp. 'wery so water in wore,' Bödd., AE. Dicht. 148/32, said however of stagnant water. For **weri** J substitutes **par bope**.

241. a **panke**: comp. 'stif he wes on þonke,' L 2110. For **boð**, D has **seden**, for **senden**. For the last three words J substitutes **Mid hwom me heold feste**; Morris, thinking it corrupt, conjectures, **hwom me ne heold feste**, or, **me heold vnfeste**, whom men considered unsteadfast. But the scribe of J has deliberately substituted for the men of infirm purpose those who fare sumptuously. These are they who in this world were those with whom men feasted.

242. **ȝ þa þe**: e reads **ȝ** to, which gives the best sense. **heste**, not often in the sense of promise: **aht E**; **aht e**. In T 246, **naht** has dropped out before **ilaste**.

243. **ful enden**: **fulendi D**; OE. **fullendian**, finish.

244. **witen**, **went**; OE. **gewitan**: the other MSS. have **weren E e D**; **were J M**.

245. e reads, **þere is pich ȝe æure wealð · þer sculle bačie inne**, and so the others, but for **þer** — **inne J** has, **þ heo schulle habbe þere**, and **M**, **þat sculle þe beo inne**. See 42/218 and comp. 'In a bytter baþ | ich schal baþe naked. | Of pych and of brunston | wallynde is i-maked,' OEM 181/209-12.

246. **here**: **vuel E**; **uel e**. in **werre ȝ in winne**, in war and in strife: the combination is at least rare. **M** has, **mid werre ȝ mid ywinne**. **unwinne** in T 250, meaning distress, is also a rare word; comp. 'Sinne me hauiþ in care ibroȝt | broȝt in mochil vnwinne,' E. E. Poems, 21/5, 6: e has, in **feoht end in iginne**, where **iginne** is miswritten for **iwinne**; **E** in **feoh (= feoht) end in iginne (= iwinne)**, in fighting and strife; comp. 'ne bilæfde he næuer nænne.' **þat heold feht and iwin**, L 9042, 4, 11522. **D** reads, in **wle ȝ in senne**; **J** **vnwreste · and eke false were**.

247. **E** has ll. 249, 250 before 247, 248. In 251 T **pis = þe is**.

248. **uerse**, fresh water; OE. *adj.* **ferse** used exclusively of fresh as opposed to salt water. The other MSS. agree with T: **nauene strien ne sture E**; **nauene striem ne sture e**; **ne auene strém · ne sture J**; **Hauene stream ne Sture D**. There are two places where rivers called Avon and Stour meet, in Warwickshire near Stratford-on-Avon, and in Hampshire near Christchurch.

249. **nawiht**: **nomon J**; **no þing D**.

250. **þa þe—lof**, those to whom it was too pleasing, those who took too

much delight in: ll. 250, 251 may be a reminiscence of the Anarchy; see 7/49, 6/44.

252. Those who had the power to do evil, (and) those (without the power) to whom it was sweet to contemplate it. But the other MSS., except T D, and M which omits the line, agree with E, þo þe ne mihte euel don · J lef was it to þenche. In T 256 þe does double duty as *nom.* to mihten, and as *dat.* to lief; comp. 118/28.

254. J á · on ðes deofles weorc · bliðeliche swunche e; comp. 40/177; 'qui laetantur cum malefecerint, et exultant in rebus pessimis,' Prov. ii. 14.

255. 'Or ne set lum ki creire tant est fel e muanz,' Guischart 13. Comp. 7/47.

256. **Medierne**, greedy of bribes. Comp. 32/48.

257. þ: so þe E e, meaning, he to whom; comp. 161/187: þe þat J; þo þ D: wes has fallen out after wif.

258. ete: méte J; comp. 'Inne mete J inne drinke ic habbe ibeo ouerdede,' OEM 193/41. A variant is, 'on hete and on wete,' OEH i. 101/24; 'on æte oððe on wæte,' Ælf. Lives i. 354/270. **druken** in T 262 is miswritten for **drunke** (**drynce**) through confusion with **druken** 257 (**druncen**).

259. Who took from the poor man his property, and added it to his store. See 7/51, and comp. 'leggeþ ine hord,' OEM 47/364; 'Vych mon hit scholde legge on hord,' ON 1224.

260. **lutel** let of, held in small esteem; comp. 113/45; 143/99; 'Ac se kyngc let lihtlice of oð þ he com to Englalande,' AS. Chron. D 211/16; 'ne lete he nout wel of þet he is Godes 3erde,' AR 184/21; 'þat prophet | þat drightin of sa mikel let,' CM 9149; 'þat of his wordus lette pure liht,' AE Legenden, ed. Horstman, 44/206; 'he let lutel to þe,' HM 33/14. For similar expressions see 8/84, 124/264, 129/32, 173/417. **borde**: comp. 48/307: bode E J D; bibode e; hest M.

261. J — a3en: End te his a3en e, and to his own relatives, and similarly in L T D, though the preposition be wanting. J has þeo þat almes, adding as next line, Ne his poure kunesmen · at him ne myhte nouht spede. E has And of his owen nolde 3iuen.

262. **sonde**: so E J; sande e: but D agrees with T. In the second half of the line L stands alone, with an easy phrase, when he heard it announced. But E e have preserved the original, þer he sette his beode, nor would listen to God's messenger, when He spread His table; the reference being to the parable of the marriage feast, S. Matt. xxii. 4, as expounded at 85/84-7. The OE. word **bēod**, **bīed** occurs in 'þu gearwodeþ beforan me swiðe bradne beod' = 'Parasti in conspectu meo mensam,' Psalm xxii. 5. The readings of T, of D, þer he set (= sat) at his biede, and

of J, þar he sat at his borde, are all corruptions of that original with identical meaning, as in 'Noldest þu nefre helpen þam orlease wrec[che]n ; | Ac þu sete on þine benche, underleid mid þine bolstre,' Worcest. Frag. C. 25, 26.

263. *þ* does double duty as *dat.*, to whom, to loure, and as *nom.*, who, to weren in the next line; similarly T: see 44/252. *hit*: him M; *leuere þan* beon schulde J.

265. *þon þe*: *þam þe e*, both meaning, to those to whom, E has *þam*, miswritten for *þam*, to whom. J rewrites, *ȝ luueden vntrewnesse · þat heo schulden beon holde*; Morris translates *þat*, in which; it is a mistake for *þar*, which M reads. Comp. 'treowe and holde,' OEM 38/48: the offence is in OE. *hlāford-swīcung*, Morsbach's Studien, l. 167. D omits ll. 263-6: J adds after 265, *Heo schulleþ wunyen in helle · þe ueondes onwolde*.

267. *weren . . . abuten*, were bent on; see 74/229 note. The other MSS. agree generally with T: *ȝysceres* E; *ȝetseres* D; *ȝeseres* M; *gaderares* J; *witteres e* = knowing, wise.

268. *hechte to ȝ tachte*, bid and taught (them) to do: *hem tihte ȝ ec tauhte* E; *heom tihte ȝ to tehte e*; *heom tycede and tahte* J; *ham tichede to ȝ tahte* D; *tizte do ȝ tehte* M. The original was probably *tuhte to ȝ tehte*, instigated and taught. Comp. 127/365; '*þe deofel heom tuhte to þan werke*,' OEH i. 121/33.

269. *þen*: so E e; it = *þe en* (40/196), in; *þ anie wise* D; *þat in alle wise* M; And *alle þeo þe myd dusye wise* J, in foolish fashion.

270. *fordon* &c.: comp. '*fordon ȝ fordemed*,' SK 427; '*fordude ant fordemde*,' SM 2/32. Here the Lambeth MS. ends.

271. *of ðufte*: see 30/10.

273. Comp. generally 76/27-32; 120/95-7. *frute*, toads: *frude* E; *fruden* J D: akin to OWScand. *frauðr* (Björkman, 76). *Frod* is a child's name for a frog in Yorkshire, EDD. ii. 504. NED. iv. 570 quotes from Dives and Pauper, 'Some man hadde leuer for to mete with a froude or a frogge in the waye than to mete with a knyght or a squyre.'

274. *speke*: *speken* E; *spekeð* JD. *niðfulle*: *ondfulle* D.

276. *hate*: so M; but *hete* E J D; OE. *hete*, enmity. *eorre*: *ȝeorre* E; *herre* D; *erre* M.

277. *uuel*: *muchel* J M.

278. *swierte leie*: comp. 76/17; 119/86-8: *þiester leie* D.

280. *þ beoð þa*: comp. 1/10.

281. *ateliche . . . eisliche*: comp. 'swo eisliche and swo ateliche,' OEH ii. 171/24: J reads *ate'liche ucondes ȝ grysliche wyhtes*.

282. ifon, seize : the other MSS. agree with T : ison E. *ſurh sihte* : bi sihtes J ; mid isihte M. NED. explains bi sihtes, by looks or glances. The context rather requires, with open eyes, knowingly, wilfully, but I know no parallel. Comp. Heb. x. 26.

283. Comp. 134/93 ; 'sathanas þe cwed,' OEM 180/213. *ealde* : 'serpentem antiquum, qui est diabolus et Satanas,' Apocal. xx. 2 : comp. 'Se ealde deofol þe is mid andan afylled,' *Ælf. Lives* ii. 180/183 ; 'For to beon yuonded · of sathanas þen olde,' OEM 38/28, 76/130 ; OEH i. 75/30 ; SK 1184 ; HM 15/14. *belzebud* : belsebuc E ; belzebuc M : 'est finalis litera b,' *Catholicon*.

285. A common formula ; comp. 119/85, 133/48 ; OEM 173/57-60 ; AR 144/21.

287. *Wið*, as regards : it has apparently the same meaning in 'god heom aredde wið heore ifan,' OEH i. 87/18, for aredden usually takes of or ut of. E T have of, about : comp. 187/350 ; J For al.

288. *gamen* ȝ *gleo*, a favourite combination : comp. 'Ilued ich habbe gomen and gleo,' OEM 160/33 ; Minot iv. 57 note.

292 T. of *þat*, as concerns what ; so far as what one may suffer here is concerned.

289, 90. 'Tut est desespere iceo les par confund | Ke il seuent tres bien ia merci nen aurunt,' Guischart, 125, 6 ; CM 23261-4. *deð—wa*, affects them so wofully, causes them such sorrow : see 40/181 : such uses of *don* are very extensive in ME. ; comp. 34/69 ; 'don us mare wa on,' SJ 43/8. *naht* : noþing J.

290. *þ*, as that : bute *þat* E ; Ase *þ* J ; swo *þ* D.

292. *þe*, to whom. The use of *þe* as oblique relative is not common in OE. ; comp. 'he sealde his dohtor . . . þæm cyninge . . . þe he ær *Æpirarice* geseald hæfde,' Orosius 118/27, where *þe* is preceded by another dative. It occurs more frequently in EME. : for *þe*=to whom, see 9/116, 12/13, 139/15 ; = in which, 113/36 ; with which, 88/4. Similarly *þat* is used in various relationships, with which 8/108, possibly 26/259 ; to whom, Orm. 118/3439, HM 5/24 ; for whom, 21/92, 195/634 ; against which, 201/144, 218/147. E reads *þe* heom, to whom ; the personal pronoun is given a relative force by the addition of the relative *þe* ; comp. 'þe holie man iob þe non ne was his efning on eorðe,' OEH ii. 69/32, whose equal was not on earth : *þet* . . . hire 117/10 is analogous. J reads *þet*=to whom ; comp. 143/84 ; D *þer* naht of godes bode, a hopeless corruption. *þe nes naht of*, who heeded not : see 8/84 note.

293-6. 'Quant fustes baptizez de funz regenerez | Ke dunkes pre-misistes gardez ne li mentez | Ki or nirrad a lui il ert deseritez | Come fel

e traître pus en ert apelez | En destreit serrat mis e a tel ert liurez | Ki nel rendrat pas pus por mil mars dor pesez,' Guischart 554-9.

294. **cristen dom**, baptismal vow. **heolde**, kept; see 48/310.

295. **on—grunde**: comp. 40/178. J reads anyþe helle grunde: a nyþe is found only here. It may be a preposition formed from **an** + **neopan** (comp. **anunder**), like **beneopan** and with the same meaning; but probably it is for a nyþer as in T and D in nyþerhelle grunde.

296. **ut**: so D: but E J vp. 'Ne porrat morir | n'a merci venir, | senz fin i serat,' Reimpredigt 34/67. **marke**: see 34/67, and comp. 'myd markes and myd punde,' OEM 89/18.

297. **ibede**: bene D.

298. D, vor naht hi solden bidde þer | ore ne 3euenesse, in agreement with T, in which hi must be supplied from hem in 301: see 6/18. 'Almones ne ben faiz ne lur profiterunt | Messes ne ureisuns ia certes nes garrunt,' Guischart 127, 8.

299. **of**: so E; but T J D M have wip, which is normal, as at 304, and for schilden 50/346, 82/121; biwerien 50/334; werien 50/335; biwiten 117/5, 149/163; witen 82/118, 149/170, 178. Less usual are 'misdon wið' 6/23 note; 'loki wit' 153/56. **of**, in respect of, as regards; a rare use for, against; comp. 'uor to warnie wummen of hore fol eien,' AR 54/26: and note *wið* interchanging with *of*, 46/287.

300. **þer wið**, against it, i.e. hell pine: see 1/3. **habbe**: wille D; wulle M. With **ido T** 304 comp. 122/185 note.

302. **sceal**, must. **leche**: comp. 'Of vre louerd ihesu crist · þat is soule leche,' OEM 51/508. From this place it has been inferred that the writer was a priest with some knowledge of medicine. Perhaps he is only asserting the claim of Christianity to benefit the body as well as the soul, as in 1 Thess. v. 23, and often in Missal and Breviary, 'mente et corpore pariter expediti,' &c.

304. **we þ**: wel, swo D.

306. **emeristen**: euen cristen J; nexte M; see 26/265. After **eal**, se has probably dropped out: also E; as J; swo D; al suo M.

307. Every thing we hear in the services of the Church: comp. 'Al þet me ret and singeð . . . in halie chirche,' OEH i. 125/27; 'al þet holi chirche redeð ant singeð,' AR 268/9; OEM 91/43. **bifore godes borde**, at the altar.

308. **hanget ȝ bihalt bi**, derive their authority from and depend on. S. Matt. xxii. 40.

311. **earueðhealde**, difficult to keep; see 12/3. J rewrites, Ah soþ ich hit eu segge · ofte we agulteþ alle.

312. **strang**: see 21/94. **lange**: veste D. **liht**, easy: comp. 72/178; 'All þiss to shæwenn niss nohht lihht | Shorrtliȝ wiȝp fæwe wordess,' Orm. 99/13032, 3: so **lihtliche**, 50/343, readily.

314. **unne**: lete J; leue M. **bote**: see 80/58 note.

315. **wele**: ayhte J.

316. **eal**: mest leggeþ vre swynk J; leggeð alмест D; muchel M. Comp. 32/57.

318. **of**: for oft: ofte J D M; E omits. **bicherd**, misled. **bi kehte**, ensnared, deceived. But J reads for the latter, **vuele by þouhte**, saddened by remembrance of our sins: comp. 'þe man kið him seluen mildhertnesse þe biðencheð on his sinnen,' OE H ii. 189/5.

319. **erminges**, miserable mortals: mostly an adj. in ME. as at 76/22, 31. Morris suggested **erninges**, gains.

320. **en**: of E J. **her** ȝ: oþer E J D M.

321-3. Comp. 40/197, 8.

324. **of þere**, of that: J has þer of.

325. **ofte** &c.: see 32/47.

327. **lange**: comp. 42/210; 168/342.

328. J substitutes ȝ after **gode wel wurchen** þenne ne þuruue noht kare, and be vigorous in pursuit of good: comp. 30/21, 32/61.

330. Unless we are on our guard, this world will make us drunk: the meaning of **fordrenche** is fixed by **drinche** l. 331. **adrenche** D M, drown. With **wurðe . . . iwer**, comp. 9/122; with **us**, 13/34.

331. **scenche**, draught; OE. **scencan**, to pour out; comp. KH 369 note. **deofles**: M reads, of one duole **scenche**, of a stupefying draught.

332. A man must know how to protect himself well, if it (i.e. the drink) is not to trip him up. See B-T. s. 7. **screncan**. J is defective here; D omits ll. 331, 2.

333. **Mid**: Vor D. For **almihtin**, 337 T, see 79/17.

334. **þ**: þe J; see 13/28. **he**: he ne E; heo . . . ne J; hi ne D.

335. **werie . . . wið**: see 48/299.

336. **bi ȝiten**: in e only; ȝiuē alle mancunne E; and similarly in the other MSS. The text may mean, acquired for mankind.

337. **bene**, pleasant, agreeable: 'spatiosa via . . . quae ducit ad perditionem,' S. Matt. vii. 13. J reads **grene**, rejecting, as often, the unusual word: comp. 'the broad way and the green' of Milton's sonnet.

338. **niȝeðe del**, nine-tenths, the great majority: **niȝende del** D.

339. **wei grene**: the path to heaven is compared to what is still in some parts called a 'green road' or a 'green way,' 'a road over turf

between hedges,' EDD., the 'unmetalled road' of the Ordnance maps, because, unlike the highway, it is used by few. J has, þene wey so schene, and in the next line, and þat is wel eþ-sene; M, J þat is þe worlde on-sene. The last half of T 344 appears to be corrupt.

341. **us lað**: comp. 'lað þah him were,' L 244; 145/105.

342. **eal**, wholly; but M al hare wil.

343. **mid**—**hulde**, along the lower (downward) slope: nuðer E; niðer helde D M. J omits ll. 343-4. **mid**, in the same direction as, like the modern 'with the stream.'

344. **godliese**: gutlease D: the earliest quotation for godless, impious, in NED. is under 1528; words before that time are ranged under goodless, comfortless, worthless. But Mätzner puts examples from SK and HM under the former. Are the cheerless wood and the bare field Virgilian? Aeneas passes by the 'descensus Averni' 'per tacitum nemus' to the 'lugentes campi'. **bare**: brode D.

345. **hese**: hes E; heste J M; hesne D. **ðer**: þat J, cognate *acc.*; comp. 'I am a man farand þe way,' CM 3295.

346. **þ beoð ða**: see 1/10. **sculdeð . . . wið**: see 48/299: **silten** D (for **silden**, shielded); **schedeþ** wel J, possibly, separate themselves completely, but **scheden** requires from, 159/153, and in the presence of **wið** the reading may be regarded as a mistake for **schildeþ**.

347. **þeanes**: to þeanes E; ayeyn J; aþenes M; D omits ll. 347, 8. Not, 'along the cliffs,' but, breasting the steep slope, up the high hill; comp. Milton's 'labour up the hill with heavenly truth.'

348. J reads, þeos leteþ awei al heore wil; comp. 157/133. **fulle**, perform; OE. **fyllan**: M has felle.

352. **ne ðincð &c.**: comp. 12/11 (piece v). J substitutes, Wel edy wurþ þilke mon · þat þer byþ vnderuonge.

353. **þe lest haueþ murehþe** J; Se þ lest haueð blisce D.

354. **for ðas**, for the bliss of this world.

355. **uuel**: pyne J; hunger M.

358. In accordance with their deeds here, in proportion to the severity of their effort.

359. **este**: comp. 17/159.

360. Comp. 'giueð hem to medes eche lif · J blisse · J heuene mid him seluen,' OEH ii. 67/25; 74/233.

361. **fah ne græi**: fou ne grei E; fou ne grey J; foꝝ ne grei M; D omits ll. 361-2. For the association of the words comp. 'Ne hedde he none robe · of fowe · ne of gray,' OEM 39/66; 'gold · ne seoluer · vouh · ne gray,' id. 94/28; 'Monye of þisse riche. | þat werede fowh and grey,'

id. 165/27, 8. In French they are vair (L. *varius*) and gris, as in 'jamais ne vestirai vair ne gris ne hermine | n'afulerai mantiel ourle de sabeline, | ne couceraï en lit covert de marterine,' Le Chevalier au Cygne, in Bartsch & Hornung, 349/14-16. OE. *fāȝ*, *fāh*, variegated, coloured, is also in ME. an adj., as at 81/82; 'fah clað,' L 24653. As a noun it means a variegated or shaded fur, as distinct from one of uniform colour, like *græi*, which is badger. *kuning*, rabbit fur, but *cuniculus* is glossed marderis, i.e. marten, in Fecunda Ratis 450, where it is associated with migale, ermine, which would go better with the general idea of sumptuosity. But marten is in the next line. *konyng* J; *cunig* EM.

362. *aquierne*, squirrel: OE. *ācweorn*, in oldest form *ācweorna*, Sweet, Oldest E. Texts, 590: *ocquerne* E; *Okerne* M; *Ne oter ne acquerne* J. *martres cheole*, marten's throat, explained by Mätzner as throat-piece, collar or boa of marten; but the expression, found here only, is a bad attempt at translating F. *gole martrine*, fur dyed red, as in 'ses mantels fu riches et chiers | et fu toz faiz a eschaquiers; | l'uns tavel ert de blanc hermine | et l'autre ert de gole martrine,' Eneas, 4029-32; a chess-board pattern in white and red. The pelisson of the period was a tunic of fur enclosed between cloths which permitted the red-dyed fur to be seen only at the front edges of the garment. These borders were called *goules*; comp. 'Lernes li moillent le menton | E les goles del peliçon,' Roman de Troie, ed. Constans, 15543-4; 'Goules de martre, ne vos vuel plus porter,' Raoul de Cambrai, 6227: the resemblance to the French word for throat has led to the translation here, as to the erroneous explanation of *goules*, *gole*, by 'collet' in Florence de Rome, 1959; Roman de Thebes, 6375-6. M has simply *martrin*, OF. *martrine*, marten's fur. *metheschele* in T is for *merȝes chele*, the first element being OE. *mearð*, marten; it is equivalent to the reading of E e. *beuer*, &c.: *Beuveyr ne sablyne* J.

363. *sciet*: *sced* E; *scete* D descend from OE. *scīete*, *scēte*, cloth, but *scat* T; *schat* M from OE. *sceatt*, property, money; as in 'srud and sat,' GE 795, 881, 'srud or sat,' id. 3169. J has, *Ne þer ne wurþ ful iwīs · worldeſ wele none. scrud*, dress; not 'shroud.'

365. See 125/291.

367, 368. D omits. *na wið uten*: *noþing ȝit vten* E; *nowiht wiþ vte* J: the latter and T appear to mean, there is nothing wanting to him: e is probably a corruption of *na wiht uten*, and *ȝit* in E is miswritten for *wit* = *wið*, as *ȝiht*e 380 for *wiht*e.

368. *wane*: T has the usual construction, as '*deest mihi pecunia*, *mê ys fêos wana*,' Ælf. Gram. 202/11; 'He nis naht fulliche cristene þat (= to

whom) is ani wane of þese þrie,' OEH ii. 15/22 ; 19/35 ; in E c wane is an adj. as in 'ic eom wana of ðam getele,' Ælf. Gram. 202/11 ; 129/23. J has Nis heom nones godes wone.

369. gane, miswritten for wane, misery, the reading of D T ; J has wone ; E grame.

370. of ðinche: see 30/10. e ends with this line ; what follows is from E.

371. treþe: so D : J has the often-associated teone ; comp. 133/61 ; 24/208 note. 'La est uie senz mort ki tut tens li durreit,' Guischart 1255.

373. ulde . . . vnhelðe: see 40/197.

374. sorewé . . . sor: comp. 147/137 ; 'mid seorwen and mid seore,' L 6885 ; 'to forswelten isar 7 isorhe eauer,' SJ 79/7 ; 'iseien sor 7 seoruwe,' AR 190/15 ; SK 1164 : so too, 'sorw3e and sariness,' VV 19/2 ; 'seoruhful 7 sori,' AR 88/12.

375. Seopþe me dryhten iseo. So J, which cannot mean, 'Afterwards one shall see the Lord' : probably in Seopþe lurk Swo þer, and schal has fallen out, as it has in T. swa, even as, more fully in T, swo se ; comp. 34/80 : D reads, swo ase he is. For omission of the subject in T comp. 6/18 note. mid iwissee: see 32/40. Comp. 'Kar deus sicum il est tuz tens senz fin uerunt,' Guischart 117 ; 'En l'un qui serat | dampne deu verrat | toztens en present,' Reimpredigt 54/107.

377-80 are wanting in J. And ðeh, and yet.

378. ði, because. The reading of T, which is supported by D M, gives a better sense.

380. 3ihte, miswritten for wihte ; comp. 52/367 note: wihte M ; rihte D. See 42/212.

381. seon: wite M.

382. ienawen 7 iwiten, understand and get to know: iseon and iwyten J ; iknowen 7 isien D ; biknowe 7 yseo M. For mihte, J has Milce ; M milse.

383. to: þer to D ; may luste J. The usual preposition is *after*, as 'þa lisste himm affterr fode,' Orm ii. 39/11333 ; 'A33 lisste himm affterr mare,' id. i. 356/10220 : but comp. 158/168 ; 'Hi sete adoun 7 ete faste: for hem luste wel þerto,' Legendary, 223/127. hleste in 387 T is explained in Specimens as a noun, desire: it can only be OE. hlystan, listen, suggested by 'isien' in the next line.

384. hali boc: in liue boc D ; on lyues bec (MS. bee) iseon J.

385. alle &c.: to alle derlinges J.

386. he: so J D: for opere J has wordliche.

387. wealded: haueð on wealde D, has in his power, under his rule: see 22/122, 198/40 for the synonymous 'owen a wold.'

388. of him to sene, of seeing him; comp. 124/239 note. *sed*: so D. OE. *sæd*, *sated*, appears to be used here as a noun, for satiety. The adj. is common enough, 'Ich nam noht giet sad of mine sinnes,' OEH ii. 75/8; 'for selden y am sad þet semly forte se,' Bödd., AE. Dicht. 149/5. 'Mult porreit estre liez quant deu senz fin uerreit,' Guischart 1256. J has, Him to seonne murie hit is. In the second half of the line J D agree with T.

389. *mere*: OE. *mære*, glorious: swete J.

391. *oper*: *opre* D, both meaning, to another; Ne may nomon hit segge · ne witen myd iwysse J.

392. *godes*: heuene J. Here D adds, Vten eftin þiderward | mid aldre ʒernuolnesse | ʒ vorsien þisne midelard | mid his wouernesse. || Ef we vorsieð þis loþe lif | vor heuenriche blisce, | þanne selð us Crist þ eche lif | to medes on ecnesse. Zupitza notes that eftin is for efstin (that is, hasten, OE. *efestan*), and wouernesse is OE. *wæfernes*, pomp, show.

393. *rixlet*: *rixleð* D; *ricscleþ* M; *lestleþ* J. *abutēn*: *buten* J D; *ay bute* M: see 34/85.

394. *of*: comp. 38/134; 112/11; 132/15: but 'alesede hem eche deaðe,' OEH ii. 5/26. Lines 393-4 are echoed in 'And yef þat eche lif · þat neuere ne haueþ ende. | Hwanne vre soule vnbynd · of lykamyche bende,' OEM 53/551, 2. *licames*: J D M agree with T.

395. *ʒyue*: *lete* J; *leue* M. *swile*: *swichne* D; *suicchne* M.

396. After this J adds, Bidde we nu leoue freond · yonge and ek olde. | þat he þat þis wryt wrot · his saule beo þer atholde. Amen.; which I take to be a prayer for the scribe himself, not for the composer of the Moral Ode.

IX. ANCRENE WISSE

Manuscripts: i. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 402 (A); on vellum, 215 × 150 mm. The fly-leaf fastened down has the mark S. 15, then follow three leaves with writing in a seventeenth-century hand (? Joscelyn), mostly a translation of the piece beginning in Morton, p. 6, 'Nan ancre bi mi read,' then 117 folios, on the first of which is a marginal rubric, J þe feaderes ʒ i þe sunes | ʒ i þe hali gastes nome | her biginneð ancrene | wisse, as at the beginning of SJ (139/1) and SM in MS. Bodley 34. On the lower margin of f. 1 r in a fourteenth-century hand is Liber ecclesie sancti Jacobi de Wygemore: quem Johannes Purcel dedit | eidem ecclesie ad instanciam fratris Walteri de Lodelawe senioris tunc precentoris. The Abbey of Wigmore was dedicated to S. James (Dugdale, vi. 344). There are glosses in red pencil and words underlined in red. The revival of

Anglo-Saxon studies under Archbishop Parker, partly prompted by the desire to use in defence of the Reformation the evidences as to the tenets of the early Church in England, caused such books as this to be carefully read. William L'isle extracted from it some of the prayers (in Morton, 26, 28, 30) and, treating them as debased Anglo-Saxon, turned them into the latter speech as he understood it. His efforts are recorded in MS. Laud Misc. 201; they have led Dr. Heuser (*Anglia*, xxx. 103) to conclude that the *Ancren Riwe* is not a ME. but an OE. document.

The MS. belongs to the second quarter of the thirteenth century. It cannot be earlier than 1225 A.D., for it mentions the Dominicans and Franciscans, and it is probably later than 1230. It is the most correct, but it has additions to the original, such as 62/46-64/62, 64/73-78. See further *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, by M. R. James, vol. ii, pp. 267, 8.

ii. Caius College, Cambridge, 234 (B); on vellum, 124 × 93 mm.; 368 pages; late thirteenth century. Pages 1-185 consist of extracts from the AR, but not in the order of the other manuscripts (ES iii. 536). It is addressed to 'friends' 55/1, not sisters, and the second passage printed here is not in this MS. The contents of the manuscript are given in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, by M. R. James, vol. i, p. 298.

iii. Cotton Nero A 14, British Museum (N); on vellum, 146 × 114 mm.; written in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Its contents are ff. 1-120 r, the *Ancren Riwe*; 120 v-123 v, *The Orison*, printed at pp. 132-7 of this book; 123 v-131 v, the pieces printed in OEH i, pp. 200-17. It forms the text of Morton's edition.

iv. Cotton Titus D 18, British Museum (T); on vellum, 158 × 120 mm.; 148 folios in double columns, written from f. 14, where AR begins, to the end, about 1220 A.D. Its relationship to two other manuscripts in respect to their contents is shown by the following table:

Manuscripts.	SK	SJ	SM	Sawles Warde	HM	Wohunge	AR
Royal 17 A 27	—	—	—	—			
Bodley 34 .	—	—	—	—	—		
Titus D 18 .	—			—	—	—	—

For the Royal and Bodleian MSS. see the introduction to No. xvi.

v. Cotton Cleopatra C 5, British Museum (C), on vellum, 196 × 140 mm.; 196 folios of 19 to 26 lines to a page in a peculiar angular hand, written about 1240 A.D. The scribe, after finishing the book, had access to another manuscript, either A or one closely resembling it, and interlined or put on the margin passages from it which were not in the first exemplar. C was presented to Legh Abbey, Co. Devon, by Matilda de Clare, by whom the Abbey was converted into a Nunnery about 1285 A.D. (Dugdale, vi. 333).

vi. The Vernon MS. of the Bodleian Library (V), a very large book, written in two columns of eighty lines to the column, has a fourteenth-century version of the AR, which begins at folio 371 v². It contains our first extract, but only a fragment of the second.

vii. Another version of portions of the AR, written at the end of the fourteenth century, discovered by Miss Paues, exists under the title of the Recluse in the Magdalene College MS., Cambridge, Pepys 2498 (P).

viii. A fragment in a hand of 1330-40, corresponding to p. 138, l. 25 &c. of Morton's edition, was described by Napier in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*, ii. 199-202.

ix. Magdalen College, Oxford, 67 (M). A Latin version in writing of the end of the thirteenth century; on f. 1 r it begins, *Hic incipit prohemium venerabilis patris Magistri Simonis de Gandauo episcopi sarum in librum de uita solitaria | quem scripsit sororibus suis Anachoritis apud tarente*. It ends on f. 95 r, *Explicit liber septimus de uita solitaria: Octauus omnino taceatur:—*with the addition in a later hand, *eterna taciturnitate*. The second extract is therefore not represented in this version.

x. Cotton Vitellius E 7 (L): fragments of a Latin version rescued from the fire of 1731, said by Macaulay to be the same as the Magdalen MS. version, but with the addition of the eighth part. In Smith's Catalogue (1696) it is said to have had the note, *Regulae vitae Anachoretarum utriusque sexus scriptae per Simonem de Gandavo, Episcopum Sarum in usum suarum sororum. Hunc librum Frater Robertus de Thorneton, quondam prior, dedit claustralibus de Bardenay. Bardney Abbey is in Lincolnshire* (Dugdale, i. 623).

xi. Cotton Vitellius F 7 (F). A French version, written about 1300 A.D., but retaining many forms of the considerably older manuscript from which it was copied. This manuscript also suffered in the fire; the top half of the folios is scorched and shrunken, and a line or two is lost on each page: it consists of 164 folios in double columns. In Smith's Catalogue it is described as, *La Reule de femmes Religieuses et Recluses; sive de vita solitaria & anachoretica per Simonem de Gandavo, Episcopum Sarisburiensium in usum sororum ipsius*.

Facsimiles: Of T. Palaeographical Society; Second Series, plate 75. Of C. Ibid., plate 76. Of P. The Recluse, ed. J. Pahlsson. Lund, 1911.

Editions: The Ancren Riwe, edited and translated by James Morton, B.D. Camden Society, no. lvii, London, 1853. Mätzner, E., *Altenglische Sprachproben*, ii. 8-41 (the second part of AR with introduction and notes). Shorter extracts in Sweet's First Middle English Primer, 19-41, Emerson and Kluge. The text of all the preceding is from MS. N. Heuser, W., *Anglia*, xxx. 108-10 (passage from MS. A). Pahlsson, Joel, *The Recluse*, Lund, 1911.

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Phonology: (1) of A. Oral *a* is *a*, calices b 17, cat b 2; *a* before nasals and lengthening groups is *o*, *dronc* 21, *gomen* 83, *brondes* b 161, *wombe*, 97; *þen*, *þenne*, *hwen*, *hwenne*, *selthwenne* b 195 are the usual forms, but once *hwon* b 116: *and* is *ant* 26 &c., *man*, indefinite, *me* 16. *æ* is usually *e*, *bres* 103, *ed* b 121, *efter* b 12, *gedereð* 87 (*gæderian*), *hetter*

b 28, oðerhwet b 177, neppes 94, þet b 126, wes b 3, wicchecrestes 7, esken 79, 85 (*æsce*), weschen b 145, vesscheð b 112 (*wæscan*), but *ea*, an EME. writing for *æ* in bearuot b 39, bleasie b 162 (*blæse*, *sb.*), feader b 173, b 231, feaste b 42 (3), gleadliche b 186, measse b 83, readliche b 94, noðeleater b 169, weater b 94, inohreaðe 43 (*hræpe*), and *a* in awakenet 24, awakenið b 61, b 91 (*awacenan*), blac b 23, warliche b 148 (flexion forms), cappen b 45: habbe 25 &c., nabben b 130 descend from LWS. forms in *a*: quoð b 76 (*cwæp*) is due to loss of stress. *e* is regularly *e*, bedde b 25, bereð 64 (but beore b 136), spekeð b 57 (but speoke b 132); before lengthening groups, ende 100, englene 76. Between *w*—*f*, *e* is rounded to *eo* in tweolue b 112; before a palatal it is raised to *i* in rikenin 25, rikeneres 82: stude b 171, sullen b 12, 14, swuch b 18 are due to OE. forms in *y*. *i* is regularly *i*, bidde b 237, binimeð b 221 (but neome b 34 &c.); before lengthening groups, blod binde b 69 (*binde*), bringen 49, child 22, but *u* in wule 72 and other forms of *willan*, nute b 130 (*nyte*). *o* is normally *o*, biuoren 57, hosen b 39, word 65, but *a* in an(an) b 87; nalde 90, walden 42, iwraht b 24 are Anglian. *u* is *u*, cume b 90, cuppe 103, sunderliche 24, wunder b 63, but *i* in kimeð 94, b 200 (*cymeð*; Büllbring, Ablaut, 74). *y* is *u*, brune b 160, sundreð b 161, sungið b 191, but *i* in pilche clut 68: *mycel* is *muchel* b 91, *muche* 82; *sturne* b 195 represents *styrne*.

ā is regularly *a*, are b 229; before two consonants, *ga*st b 231; length is indicated by doubling in *aa*, b 162, b 234: *man* b 8 is **mān*. *ea* for *ā* appears in *eanes* b 34, b 189, *easkin* b 181, *easki* b 78, *easkeð* b 118, b 203, *wreaðfule* 32, 63, coming from forms in *ǣ*. *ā* is *o* in *cop* b 142 (*cōp*), *e* in *se* b 67 &c., but *swa* 73. *ǣ*₁ is, as a rule (41 times), *ea*, *ageasten* 58, *arearen* b 159, *asneasen* 69, *eani* 8; before two consonants, *eauer* 54 &c., *leafdi* b 235, *wreaððe* b 153, b 166, but *e* in *þer* b 155, and before two consonants in *flesch* b 26, *flesches* b 91, *fleschlich* b 78, *fleschliche* b 75, *leste* b 37, b 54 (beside *leasse* 61 (4) *leaste* b 188), and *a* before two consonants in *attri* 12, *attreð* b 80 (? analogy of *ǣttor*). *ǣnig* is mostly *ei* 8 (possibly shortening of *eiðer*,—Holthausen); *ǣle* is *euch* 34 &c. *ǣ*₂ is *e* (32 times), *dreden* b 196, *her* b 141, *nedde* 31, *wepmen* b 22, but *eo* in *leote* b 131, b 19, *feorle* 100. *ea* appears only in *ileanet* 16, *read* b 13, b 37, *reade* b 2 (but *reden* b 188, *redeð* b 223, b 224, b 228, *ired* b 235): *þear* 41 is probably a scribal error for *þer*, but comp. *þiar* 39/165. The difference in the representation of *ǣ*₁, as *ea*, rarely *e*, and *ǣ*₂, as *e*, rarely *ea*, is also found in the Katherine group, and is Anglian (Stodte, p. 31). *ē* is always *e*; *ī*, *i*, but *wummon* b 21 (5) after *w*; *ō* is *o*; *ū*, *u*, *ȳ* is regularly *u*, *fur* b 160, *hudest* b 57; before two consonants, *cuððe* b 144, *fulðe* b 113, but *i* in *schriden* b 85, beside *schruden* 90.

ea before **r** + cons. is *ea*, bearm 71, nearewe b 204; before lengthening groups, bearnes 75, heard b 44, but *a* in scharp 64, 65, 67 and always, after **w**, warde b 231, -ward as in frommard b 165, inward 36, toward b 89, utward 37, warm b 23, warneð 11. *ea* in chearre b 238, wearien b 6 represents *æ*, *i*-umlaut of unbroken (Anglian) *a*. **ea** before **l** + cons. is regularly *a* (Anglian), alle 7 &c., falleð 6, halden b 193. The *i*-umlaut has *ea* = *æ* from unbroken *a*, ealde b 124, healden b 197, both before a lengthening group. **eo** before **r** + cons. is regularly *eo*, heorte 51, keorue b 34; before length. groups, eorðe 85, sweord 65, Beornard b 219, but Anglian smoothing is seen in werkes b 62, b 67, b 81. To the **wur** group belong wurðen 88, forwurðen 23, forwurðe b 95: warpere 64, warpeð 66 are Scandinavian; WS. forms are **weorpere**, **wierpð**. The *i*-umlaut is wanting in heordemonne b 6, iheortet 31; **wier**, **wyr** words have *u*, vnwurðe b 108, b 219, wurse 16, 56, b 37, iwurset b 191. **eo** before **l** + cons. is *eo* in seolf 59, seoluen b 204 &c. *ea*, the *u*- and *â*-umlaut of *a*, is seen in eateliche 58, 69, eawles 67 (**awul**), meaðeleð 73, 96, streapeles b 42, vnsteaðeluest 5; fearen b 197, misfearen 13, and analogically (Bülbring § 228 anm.), feareð 79, b 120, forfearinde 29, gleadie b 232, heatien b 141, ?peaðereð 81, ?skleatteð 53. This umlaut is specifically Mercian. **eo**, *u*-umlaut of *e*, gives heouene 3, b 185, but world 40, worldliche b 79 &c.: **eo**, *â*-umlaut of *e*, beoden b 124, b 206, b 237, breoken b 20, eoten 99, ðeouen, b 71 (from Mercian gefan), and analogically, beore b 31, b 136, forbeoren b 149, breoke b 216, eote b 127, eoten b 150, ðeoue b 131, b 173, b 233, forðeoued b 200 (but ðef 102), speoke b 132, spoken b 138: an Anglian feature. **eo**, *u*- and *â*-umlaut of *i*, is seen in cleopede 9, 11, bicleopet b 192, leoðeliche b 28 (**lipig**, OWScand. liðugr), neomen b 72, b 174, neome b 34, neomen b 189, neomunge 7, seoue 21, seouene 4, seolc b 69, seoluer 84, sweoke b 160, teolunges 6, but hare 5 &c. is the regular representative of **heora**, suster b 4 &c., of WS. **sweostor**, Anglian wike b 189, of WS. **wucan** (***wiucu**). **ea** after palatals is *a*, schal 42 &c., ischauen b 101, schape b 146, but *e* in ðeten b 128 (WS. **gatu**), **eo** before nasal, scheome b 51: schapieð b 70 is a ME. formation. **ie** after *ġ* is *e* (Mercian monophthong), ðef 102, 104, ðeueð b 68, ðelden 15, b 7, forðelde b 175, ðelp 37; this *e* with *â*-umlaut gives forms in *eo*, ðeouen &c. as above. ðef, EWS. **gief**, is ðef 9. **eo** after *ġ* is *u*, ðungre b 132; after **sc**, schule 99, schulde 22 &c. (Anglian). **eom** is *am* b 236 (Anglian), **heom**, *ham* 4 &c.

ēa is regularly *ea*, beate b 31, deade 41, eadmode b 119, greatluker b 157, reaflac 15, but *e* in chepeð b 12, chepilt b 11, cwedschipe b 93, eð b 214, edscene b 147, and *a* in chaffere b 11, chapmon b 12, shortening

due to stress on following syllable: its *i*-umlaut is *e* (Anglian), bemen 39, 76, bemere 42, bemin 43, dremen b 206, ʒeme b 150, ʒemeles 10 &c., ʒemeð 16, ʒemen b 98, ʒemen b 90, ihereð 53, leue b 174, b 207, leue b 36, misleue b 182, lefunge 7; but greattre b 67 is grēatra. ēo is eo, beon 4, cneon b 150, feondes 92, feorðe 21, but *e* in seke b 108, secnesse b 111, before *c*. The absence of its *i*-umlaut is Anglian, deore 71, feond *s. d.* 34 &c., neod b 1, neodeð 88, istreonede 23; *e* in nedlungre b 8, tene b 112. Absence of palatalization, characteristic of Mercian, after *ġ*, *sc* is seen in ʒer b 101, schende b 52 (Bülbring § 289), schon b 38, but scheos b 39, ischeoed b 40. ʒiet is ʒet b 193, the second element in edscene b 147, is gesiēne.

a + g is *ah*, dahes b 105, drahe b 53, draheð 36, mahen 50 &c.; isleine 33 is *geslegen*; seið 46, 89, sægð; draieð b 233 (comp. draien 147/153, dreihen, 146/122) descends from *dreagap, form with *ā*-umlaut (WS. dragap). **æ + g** is regularly *ei*, deies b 21, feier b 123, heiward b 6, mei 4 &c., mciden b 96, seide 46, b 117, iseid 26: mahe b 148, b 180 comes from LWS. *mage*. **e + g** is also *ei*, abreiden 75, aʒein 5 (*ongegn*), toʒeines b 56, eie b 18, eili b 9, leið b 152, pleien 67, b 139, b 146, pleieð 64, but plohiēn b 218 which descends with shifted accent from *pleogan with *ā*-umlaut (comp. *pleogede* in a SW. Mercian text of Bede, ed. Miller, ii. 82). The MS. has in other places pleien as above, but the noun in Morton's text pleowe 184/4, pleouwe 218/8 is in MS. A regularly plohe, in MS. C. ploʒe. **i + g, h**, pliht b 97, ipliht 18, sihðe b 61, onsihðe b 55, wriheles b 49, but sygaldren 6: lið 71, b 93 is līp < ligeð, *il* in ilespiles b 31, il < igil. In twien b 210 from twiga the spirant has disappeared, as in monie b 168. Final *ig* is regularly *i*, bisi b 89, dusi 18. **o + h, g** is *oh*, bitohe b 225, dohter b 52, but dehtren b 15 with *e* from the dative singular. **u + g, h**, duhen b 59, muhen b 44: y + g, h, buð b 11, b 187, drihtines 41, b 206. **ā + g, h**, ah 17, ahne b 61, ahnes b 207, ahte b 181, lahe b 141, b 152, wah b 58. **æ₁ + g, h**, ahte 84, bitaht 16, tahte b 75, but eiðer 53 (*ægper*). **ē + g**, iueitsomet b 168, iheiet b 234: **i + h**, wrihen b 50 (*wrihan *inf.*), wriheð b 58: **ō + g**, inoh b 79, inohreaðe b 41, ibroht b 214, þohten 39. **ea + ht**: lahtre 50, mahte b 213 come from Anglian forms in *æ*; the *i*-umlaut gives mihte b 230, niht b 215, but *a* in lahhen b 139, lahheð 97, monslaht 24 also represents Anglian *æ*. **eo + ht**, riht 51, rihten b 99: *sist* b 57, sið b 89, b 159 are Anglian forms corresponding to WS. *siehest*, *siehð* with *i*-umlaut (Bülbring § 217). **ēa + g, h**, deh b 66 (North. *dæg*), ehe 51, ehnen b 63, heh b 186, hehe b 185, neh b 90, b 120, but þah b 7, b 63, as if from Ang. *þæh. **ēo + g, h**, dreheð b 233, but lihte b 39, lihtliche b 3, b 87. **īe + h**, nest b 26, b 29 (North.

nēsta), lihtin b 101. *ā* + *w* is *aw*, blawen 40, icnaweð b 201, itawet b 24, nawiht b 9, nawt b 53, sawle 94, slaw 12, but nowðer b 48 represents OE. *nōwþer*, nohwer b 33, b 41, *nō(h)wær*, similarly nohwider b 126, eawiht b 235, eawt 52 (**æwiht* with *i*-umlaut, NED.); seche b 139 is Anglian *sēge*, WS. *sāwe*. *æ*₁ + *w* is also *aw*, rawe 33, slawðe 11, 18. *ēa* + *w*, þeawes b 81, þeawfule b 106, but schawin 38. *eo* + *w* is *ow*, fowr 39, b 101, trowðe 18, ow 99 &c., ower b 1; *eo* finally in gleo 47: neowe b 137 has no umlaut; the WS. form is *nīwe* (Bülbring § 306, ann. 5).

Unstressed *swā* is *se* 15 &c., but *swa* 73: *α* occurs for *o* in anan b 87; *e* for *o* in streapeles b 42, sunderliche 24, vnsteaðeluest 5; *i* for *e* in drihtines 41, b 206; *u* for *i* in dimlucker 43, greatlucker b 157, monlucker b 110, as in the Katherine group; *e* is lost in earst b 52, meidnes b 106, b 183, added in luðere 32, ʒiuere 92; *o* is lost in unbischpet 19. The prefix *ge* is *i*; *ær*, *ear* in earunder b 209; *æt* is *ed* b 178; *þær* is syncopated in þrin, þrinne, þrof, þron, þrefter, þruppe, forms characteristic of the Katherine group, found also in MSS. C, T, but not in N.

w is assimilated in frommard b 165; *isehen* b 62 descends from *gesegen*, not from *gesewen*. Metathesis of *r* is seen in iwræht b 24 (late North. *wroht*). *ll* is simplified in druncwile 105; *mm* in grim 62. *n* is lost in earunder b 209, and often in iþe 1, i 25 for *in*, o 7 for *on*; *nn* is simplified in monlucker b 110. *p* is inserted in nempneð b 48: *bb* is simplified in neb b 54. *f* is regularly *u* between vowels, or vowel and liquid, biuoren 94, heaued 8, froure b 221, bearuot b 39, underueð 74, vnsteaðeluest 5, but lefunge 7; once *v* appears initially, vet b 42, but not *u*. *t* is doubled in hetter b 28, lost in best b 43, olhnin b 6; *ð* for *t* occurs in *ed* b 121 &c., edhalden 13, b 73 (but ethalt 87), prude 30: *t* is assimilated in ʒisceunge 14, 16 (*gītsung*), ʒiscere 79: milce b 182 is *milts*, milci b 175 *miltsie*: *tt* is simplified in cat b 2. *d* has disappeared in mungunge b 52; it is doubled in foddre b 5: *t* for *d* appears in ontfulle 31, worltlich 36, b 107, b 108 (but worldliche b 139): mið 53 is Anglian for *mid*: *dd* is simplified in bidest b 238. Initial *þ* often becomes *t* after *i*, *a*, *te* 5, 32, b 178, b 216, tis 83, teo b 179, ter b 196, but þe b 43, b 171, þah b 196, þat b 215; it is lost in forfearinde 29, *d* is written for it in edscene b 147, ladlich b 7, *t* in leste b 37. For *s*, *ce* appears in ʒisceunge 14, 16; ʒiscere 79 is *gītsere*: *sé* is regularly *sch*, schrift 19, schende b 52, weschen b 145, but *ssch* in dissches 93. The stop *c* is commonly written *k* before *e*, *i*, kemese b 83, kene 69, kimeð 94, awakenet 24, lokeð b 215, makien 48, rikenin 25, stikeð 92, and *ck* after another consonant in þonckið b 228, also in easkeð b 203, esken 79; in other positions *c*, cat b 2, com b 74, cumeð 41, locunge b 143,

exceptions are *kues* b 5, *kun* b 72: *ah* 25 is Anglian *ah*, WS. *ae*: *k* is inserted as a glide sound in *skleatteð* 53; see Archiv cxxxi. 305. *č* is *ch*, *chearre* b 238, *cwencheð* b 165, *brech* b 41, *iþench* b 237, *kealche* 103, *swuch* b 18, but *keorue* b 34, *keoruinde* 65, conformed to *curfon*, *corfen*. *čč* is *cch* in *wicche*(*creftes*) 7; *isticchet* b 142 is a ME. formation descending from OE. *stiče*; contrast *stikeð* 92 (Bülbring § 499, anm. 5). *cw* is usually preserved, *cwide* 13, *forecwidderes* 57, but *quoð* b 76. Palatal *g* is regularly written *ȝ*, *biȝete* 12, *ȝemeð* 16; *h* is written for *g* in *murhče* b 221, *orhel* 38, *teoheði* 12; *g* is lost in *sygaldren* 6; *čg* is *gg*, *liggen* b 28, *seggen* b 72. Initial *h* is lost in *lahheð* 97, *lahtre* 50, *lud* 38, *lust* 54, *ring* b 64; *hh* is simplified in *laheð* 83 and *h* doubled in *crohhe* 94 (*erōh*).

(2) Of B. The principal divergences from A are noted. Some of them are due to the scribe's inexperience; his handling of the consonants in particular is confused. *eo* in *eondfule* 48 for *o* from *a* before length. group is a French writing; similar is *neolden* 89. *æ* is *a* in *bras* 103, *inohraþe* 42, *hwat* 9, *nappes* 94, *þat* 16, *craftes* 7. *cwude* 12 is from *cwyde*; *liki* 50 is a mistake for *loki*; *u* is *o* in open 64 (*uppan*); *y* is *i* in *mint* 97. In *leouerð* 49, *eo* is for *o* from *ā*; *ea* 53 represents *ā*, *ever*; comp. *nea* L 1552, 1555. *æ₁* is *a* in *agastan* 57, *ilad* 4, 19, *e* in *asnesen* 68, *hest* 17, *lesse* 60, *wredfule* 32, *æe* (= *æ*) in *aetri* 31, *ea* in *eawer* 72, 99: *ænig* is *ai* 8, 15, *ei* 7. *æ₂* is *e* in *ilened* 15, as generally in A.

ea before *r* + cons. is *a* in *barm* 70, *e* in *bernes* 74, *sherpe* 64, but *sharpe* 63, 66: *eo* before *r* + cons. is *e*, *swerd* 64, but *sweordes* 68. There is no *â*-umlaut in *ateliche* 57 (but *eateliche* 68), *vnstapelfast* 5, *fared* 78, *forfarinde* 29, *papared* 80, as in A: *skletteð* 53 is OWScand. *sletta*. *seofon* is *sewe* 28. *ēa* is *e*, *drem* 37, 75, *reflac* 14; *ēo* is also *e* in *strenes* 28, *thehewen* 12: *gief* is *gif* 9. *æ* + *g* gives *mai* 4, 25; *ā* + *w*, out 51, *slauwe* 70, *slap* 11 miswritten for *slaw*; *æ₁* + *w*, *areawe* 32, *slauþe* 20, *slouþe* 10; *ēo* + *w*, *troupe* 17. In syllables of minor stress *a* appears for *e*, *bemares* 36, *galnasse* 23, *warpæ* 63; *e* for *æ*, *ethalden* 12, *i* for *u*, *neominge* 7; *e* for *ō*, *te* 15 &c., *tegederes* 79: *on* is a 74. *e* is often inserted medially between consonants, *bolehed* 85, *iboregen* 41, *deoueles* 42, *deouelen* 57, *iugelurs* 46, *wigeled* 96.

For *w*, *u* is written in *uule* 72. *l* is lost in *fundes* 12, *n* in *cunen* 46, *druch* 20. For *p*, *b* is written in *unbischbed* 17: *f* medial occurs in *bifore* 39, *biforen* 60, *vnstapelfast* 5, but *biuoren* 62 as in A, *deoules* 70 and *w* for *u* in *biworen* 94, *eawer* 72, 99, *giwere* 105, *keorwinde* 64, 69, *kniwes* 62, *underweng* 73. For *t*, *d* appears in *bihald* 82, *blend* 80; *ts* is *ss* in *gissere* 78, *gissunge* 14, but *giscunge* 13; *d* is lost in *an* 25 (but *and* 86 and consequently *ȝ þe* 31, 73); it is unaltered in *ondfule* 31, *wondrede* 76, *world-*

lich 35, where A has *t*: *t* is written for *d* in hont 60, lauert 95, *ð* for *d*, leouerð 49; *d* is often written for *ð*, beod 19 &c., drahed 35, gemed 15, libbed 33, puffed 36, serued 34, shuled 52, slead 30, tutelid 71, wid 2, wredfule 32, wigeled 96, wurden 87; *t* for *p*, fondet 29, gat 2, *w* for *p*, thehewen 12, warwið 89. *sc* is regularly *sh*, dishes 93, shal 87, shruden 90, &c.: etheliche 76 is miswritten for echeliche; in richkeneres 81, *k* was added above as a correction of *ch* not deleted; *ew* is *qu* in forquiddares 56. *g* is used for *ġ*, agein 5, bigete 11, ge 1. *cht* for *ht* is frequent, drichtines 40, iplicht 17, richte 14; *þ* for *h* occurs in þwitel 89, *th* for *h* in þothten 38, for *t* in thehewen 12.

(3) Of N. For an account dealing with the whole of Morton's text see Ostermann: the examples given in the following summary illustrate such differences as exist between N and A. Oral *a* is *a*, blasie 143 (*blase*, *sá*), wasshen 124, wassheð 95; gledie 204 is influenced by *glæd*: *a* before nasals and length. groups is *o*; hwon 6, 87, seldwhonne 179 are the usual forms, but þeonne 5, 144, 181 by influence of heonne. *æ* is regularly *e*, keppen 38, veder 154, ueste 37, gledliche 168; occasionally *ea*, heater 29, readliche 77; *a* in hateren AR 104/24, later 151, was 3 (Bülbring, Ablaut 62), water 76, and the flexion forms baruot 34, warliche 127. *e* is *e*, blodbendes 64; raised to *i* before a palatal, sigge 110, 130, siggen 152 (South-Eastern and Kentish); *u* in stude 153, sullen 12, swuche 18 &c. *i* is *i*, but *u* in hwuder 103, wute 138, nute 107. *o* is *o*: *u* is *u*, kumeð 184: *y*, *u*, drunch 187, wurcheð 70. *ā* is regularly *o*, anon 69, boðe 105, mone 8, more 196, but *oa* in moare 154, woanes 19 (comp. *woaning* 2/15, 2/25); *eo* in beoðe 173, 182, and *a* in lates 127 (Scand. *lát*). *æ*₁ is regularly *e*, clene 22, eni 93, geð 100, wreðe 133, but *ea* in arearen 140, unweawed 119, heale 193. *æ*₂ is mostly *e*, leten 108, lete 19, but *ea* in heare 36, readeð 208, weaden 125, and *a* in hwarse 95, hwarto 126. The representation of *æ*₁ and *æ*₂ is therefore practically identical. *ē* is *e*; *ī*, *i*, but *u* in hwule 71, 198, ihwulen 73, swuðe 197, wummen 171: *ō* is *o*; *ū*, *u*; *ȳ*, *u*, hure 167, schruden 67, but *ui*, expressing length, in huire 6, 164, 205.

ea before *r* + cons. is mostly *e*, hermes 7, hermie 9, neruwure 189; before length. groups, herde 28, herdure 189, and *a*, after *w*, urommard 146, warme 25; in other conditions occasionally *a*, sparke AR 296/13, or *ea*, schearpe AR 82/11; *a* in warien 6 is to be explained as *ea* in wearien 60/6. *ea* before *l* + cons. is *a*, halue 174, before length groups *o*, holden 177; the *i*-umlaut is seen in elde 100, helden 181. *eo* before *r* + cons. is mostly *eo*, heorden 28, leornen 79, but *e* in hercnen 73, werc, werke 70, werkes 62; to the *wur* group belongs forwurðen 77; *wyr* words are iwursed 174, wurðe AR 38/17: the *i*-umlaut is wanting in heordemonne 6.

eo before l + cons. is *u* in *sulf* 32, *suluen* 189. The *u*- and *ā*-umlauts of *a* are not represented. *eo*, *u*-umlaut of *e*, occurs in *heouene* 167, but *worlde* 206, *worldliche* 90, 115; *eo*, *ā*-umlaut of *e*, in *beoden* 100, *ueole* 33: *eo*, *u*- and *ā*-umlaut of *i*, in *bicleoped* 175, *seolke* 64, but *hore* 105, *sustren* 1, *wike* 172. *ea* after palatals is *a*, *schal* 27, 181, *ischauen* 84, *ea* in *zeate* 105, *scheape* 125, but often *e*, *zet* AR 74/12; *schepieð* 65 is from *sceppan*. *ie* after *ġ* is *i*, *ziue* 155, 205, *uorziueð* 185, *e* in *zelden* 7, *forzelde* 156: *gef* is *zif* 20 &c. *eo* after *ġ* is *u*, *zungre* 108; after *sé*, *schule* 66, *schulde* 72. *eom* is *am* 210, *heom*, *ham* 188. *ēa* is regularly *ea*, *cheapeð* 13, *cheapild* 12, *cweadschipe* 75, but *e* in *chepmon* 13, *cheffare* 11, *gretluker* 137, *gretture* 62; its *i*-umlaut is *e* in *zeme* 173, *zemen* 80, *zemeleaste* 175, *leue* 156, 193, *misleue* 165, but *ea* in *dreamen* 192. *ēo* is regularly *eo*, but *e* in *seke* 91, *secnesse* 93; the *i*-umlaut has *e* in *nede* *adv.* 9, but *neode* 20, *neodeð* 26. Palatalization after *ġ*, *sé* is absent in *zere* 83, *schon* 33. *gieta* is *zete* 176; *gesiene* is represented in *eðcene* 126.

a + *g* is *aw*, *dawes* 88: *auh* 54 is the equivalent of Anglian *ah*, WS. *ac*. *æ* + *g* gives *ei*, *deie* 94, *feir* 100; *muwe* 163 is LWS. *muge* for earlier *mæge*. *e* + *g* is also *ei*, *eilie* 9, *weie* 100: *seihnesse* 139 is *sæhtness*. *o* + *g*, *bitowen* 198: *o* + *h*, *iwrouhte* 25. *u* + *g*, *muwen* 37, 67. *ā* + *g*, *owen* 167, *owune* 67, 190: *ā* + *h*, *ouh* 10, 80, *ouhte* 163, *louh* 121, *lowe* 118, *louwe* 131, *nouhwuder* 103. *æi* + *h*, *eihte* 3, 8. *ī* + *g*, *iueied* 149, *iheid* 206. *ō* + *g*, *inouh* 36, 210, *þouht* 10. *ea* + *h*, *muhte* 116. *ie* + *h*, *nihtes* 22, *isihð* 23, 71, 140: *lauhwen* 115 corresponds to *lahhen* in A. *eo* + *h*, *rihte* 136. *ēa* + *g*, *deih* 56, *eien* 54, *heie* 168, 176: *ēa* + *h*, *neih* 72, *heie* 118, but *þauh* 7 &c., as if from *þah* > **þeah*. *ēo* + *g*, *drieð* 205. *īe* + *h*, *nexst* 27. *ā* + *w*, *nout* 10, *nouhtunge* 145, *noučer* 112, 159, but *drawe* 11, *itauwed* 25 (forms from the scribe's exemplar), *iseie* 116. *ō* + *w*, *touward* 71, 112, 199. *ēa* + *w*, *þeaufule* 89. *ēo* + *w*, *four* 83, *our* 91, *ower* 175, *seouweð* 65.

Swā is so 62 &c., once *se* 187, and in composition *hwo se* 29, *hwer se* 60. For *e*, *a* is written in *demare* 176, for *on* in *akneon* 129; for *o*, *e* in *stra-peles* 37; *e* is added in *heuede* 197, *sunegeð* 174, *zeorneliche* 177, *u* in *gretture* 62, *herdure*, *neruwure* 189: in contrast with A, syncope is rare. The suffix *-lēas* is unchanged in *wimpelleas* 37.

w is assimilated in *urommard* 146, *uppard* AR 216/28. *iwrouhte* 25, corresponding to *iwraht* in A, has metathesis of *r*. *ll* is simplified in *griffulnessse* 4; for *l*, *r* appears in *irspiles* 30. Final *n* is lost in *iðe* 83, *o* 141, but it is otherwise very regularly retained; it is simplified in *monluker* 93. *f* is kept in the combinations *fd*, *ff*, *fs*, *ft*, *lefdi* 208, *cheffare* 11, *ofte* 19, *lufsumere* 54; as a final, *strif* 134; initially after a word ending in a voice-

less sound, foddre 5, fondunge 74, forwurčen 77 (with exceptions at 54, 90, 150, 172); also before *u*, ful 36, fur 142, 146, þeaufule 89, to avoid *uu*. Otherwise it is *u*, *v*, at the beginning of a sentence, Vor 5, Uorði 23; after a syntactical pause, vor 72, 94; after a word ending in a voiced sound, uet 37, ueond 69, or a liquid, uor 69, ueste 124, uere 110; or medially, iuestned 10, luuien 180. But *f* is exceptionally written sometimes after *d*, for 14, four 83, especially after and 147, 156, 204, 209, where the exemplar had *ant*, as well as in flessches 74: *of* is shortened to *o* 195, 208; *w* is written for *u* in unweawed 119. *ts* is *c* in milce 157, 165. *p* is assimilated in ette 160, but and te 189 is due to *ant te* in the scribe's exemplar; *p* is *d* in lodlich 7. For *s*, *c* is written in ečcene 126: *se* is initially *sch*, schal 27, schon 33, medially *ssh* in flessches 74, wasshen 124, but fleshe 27. *c* [k] is *c* before consonants, clene 22, hercnen 73, but akneon 129, iknotted 36, iknowed 185; *k* is regular before *e* and *i*, keppen 38, makien 129, and as frequent as *c* before other vowel sounds, kat 2, kom 75, kume 102. *č* is *ch*, but ecchenesse 207: *istihd* 119 is miswritten for *istichd*. Palatal *g* is regularly written *ȝ*; *rg* is *rw* in midmorwen 162; *ng* is *nc* in strenče 18; *čg* is *gg*, liggen 29, sigge 110. *hs* is written *xs* in nexst 27.

(4) Of T and C. According to the careful investigation of Muhe, MS. T exhibits a varying mixture of Anglian and Southern forms, the former being predominant. MS. C differs in no main feature from A. As in the Lambeth MS. of the PM (317/6) *ch* for *h* is frequent, olchni 6, þocht, nawicht 10, iwracht 25, þach 53, echnen 54; noteworthy is the interpolated *y* sound in muchȝen 67 (*mugon*), sechȝe 116, lachȝe, hechȝe 118, iueiȝet 149 &c.

Accidence: (1) of A. Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. In the *s. n.* *sune* b 231 represents *sunu*. *Gen.* -es, gastes b 165, bearnes 75: *d.* -e, bedde b 25, bure b 186, chearre b 238, hame b 122 (WS. *hām*), but the inflection is wanting in more than half the instances, clað b 23, hus b 148, &c. The *pl. n. a.* of masculines ends in -es, bemeres 36, brondes b 161, but scheos b 39, and schon b 38, a weak form: neuters, with the exception of word 65, have taken the *masc.* termination, felles b 24, b 31, gomenes b 218, þinges b 140, werkes 62, wordes 96, &c., or have joined the weak declension, beoden b 124, b 206, deoffen 58, 67, sygaldren 6: *wa* b 186, *pl. a.* is indeclinable: genitives are *cunne* b 30, englene 39, 76, þinge b 200; datives have mostly -es, breres b 32, streones 5 and 19 others, but beoden b 237, cneon b 150 (Mercian *cnēom*), ȝeten b 128, sičen b 19, b 101; *mel* b 177, þing b 129 are *acc.* in form. The *fem.* nouns of the strong declension have -e in the *s. n.*, fulče b 113, hure b 184, neode b 17, b 202, þuftene b 123; exceptions are heast 18, b 115 (*hāes*),

neod b 1, b 20, b 217, þuften b 119; the *acc.* also has -e. *Gen.* -e, helle 76, heorte 86: *dat.* -e, honde b 121, worlde b 234, sawle b 175, b 176, but uninflected half 40, 52, help b 75, hond 34, 95, luft 52, world 40, b 234. *Pl. n.* are teolunges 6, esken 85, weden b 146; *d.*, esken 79, honden b 14, sunnen 21, talen b 106, wunden b 198, sawles b 176; *a.* ahte b 3, kemese b 83, leasunges b 140, secnesses b 36, glouen b 65, honden b 29, spechen b 139, sunnen 24, talen b 137. The extension of the weak declension at the expense of the strong is Southern. Nouns of the weak declension have -e in all cases of the singular; exception, leafdi *s. a.* b 235. *Pl. n.* are nedden, tadden 88, ances b 188, leafdis b 46, b 79; *pl. d.* bemen 39, 76, cappen b 45, earen b 206, ehnen 48, b 63, heorden b 27, hosen b 39, nomen 25; *pl. a.* earen 54, b 136, blodbinde, huue b 69, teone b 187 (Anglian absence of n). The minor declensions are represented by vet *s. d.* b 42; wummon *s. n.* b 41, monnes *s. g.* b 58, wepmonnes b 56, mon, *s. d.* b 220, chapmon b 12, wummon b 47, *s. a.* b 21, cunnesmon b 144, men *pl. n.* 99, monne *pl. g.* b 15, b 70, wummone b 194, heordemonne b 5, wepmen *pl. d.* b 97; boc *s. d.* b 223, (o)boke b 134; brech *pl. a.* b 41; kues *s. g.* b 5; niht *pl. n.* b 215; feader *s. n.* b 173; broðer *s. n.* b 75, breðer *s. d.* b 76; moder *s. n.* 21; dohter *s. n.* b 52, dehtren *pl. n.* b 15; suster *s. n.* b 4, sustren *pl. n.* b 1, b 232, sustres ? *pl. g.* b 208; child *s. n.* 22, godchild *s. a.* 20, childrene *pl. g.* b 96; feondes *s. g.* 92, feond *s. d.* 34, 63, b 159; hettren *pl. a.* b 70 (*hæteru*): hetter *s. d.* b 28 is a ME. formation.

Adjectives which in OE. end in e retain that termination in all cases, as cleane b 21, softe b 198, swete b 43. Instances of weak inflections are *s. n.* eadmode b 119, fleschliche b 75, hehe b 185, swote b 43; *g.* sunfule b 51; *d.* dredfule 76, grurefule 40, hehe b 192, wide 103; *a.* greate 97, ondfule 50, rihte 15: a solitary strong inflection is linnene *s. a. m.* b 26. All other adjectives are uninflected in the singular, as ful b 93, heh b 186, riht 51. Those in -ig lose g, almihti b 231, attri 12; druncwile 105 represents *druncwillen*; lute b 116, lýtél; mycel is mostly *muche*, but *s. n.* muchel b 18 (3); *d.* muchele 60, b 225; *a.* b 226; *pl. a.* 80: *āgen* gives *s. n.* ahne b 61; *g.* ahnes b 207; *d.* ahne b 205; *pl. n.* 57. The *pl.* ends in e, bīsie b 121, idele b 137; exceptions are hāli b 14, idel b 87. OE. *āna* is ane b 2 &c.; *ān* is an, a; *s. g.* anes 14: *nān* is nan, na; *s. g.* nanes 51; *pl. a.* nane b 68, b 137, b 218. Adjectives used as nouns are inflected, as *s.* gode b 238, idele 74, nearewe b 204, slawe 71, wide b 205, wreaðfule 63, wurse 56; *pl.* neodfule 90, ontfule 31, prude 30, wreaðfule 32; exceptions are *ʒemeles* (predicative) 10, 12, god 53, 73: *feorle* 100 represents *færlīc*. Comparatives end regularly in e, lufsumre b 64, except dimluker 43, greatluker b 157: of superlatives only leaste b 188 is inflected.

The personal pronouns are *ich*, *me*, *us*, *þu*, *þe*, *þe*, *ow* b 37, b 196. The pron. of the third person is *s. n.* *he m.* 66, *ha f.* b 4 &c., *heo* b 127, *hit neut.* 5; *d.* *him m.* 88; *a.* *him m.* 69, *hire f.* b 89, *hit neut.* b 2; *þl. n.* *ha* 33, 51, 53, b 147, b 191, *heo* b 143, b 149; *d.* *ham* 4; *a.* 58 &c. Reflexives are *ow* b 106, *ow seoluen* b 85, *him* 27, *him seolf* 81, b 208, *him seoluen* b 234, *hire* b 30, b 33, *hire seolf* b 32, *ham* b 166, b 170, *ham seolf* b 138, b 194: definitive is *ham seolf* 59: possessives are *mi s.* b 91, *mine þl.* 99, b 1, b 232, *þin* b 162, *ure* b 173, *ower* b 1 &c., *his* 11, *hire* b 9, *hare þl.* 5 &c. The definite article is mostly *þe*, *te* after *t*; inflected forms are *þet s. a. neut.* b 205, *þer s. d. f.* b 155, *þen s. d. neut.*, in *ear þen* b 126. *Þet* is used demonstratively 52, 53, 54, b 152, *þet ilke* b 152, b 153, b 161: the article is also used pronominally in *þeo þe*, those who b 86, which 25, *þeo*, that one b 122, *teo*, those b 179: *þer buten*, without that, b 103. The compound demonstrative is *þes s. n. m.* 74, *þeos s. n. f.* b 117, *þis* 82, *þis s. n. neut.* b 158, *s. d. f.* b 223, *s. a. neut.* b 188, *tis* 83, *þes þl. n.* 81, *þeos* 20, 56, *þeose þl. d.* 28, 43, b 115, *þl. a.* 97. The relatives are *þe*, *þet* b 126; *þe* sometimes means *he* who 11, *she* who 21, b 103. Interrogative is *hwuch* 9; its correlative is *swuch* b 18, b 65, b 146; *ilca* is *ilke* b 152; *þyllie*, *þullich* 104, *þulliche þl.* 3, 20. Indefinites are *hwa se* 15, *hwam se d.* 73, *hwet se* b 183; *me* 16, b 7; *sum* 27, *summe þl.* 47, b 46; *eīðer* 53 &c.; *oðres s. g.* 14, *oþer s. d.* 8, 47, *oþre* 66, b 239, *þl. n.* 26, *oðer þl. g.* b 15; *oðerhwet* b 177; *euch* 34, *euche s. d.* b 188, b 223; *ænig* is mostly *ei* 8 &c., but *eani* 8, b 111, b 213; *nowðer* b 48; *eawt* 52, *nawt* b 15, b 89; *monie þl.* 80, b 168; *al s. n. a.* 82, 72, *alle s. g.* b 207, *s. d.* b 149, *þl. n.* 20, *d.* 7, *a.* 24, *mid alle* b 20.

Three-fourths of the infinitives end in *-en*; those of the second weak conjugation mostly in *-ien*, as *makien*, *þolien*; with *-in* are *bemin* 43, *grennin* 59, *hungrin* 99, *lokin* 51, b 145, *rikenin* 25, 82, *schawin* 38 and the ME. *niuelin* 59, *olhnin* b 6, *toggin* b 145, *wimplin* b 51; with *-i*, *teoheði* 12; with *-e*, *cume* b 90, *drahe* b 53, *forwurðe* b 95, *habbe* b 2, *teache* 19, *wrenche* 48; contract verbs are *underuon* b 100, *wreon* b 50. The *dat. inf.* is inflected in *forte donne* b 227, *to witene* 17. Presents are *s. 1.* *bidde* b 237, *hopie* b 224; 2. *hudest*, *sist* b 57; 3. *attreð* b 80, *hodeð* 66, forms in *-ið* are *þreatið* 97, *winkið* 51, contract verbs, *sið* b 89, b 159, *sleað* 30, contracted forms, being about one-fifth of the total number of 3rd presents, *bihalt* 83, 97, *ethalt* 87, *blent* 82, *buð* b 11, b 187, *hat* b 135, *leið* 72, b 152, *lið* 71, b 93, *punt* b 6, *seið* 89, *send* b 127, *understont* 83, *went* b 204; *þl. 2.* *dreheð* b 233, *feleð* b 111, *makieð* b 80; 3. *bihateð* b 201, *bodieð* 57, *makieð* 38, in *-ið*, *awakenið* b 61, *leornið* 61, *sungið* b 46, b 191; also *seoð* b 22: *subjunctive s. 3.* *arise* b 55, *beate* b 31; in *-i*, *biblodgi* b 32,

binetli b 33, easki b 78, eili b 9, frouri b 232, hearmi b 9, milci b 175; in -ie, bleasie b 162, gleadie b 232, makie b 18, b 155, b 217, trukie b 183; from contract verbs, seo b 143, wreo b 54; *pl.* cussen b 156, dreden b 196, heatien b 141, makien b 150, plohen b 218, polien b 43; in -in, bemin b 206, lokin b 147; with apocope of n, 3eoue b 131, segge b 172, ticki b 219; from contract verb, underuon b 151, underuo b 130: *imperative s.* 2. 3ef 104, 3eot 103, loki b 9; *pl.* 2. ariseð 40, schurteð b 106, schapieð b 70, seowið b 70, talkið b 105, þonckið b 228, for3eoued b 200, driue 3e b 11, fondi(n), leue 3e b 36, makie 3e b 67, b 80, wite 3e b 15, gruchesi 3e b 177. Past of Strong Verbs: I a. s. 3. quoð b 76; *subj. s.* 3. sehe b 139: I b. s. 3. com b 74, b 93: I c. s. 3. dronc 21, swonc b 236: V. *pl.* 2. edheolden, underuengen b 73. Participles present: I c. keoruinde 65, 69, singinde b 124: II. bitinde b 199: III. lutinde b 152: IV. drahinde 45, forfearinde 29: V. wallinde 103; past: I a. isehen b 62: I b. iboren b 213, ibroken b 21, utnume *adj.* b 221: I c. iborhen 42, icoruon b 141, fordrunke *adj.* 96, ilumpen b 19: II. iwrite 28: II, III. bitohe b 225: III. bilokene 26: IV. ischauen b 101, isleine 33: V. edhalden b 215, ileten b 103, ilete b 104. Past of Weak Verbs: s. I. cleopede 9, hefde b 225, seide b 117; 3. schende b 52, gulte b 157, tahte b 75, ondsweerde b 76; *pl.* 3. liueden b 14, þohten 39. Participles present: suhinde b 199, wundrinde b 76; past: awakenet 24, biburiet b 76 and 28 others in -t, ilead 4, igurd b 28, istreonede 23, iturnde b 147, ontende b 168 and six others in -d. Minor Groups: nat I *pr. s.* 3, wat *pr. s.* b 7, nat 10, wite *pr. s. subj.* b 226, nute b 130, witen *pr. pl. subj.*, b 158; ah *pr. s.* 17, ahen *pr. pl.* b 184, ahte *pl. s.* b 181 (with present meaning); duhen *inf.* b 59, deh *pr. s.* b 66; con *pr. s.* b 134, cunnen *pr. pl.* 47, b 171; schal *pr. s.* 42, schulen 2 *pr. pl.* b 28, schule 99, b 105, b 191, schulen *pr. pl.* 58, 89, schule 3e 2 s. *imp.* b 71, schulde I *pt. s.* b 90, *pt. s.* 22; mei *pr. s.* 4, mahen 2 *pr. pl.* b 29, b 85 (4), *pr. pl.* 50, b 79, mahe *pr. s. subj.* b 148, b 180, muhen 2 *pr. pl. subj.* b 44, mahte *pt. s.* 25, b 140, b 213; mot *pr. s.* b 5, mote *pr. s. subj.* b 208; beon *inf.* 4 (9), beo b 4 (4), to beonne *dat. inf.* b 195, beonne b 74, forte beon 41, am I *pr. s.* b 236, is *pr. s.* 2, nis 5, beoð 2 *pr. pl.* b 104, b 223, *pr. pl.* 3, 20, 26, beo *pr. s. subj.* b 9 (9), beon 2 *pr. pl. subj.* b 203, *pr. pl. subj.* b 38 (5), beoð 2 *pl. imp.* b 45 (3), beo 3e b 86, wes *pt. s.* b 3, were *pt. s. subj.* b 96; wule *pr. s.* b 53, b 160, wulleð 2 *pr. pl.* b 101, b 113, b 205, wule *pr. s. subj.* 72, b 27, wullen 2 *pr. pl. subj.* b 45, nalde *pt. s.* 90, walden *pt. pl.* 42; don *inf.* b 22 (3), do b 226, forte donne *dat. inf.* b 227, to fordonne 30, dest 2 *pr. s.* b 60, deð *pr. s.* 50 (3), doð 2 *pr. pl.* b 67, b 227, *pr. pl.* 38, 82, do *pr. s. subj.* b 154, don *pr. pl. subj.* b 180, b 205, dude *pt. s.* 22, idon *pp.* b 176, gan *inf.* 19, b 39, geað *pr. s.* b 124, gað 2

pr. pl. 1, 2 *pl. imp.* b 210, ga *pr. s. subj.* b 124, b 126, b 129, aga b 160.

(2) Of B. This differs from A in being somewhat more fully inflected: divergences from A are noted. *londe* 2, *schrifte* 18 have dative inflection; *domes* 40 is probably a mistake for *dome*; *sunnen* 26, *earen* 71 are *d. s.*: *þes* 82, 92 is *s. g. m.* of the article, *þen* 103 *s. d. m.*, 32 *pl. d.*: *ha* 60 is probably miswritten for *hare*. In the inflection of the verbs *i* is occasionally found, *skirmin inf.* 66, *seruin* 46, *seruid pr. s.* 48, *tutelid pr. s.* 71, *shuli inf.* 47, *liki (loki)* 50: other noteworthy forms are *agastan* 57, a survival, *maken* 47 *inf.* of the second weak conjugation, *ablent* 84 contracted *pr. s.*, *bitahted* 15 *þþ.*

(3) Of N. The inflections are generally better preserved than in A. Strong masculine and neuter nouns have -e in the dat. sing., *deie* 94, *weie* 100 &c.; exceptions are *cloð*, *drunch* 187: *mele* 158, *þinge* 90 are *pl. d.*, *blodbendes* 64, *pl. a.* Of the strong feminines *n. s.* are *neode* 20, *seihtnesse* 139; *s. d.* *þemeleaste* 175, *halue* 174, *hwule* 198; *s. a.* *hwule* 21, 71, *leasunge* 117, ? *mone* 8; *pl. d.* *soulen* 157; *pl. a.* *eihte* 3: weak is *ancren n. pl.* 171. In the minor declensions *ueonde* 139 is *s. d.* *monne* 9, 109, 124, *pl. d.* The adjectives *godere* 182, *heie* 168 are *s. d. f.*, *sorie* 91, *pl. n.*, *worldliche* 90, *pl. d.* *ān* is *on*, *o* 138, *g. ones* 193, *d. one* 94, 208, *on* 29, *a. one* 22; *nān*, *non* 27, *no* 23, *g. none[s]* *weis* 3, *a. m. nenne* 20, 23, 108, *no* 27, *a. f. none* 11, 101, *a. neut. no* 11; *pl. d. none* 9, 109, 124: *āgen* is represented by *owune s. d.* 67, 190. The *n. s. f.* of the pronoun of the third person is *heo*: possessive *mine* 73 is *a. s. f.*: *ēower* is *our* 91, *ower* 175, *heora*, *hore* 105. Inflections of the article are *s. n. þe m.*, *þe f.*, *þet neut.* 140, *d. þer f.* 130, 170, *a. þene m.* 6 (4), *þeo f.* 21, 71; *pl. a. þeo* 88. The compound demonstrative has *s. d. f. þisse* 195, 208, *s. a. f. þeos* 209. The relative is *þet*; *swuche* 18, 92, 125 is *s. d.*, *sume* 140, *s. a. f.*, 90, *pl. d.*; *ucole pl. a.* 33; *eueriche* 195, *s. d. m.*; *ænig* is *eni* 8, 93.

Infinitives end in -en, those of the second weak conjugation mostly in -ien, but *loken* 124; forms in -in, -i are absent. An inflected infinitive is *forto donne* 199, in other cases the simple form is preceded by *uorto*, *uorte*, for *to*, except to *schruden* 67. Inflected forms with -i are not found in any part of the verb. The contract verb *sēon* gives *isihð pr. s.* 23, 71, 140: contracted forms of the *pr. s.* occur about as frequently as in A: the *pr. pl.* ends in -eð, *driedð* 205, *sunegeð* 174, but *iseoð* 23; the *pr. subj.* ends in -e, -en, *eilie* 9, *gledie* 204, *hermie* 9, *milce* 157, *sigge* 130, *siggen* 152, but *iseo* 119. Past of Strong Verbs: I a. *iseie subj. s.* 3. 116: II. *wrot s.* 3. 209. Participles present: I c. *singinde* 100: II. *bitinde* 183. III. *lutende* 131; past: I a. *iseien* 53: I b. *ikumen* 19: II, III. *bitowen* 198. Past of Weak Verbs:

heuede 1 *pt. s.* 197. Inflected past participles are isette *a. s. f.* 164, iwrouhte *pl.* 25. Minor Groups: wot *pr. s.* 198, wat 7, wute 3e *imp. pl.* 138 (Anglian); ouh *pr. s.* 10, 80, owen *pr. pl.* 167, ouhte *pt. s.* 163; deih *pr. s.* 56; schullen 2 *pr. pl.* 29, schulen 87, 175; muwe *pr. s. subj.* 163, muwen 2 *pr. pl. subj.* 37, 67, muhte *pt. s.* 116; beon *inf.* 4, *pr. pl. subj.* 24, to beon *dat. inf.* 179, was *pt. s.* 3; uorto don *dat. inf.* 199, don 2 *pr. pl. subj.* 62; uorto gon *dat. inf.* 34, geð *pr. s.* 100, go *pr. s. subj.* 100 (4).

(4) Of T: mainly a statement of divergences from A. In the strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns, wede *s. n.* 125 represents OE. *gewæde*; heordes 6 is *s. g.* As in A, the *dat. sing.* is mostly uninflected, but zate 105, hame 98, rihte 164, tune 109. schon 33 is a weak *n. pl.*, beodes *n. pl.* 192, *a. pl.* 100 has *masc.* termination, þinge 184 is *pl. g.*; datives have mostly -es, -s, cneos 129, 135, giltyes 150, wahes 19, but siðe 19, 83, þinge 117; meal 158, þing 106, 188 are *acc.* in form. Strong declension of *fem.* nouns: somentale *n. s.* 139 represents -*talū*; *dat.* -e, lokinge 18, but uninflected are hond 97 (*hond*), rest 92; *acc.* -e, without exception: fondinges 74 *pl. n.* has *masc.* termination, tales 89 is *pl. d., acc.* are gloues 56, leasinges 117, speches 115, tales 114, ahte 3. Nouns of the weak declension are *s. g.* ancras 8 (4), chirches 66, schirches 32 (= *chirches*), *d.* deme 176, eare 192, fere 110, anker 165, lauedi 155, lafdi 112; *pl. n.* ancras 171, *d.* ehne 54, hose 35, heordes 28, *a.* cappes 38, eares 112. The tendency to substitute the terminations of the strong declension for those of the weak is Midland. In the minor declensions namon 9 is *s. d.*; sustre 204, *pl. n.*; childrene 78, *pl. g.*

An adjective inflected in the *sing.* is hehe 176: plurals have -e, with the exception of bisi 97, idel 69, sari 91: *pl. a.* is nane 115. Beside ich 86 (3), i occurs 72 as *pers. pronoun*. The *n. s. f.* and *n. pl.* of the pronoun of the third person is ho 4, 122; hom 167 is miswritten for ho; heora is hare 125, 127, hore 126. The relative pronoun is þat: the demonstrative þā, those, is seen in (7) ta 68, 161: the indef. is mon 8 (5); hwat as noun occurs at 145, 159; āwiht is oht 208; alle is *s. d.* 128, *pl. d.* 116.

Infinitives are divided equally between -en and -e; those in -ien are hatien 117, þolien 87, 169, in -ie, werie 27, but loke 124; forms with -in, -i are absent. Dative infinitives are for to biginnen 199, for to puffen 143, to habben 56, with four others in -en; to breke 20, to haue 11, to lose 94, to reare 140. The 3rd *pr. s.* ends in -es, askes 188, blowes 190, and 32 others, none being contracted forms, but lis 76, seos 71, 140, and bueð 170; the 3rd *pr. pl.* in -en, bihaten 186, hauen 208, and 13 others, but suneheþ 174; the *subjunctive pr. s.* in -e, blawe 148, cume 102, blodeke 32, eile 9, like 35, make 135, but blasie 143, gladie 204, trukie 166, werie

27, seo 23, *pl.* in -en, bemen 192, hauen 66, nabben 106, halden 202 (but halde 147), luuien 180, makien 129; *imperative s. 2.* in -e, loke 9, were 30, *pl.* in -es, biddes 201, haues 21, habbes 26 and twelve others, driue 3e 12, gruse 3e 158, &c. Past of Strong Verbs: I a. *subj. s. 3.* sehe 116: I c. *s. 3.* swanc 210: III. *pl. 2.* drehden 205, a weak form; comp. HM 37/6. Participles present: II. bitende 183; III. lutende 131; past: II, III. bitohen 198: V. bifallen 19, ileten 85, 87. Past of Weak Verbs: *s. 1.* hafde 197. Participles present: seiende 100, suhiende 184; past: bicleopet 175, iset 164, ifest 149 and 8 others in -t, idodded 83, ilaced 37, iturnde 126, gurd 30, red 208, icnotten 36. Minor Groups: duhen *inf. 24*, deah *pr. s. 56*; cunnen *pr. pl. 172*, cunen 152; schule 2 *pr. pl. 175*, schuln 29, schule *pr. pl. 122*; mai *pr. s. 4*, muhen 2 *pr. pl. 67, 89, 173*; beon *inf. 53, 196*, beo 4 (6), to beon *dat. inf. 179*, arn 2 *pr. pl. 87 (5)*, *pr. pl. beon 126, 147, 149*, beos 97, beo *pr. s. subj. 148, 206*, beon 2 *pr. pl. subj. 189, pr. pl. subj. 33, 105*, beos 2 *pl. imp. 188, 201*, beo 3e 69, was *pt. s. 3*, were *pt. s. subj. 198*; wile *pr. s. 28, 168*, nule 29, wiln 2 *pr. pl. 96, 191*; don *inf. 89*, for to donne *dat. inf. 199*, to do 199, dos *pr. s. 142, 189*, don 2 *pr. pl. 200, 201, pr. pl. 129, 157, 2 pr. pl. subj. 62*, do 191, idon *pp. 157*; to gan *dat. inf. 34*, gas *pr. s. 100*, ga *pr. s. subj. 100, 141*. The termination of ladli *adj. 7*, gladli *adv. 168*, nomeli 149 is due to Scand. -ligr, -liga; nedinge 9 represents OE. *nēadinga*; wið prep. 20, 22 (in N mid), ni conj. 55 &c., and til conj. 172 are noteworthy.

(5) Of C. This differs little from A. Nouns of the weak declension are ances *s. g. 8*, blodbinden *pl. a. 64*. The pronoun of the third person *s. n. f., pl. n.* is ha 4, 122. While the *pr. s.* of the verb regularly ends in -eð, makes 8, 20 survives from the Midland original; so too don 2 *pr. pl. 200* beside doð 201, beon 126, 149. iburð *pr. s. impers. 56*, befits, represents OE. *gebyrep*; other verbal forms are sech3e *pt. s. subj. 116*, segginde *pres. p. 100*, nach for ne ah *pr. s. 80*, ach3en *pr. pl. 167*, much3en 2 *pr. pl. 67*, mu3en 92, wullet 2 *pr. pl. 96, 191* beside wulled 84, wullen 38. The adv. nedunge 9 represents OE. *nēadunga*.

Vocabulary: The Scandinavian element is large: ai T 206, arn T 87 &c., blast T 144, eskibah 79, flutte b 182, geineð b 163, grið(fullnesse) b 4, hesmel N 118, lah b 143, lahe b 152, lane 13, lastunge 56, lates b 147, meoke b 38, b 66, nai b 48, b 76, riue b 83, riueð b 82, riuunges b 83, sahtnesse b 158, (but seih[t]nesse N is English), scale 95, semes T 3, skile b 118, skleatteð 53, tiþinges NT 114, tidinges b 138, C 114, til TC 172, wanes b 19, warpere 64, warpeð 66 (worpare, worpeð N are English), windowe b 59, wontreaðe 76, wursnet T 174: probably baðe T 105, T 156, T 187, brendes C 141, hird B 33, hwitel 89, lustni b 90, lustnen T 73,

meaðeleð 73, 96, rukelin 80, rukeleð 86, ruken 81, somen (tale) T 139, suhinde b 199, suhiende T 184, suwinde N 184, umben b 229, TC 201 : possibly dusten 68, glonpen T 56/58. The French element is very extensive; many of the words appear for the first time: accidie 11, amendeð N 65, mendið b 70, amices b 78, angoise 60, apostle b 50, atiffi b 63, untiffet b 64, tiffunge b 53, aturn b 146, augrim 81, best N 2, beastes 28, boistes b 16, broche b 65, caliz C N 17, chaliz T 17, canges 82, celer 92, change b 222, ichanget b 117, chartres b 16, cheres 48, complie b 179, criblin b 81, curt 34, cuetur 89, cyrogiasses b 17, dame b 129, (deuleset TC 198), disceplines b 35, dute N 79, eise b 187, eise b 223, eoli b 197 (Bonn. Beitr. xv. 110), familiers T 113, figures 81, folliche 18, frut b 177, gloire b 80, glutun 92, grace b 174, graces b 171, greueð b 105, gruchunge b 135, haire T 36, hurte b 214, hurten b 213, inobedience 6, iuglurs 47, large b 203, laz b 69, ilacet b 42, leattres b 99, leon B 30 liun 30, manciple 92, mantel C 120, imantlet C 121, mestre b 2, imembret b 65, meoster 35 mester B 48, mustreisun b 80, noise 38, obedient b 129, ore 7, parures b 79, penitence b 169, poure b 70, pouerte b 114, prophetes 57, religiun b 74, riwle b 116, rund b 59, sacrement 8, scoren b 16, scurge b 32 schurge N 31, seinte C 46, semblant 60, seruant b 181, seruin 47, seruise 43, silence b 180, skirmi 67, sot(schipe) b 111, spece 5, stamin b 27, strif b 154, isturbed N 163 isturbet b 181, suffreð N 205, surpliz b 66, tauales b 82, temptaciuns b 35, tendre b 73, terme 15, tohurten b 164, triccherie 17, vnicorne 32, ures b 135, vampeþ b 40, veiles b 45, veine b 80, uestemenz b 17. Latin borrowings are auez b 134 auees C 111, cuchene 93 (pre-Conquest), false 6, falsliche 19, paternostres b 134, presumptio 9, purses b 68, scapeloris C 120, unbischpet 19, venie b 150.

Dialect. The AR has hitherto been generally regarded as Southern, partly because of the prevailing Southern dialect of the manuscript printed by Morton, and partly because of the fancied connexion of the treatise with Tarrant Kaines in Dorsetshire. But the presence of Midland and Northern forms to a greater or less extent in all the manuscripts, although four of them at least were written by Southern scribes, points to the Northern border of the Midland area as the home of the original, while the large Scandinavian element in the vocabulary and the absence of the characteristic u in unaccented final syllables (-ud, -un, -us, -ut) decide for the East against the West Midland. MS. N is a copy made by a scribe of the Middle South; his alterations of the inflections are systematic, but with occasional lapses like timbrin Morton, 12/24, blescið 18/11, seihtni 28/19, kalenges tu 54/2, wenes tu 54/5 (beside wenest tu 54/20), muhtes 304/13 (but muhtest 270/3) &c.; more frequently he copies Anglian

sounds from his exemplar. He also substitutes, as far as he can, English and French words for Scandinavian, e.g. *hercnen* 73 for *lustnin*, yet he retains such purely Northern elements as *suwinde* 184, and the suffix in *godleic* Morton, 136/15, *ureoleic* 192/25. Peculiar to the scribe are his representations of *a + h*, *ā + h*, *ō + w* (*touward* occurs in *Layamon*). MS. A presents the characteristic features of the Katherine Group; it is a copy by a scribe of the Northern border of the South. The Midland element in its sounds is considerable, but the inflection is mainly Southern; the *u-* and *ā-*umlauts of *a* appear to be due to the scribe and not to the original. MS. B is closely related to A, but it is somewhat more Southern in preservation of the inflections; the scribe was more accustomed to French than to English. MS. C also closely resembles A, but in the flexion North-Midland forms appear more often by inadvertence. In MS. T, both sounds and inflections are predominantly Midland: still in other parts of the manuscript the Southern element is more evident than in our extract. This manuscript stands nearest in dialect to the original; it appears to be a copy of a North-Midland text made by a scribe not long enough resident in the Midland area to have quite forgotten his native Southern speech.

Style: MS. N is not only the most remote from the original in dialect, it has also been altered in language more than the others, partly from a desire to make the meaning plainer, partly from a dislike of any singularity of expression. The changes made may be classified as i. insertion of connecting particles, 'and,' 'vor,' 'þeonne,' N 144 &c.; 'so uorð so' in A is altered into 'uor so' Morton, 136/13: ii. expansions like 'þe habbeð' N 95, 'he nout' N 101, 'to þer eorðe' N 130, 'þeo þinges' N 160: iii. re-arrangement of words in a prose order, 'kume hom' N 102, 'so' N 115, 'dreamen wel' N 192: iv. substitution of nouns for pronouns, 'nenne mon' N 23; the writer has a peculiar affection for the word *mon*, so, 'ase deð, among moni mon, sum uniseli ancre,' Morton 128/23, where A has 'monie' without noun: v. elimination of words and expressions used in a figurative way, 'hit is' N 99 for 'driueð,' 'kumeð—heouene' N 170, destroying the alliteration. These alterations have tended to obscure the peculiar rhythmic movement of the prose, which was a feature of the original as of Sawles Warde, the Katherine Group, Hali Meidenhad and some smaller pieces. It is discernible in the other manuscripts, especially in elevated passages, as b 182-7, b 205-8, b 231-5, and the scribe of MS. A often shows by his punctuation that he recognized its existence.

Introduction: The *Ancren Riwe*, as it was called by Morton, the *Ancrene Wisse* (the Anchoresses' Guide) as its title is in MS. A, was

written for the instruction of three sisters, 'gentile wummen,' of whom the author says 'ine blostme of ower 3uweðe, uorheten alle worldes blissen 7 bicomen ancren' (Morton, 192). Their dwelling is under the eaves of a church, they are 'under chirche iancred' (M. 142); there is but a wall between them and the Host (M. 262). They live in separate cells, for they send messages to one another by their attendant maids (M. 256), and they are fully provided for, 'euerich of ou haueð of one ureond al þet hire is neod.' ne þerf þet meiden sechen nouðer bread ne suuel, fur þene et his halle' (M. 192). They are greatly beloved, 'vor godleic 7 for ureoleic i3erned of monie' (M. 192); their whole life in so strict an order is as a martyrdom, '3e beoð niht 7 dei upe Godes rode' (M. 348).

As they were not subject in their anchorhold to any recognized monastic rule, they sought some regulations for their way of life, and the treatise they received is represented, so far as the matter is concerned, best by MS. N. But a book so helpful was certain to be copied for the use of other anchorites, with suitable adaptations and possibly additions; such a copy is MS. A, made a considerable time after the original. It omits the important reference to the author, found only in MS. N, wherein he speaks of the practice of the lay brothers of the community to which he belonged (Morton, 24), the word 'leawude' in 'ure leawude breðren' (M. 412/8), and the passage addressed by the author to the ladies for whom the book was composed (M. 192) containing the biographical details quoted above: of the numerous additions the most interesting is that in which reference is made to the general adoption of the rule by anchoresses all over England, with such unanimity that it is as though they were all gathered within the walls of one convent at London, Oxford, Shrewsbury, or Chester (M. L. Review, ix. 470). As MS. T is imperfect at the beginning, its first leaf corresponding to Morton, p. 44, it cannot be known whether it left out the first passage (Morton, 24) mentioned above, but it does omit the second passage (Morton, 192), and further eliminates commendatory references to the sisters found in Morton, 48/2-4, 50/20-24; it is therefore adapted like A. So too is the French version; it contains some of the additions of A, and is subsequent to it. A third stage is reached when the book is recognized as profitable reading for others who are not anchorites, for nuns, as in the Latin version of MS. M, in which the first ritual part is abridged and the last wholly left out as inapplicable to those who have a definite rule of their own, such as the Cistercian sisters at Tarent, for whom Simon of Ghent may well have executed this translation. Similarly the extracts of MS. B were probably made for the use of seculars.

Hitherto no plausible guess as to the author has been made. Simon of Ghent, who died in 1315 A.D., is manifestly out of the question. Bishop Poor (d. 1237) has been drawn in solely because of his connexion with Tarent (Dugdale, v. 619), of which he was the principal benefactor. From internal evidence it may be gathered that the writer was a disciple of S. Bernard (1091-1153), whom he quotes some twelve times expressly, and from whose *Liber Sententiarum* he says he takes most of his sixth book; 'hit is alмест Seint Beornardes Sentence,' Morton, 348/14. He was acquainted with Ailred of Rievaulx and with the treatise which Ailred wrote for his sister the anchoress (Morton, 368), of which he made extensive use. He belonged to some monastic order, for he speaks of 'vre leawede breþren,' and 'ure ordre' (Morton, 24). He appears to have been acquainted with other anchoresses (Morton, 102, 192, 410). There is a note of weariness at the end of the book, as of one already advanced in years, and indeed the accumulated experience of a long life must have gone to its making. He was a widely read man; he quotes from many authors, of whom, after S. Bernard, S. Augustine and S. Gregory were the chief, but he drew on the Bible twice as often as on all the others put together. Finally, the Scandinavian element in his native speech was exceptionally large, and French was so familiar to him as to colour his English far more than that of any previous writer.

There were two men living towards the end of the twelfth century who might answer to this description, Gilbert of Hoyland, Abbot of Swineshead in Lincolnshire (Dugdale, v. 336), and S. Gilbert of Sempringham. The former completed the treatise on the *Canticum Canticorum* begun by S. Bernard, in which the mystic interpretation is quite different from that which runs all through the *Ancren Riwe*. But for S. Gilbert (1089-1189) I think a good case can be made out. He was brought up in South Lincolnshire, where the Danish element was strong, and not far from the northern border of the Midland area, for Lincolnshire north of the Witham was more Northern than Midland. In later years his visitations took him often to his houses of Watton and Malton in Yorkshire. He received his early education mostly in France, and he probably visited that country often in later life; he spent more than a year there in 1147, 1148 A.D. To no other person would the recluses have been so likely to apply for a rule, since he was famous as the greatest director of pious women in England; 'vir eximiae religionis, in feminarumque custodia gratiae singularis,' says Trivet in his *Annales*; 'vir plane mirabilis, et in custodia feminarum singularis,' W. of Newburgh. His own foundation for women and men, the order of the Gilbertines, had its beginnings in an anchorhold which

he built for seven maidens against the north wall of his own church of S. Andrew at Sempringham sometime about 1131 A.D. (Dugdale, vi, pt. 2, *ix). For these he framed a Rule, 'dedit . . . eis praecepta vitae et disciplinae,' and provided servants 'puellas aliquas pauperulas in habitu seculari servientes.' When, after a long visit to S. Bernard, he returned to England with his Institutiones confirmed by Eugenius III, his order was regularly founded, with himself as Master. The Rule of his nuns was framed on Cistercian lines, but with modifications from many sources. While it differs of necessity from regulations suitable to the life of the recluse, it shows the same extraordinary attention to details ('non solum magna et maxime necessaria, verum etiam minima quaedam et abiecta . . . non omisit,' Dugdale, *xiii) which is displayed in the Ancren Riwe. And the two Rules often agree in these details, as will be seen in the notes; the most remarkable example is the similarity of the devotions of the lay brethren of the order to which the writer belonged, as described in the AR (Morton, 24), to the rule for the Hours of the Fratres in the Sempringham Order (Dugdale, *lx). There are numerical differences in the number of Paternosters and Psalms, but the Gilbertine Rule, as we have it, is a revision, probably a relaxation, of Gilbert's, and the principle is the same. This method of saying the Hours is given by the writer to the recluses as an alternative use to the more elaborate one already prescribed, and he adds, 'Gif ei of ou wule don þus heo voleweð her, ase in opre obseruances, muchel of ure ordre.' Gilbert was intimate with Ailred of Rievaulx, and sought his advice in the case of the nun at Watton (Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*, i. col. 420). Unfortunately, no authenticated writing of his, save a formal letter addressed in his last days to the Canons of his Order (MS. Digby 36, f. 189 b), has come down to us. But the first of his biographers tells us that, when in the course of his constant visitations of his houses he rested for a time anywhere, he did not eat the bread of idleness, but among other occupations wrote books, 'scripsit quandoque libros' (Dugdale, *xv), and the writer of the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, i. 471, says 'libros multos scripsit; verba eius nichil aliud quam sapientiam et scientiam sonuerunt.' The first members of his Order would surely multiply copies of the works of their founder, and it is not likely that all of these have disappeared. The *Ancren Riwe* was probably one of them. But there is besides a group of writings which are seen in their true setting when regarded as a product of the Gilbertine movement; the table on p. 356 gives the contents of three manuscripts which are in my opinion collections of the works of S. Gilbert. Among them is that 'Englische boc of Seinte Margarete' (M. 244/20) possessed by the recluses, as the writer of the AR knew.

There has been much dispute as to the language in which the AR was written. The older scholars, Dr. Thomas Smith (1696 A.D.), Wanley (1705), Planta (1802) had no doubt that it was Latin. Morton (1853) championed the English version, but some of his arguments were refuted, others shaken by Bramlette. Muhe, holding the priority of the Latin proved, was obliged to adopt an involved and improbable view of the relationship of MS. T to the other manuscripts. It should be observed that these scholars were unable to take into account the Corpus MS. and the French version. The first to pronounce from a knowledge of all the materials was G. C. Macaulay in the M. L. Review, xi. 61. He appears to have disposed effectually of the claim on behalf of the Latin version, but his arguments in favour of French as the original language are not convincing. It must suffice here to say that nothing he adduces appears to be so crucial as the passage at 58/79, or even 56/38, 56/54, 70/170. In a general comparison, the English has all the vigour and raciness of an original work, while the French gives the impression of being unidiomatic and wanting in spontaneity.

In the foot-notes p. 60, l. 12, add C after chepilt: p. 61, l. 17, read chirche: p. 65, l. 62, add C after grettere: p. 67, l. 96, read wulle~~t~~ C for wulh C, also at p. 75, l. 191.

A. THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS.

The references throughout are to the Corpus MS., unless otherwise stated.

1. **wildernesse**: of the world; he has already said, 'Ipisse wildernesse wende ure Louerdes folc, ase Exode telleð, touward tet eadie lond of Jerusalem . . . 7 3e, mine leoue sustren, wended bi þen ilke weie toward te heie Jerusalem,' AR 196/28-30. Comp. 'alse longe se we iðese westen of þesser woruld wandrið,' OEH i. 243/3; 'Claustales in huius mundi deserto exulantes,' Alanus de Insulis, 65. þer . . . in, in which; see 1/3: 'ou vous ale3 en3,' F.

3. **beastes . . . wurmes**: The Lion of Pride, the Serpent of Envy, the Unicorn of Wrath, the Bear of Sloth, the Fox of Covetousness, the Swine of Greediness, the Scorpion of Lechery, each with its whelps. The conception comes from S. Jerome, 'quasi inter scorpiones et colubres incedendum ut . . . iter per insidias saeculi huius et inter venena faciamus possimusque . . . terram repromissionis intrare,' iv. 796. Comp. also, 'Per superbiam enim quasi a leonibus lacerantur, per invidiam tanquam viperarum morsu percutiuntur,' Cesarii Sermo lx, in S. August. v. App. 301 B. It is not in the manner of the Bestiaries, where the lion and the unicorn

are types of Christ, though the influence of the Bestiaries is often shown in the AR.

4. **ilead** . . . to, traced to, classified under; 'reduci ad,' M; 'menee od,' F.: a rare use; comp. 54/20. **seouene**: in the older English literature the number is eight; Superbia being followed by Vana Gloria. See Max Förster, *Über die Quellen von Ælfric's Homiliae Catholicae*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 47-9 for a good summary of the changes in the lists. **seoluen** B: so T seluen.

5. **streones**: 'hweolpes,' AR 198/7; 'engendrures,' F. **vnsteaðeluest**: 'Destable,' F. literally, unstabled. **nis hit** &c., is it not the species of Pride called Disobedience? CTN agree with B; the meaning is the same: T reads, *nis hit of prude. Jnobedience. Her to falleð sigaldres*. M has 'Jnconstans fides. *contra sacram doctrinam. nunc ex superbia inobediencie est: ad hoc pertinent sortilegia.*' The division in Morton is therefore wrong: P has Inobedience *ne falleþ it to sigaldrie. 'þe vifte hweolp [of þe Liun of Prude] hette Inobedience,*' AR 198/17.

6. **Herto falleð**, come under this head; comp. 'alle þe þing þ̅ lust falleþ to,' AR 52/24, 58/9; 'J falleð to biȝete,' SK 24/471. **false teolunges**, wrongful practices, especially in treatment of the sick by means of herbs gathered with incantations and of other pagan devices; comp. 'Se cristena mann ȝe on ænigre þissere gelicnysse bið gebrocod, and he ȝonne his hælðe secan wyle æt unalyfedum tilungum, oððe æt wyrigedum galdrum, oþpe æt ænigum wiccecræfte, ȝonne bið he ðam hæðenum mannum gelic,' Ælf. Hom. Cath. i. 474/19-22. These 'unallowed practices' are, at the same place, contrasted with 'true leechcraft,' the skill of a doctor: comp. 'uncundelich lechecreft,' 62/36, and see the *Homilia de sacrilegiis*, ed. Caspari, ch. iv and notes, for abundant illustrations of these superstitions. Comp. also, for a wider use of **teolung**, 'to æghwylcre neode man hæfð on cyrichocum mæssan gesette and tilige man (= let one set to work) georne mid þam . . . þæt is hwene betere, þonne man to wiccan, and to wigleran tilunge (= treatment) sêce æt ænigre neode,' Wulfstan, 171/7-12 (B-T). Morton translates 'false reckoning,' which hardly comes under the head of unsteadfast belief; 'fals takynges' P.

7. **lefunge o swefne · o nore**: this order is peculiar to A. For the Dream Books of mediaeval England see Förster in *Archiv* cxxi. 33, cxxv. 39, cxxvii. 31. **o nore**: so BCT; N has on ore J of swefnes; PV have nothing corresponding; M is vague, 'ad hoc pertinent sortilegia · J *quacunq̃* infidelitas · credere sompniis · J *huius modi*'; in F the place is at the damaged top of the folio; it has, apparently, 'credence en estrenies en songes J toutes manieres de sorceries.' **ore** cannot represent OE. *ār*,

which has no meaning like luck, nor can it be connected with L. *augurium*, the contemporary French form of which is *eür*. I think it is F. *oré*, favourable weather, favourable occasion, as in 'Nos n'avrons ja tens ne oré | Desci que li vienge a plaisir,' Roman de Troye 5952, 3 : the particular form of 'unsteadfast belief' meant being the trusting to the system of favourable and unfavourable days for different kinds of work &c., embodied in such books as the Calendar printed in M. L. Review, ii. 212-22, where it is stated that the first day of the month is good for beginning a piece of work, the second for marrying, the third is a bad day for taking up one's abode in a town, and so on (for the literature see Archiv cx. 352). The collection in Caspari's note on § 12 of the Homilia already cited shows that the superstition was often attacked in sermons as pagan; he quotes 'Nullus Christianus observet, qua die de domo exeat, vel qua die revertatur, quia omnes dies Deus fecit; nullus ad inchoandum opus diem . . . attendat,' Pseudoaug. Sermo cclxxviii. Comp. 'time,' OEH ii. 11/13 and VV 27/22-29.

8. *heaued sunne*: Orm's 'hæfedd sunne,' 98/2728; *peccatum capitale*: 'cum mortali peccato,' M. Comp. 'Nu syndon eahta heafod leahtras,' Ælf. Lives, i. 354/267.

9. 'þe ueorðe [hweolp of þe Liun of Prude] is Presumptio,' AR 198/14.

10. *þemeles*: so BPV, negligent, *adj.* for *noun*, negligence, carelessness: N has the noun *þemeleste*; C *scheomeles*. *under*, classified under the head of: 'þe seoueðe [hweolp of þe Bore of heui Slouhðe] is Gemeleaschipe,' AR 202/13.

11. For *uuel* C has *lure*: NT have incorrectly *lure* for *bizete*; so in M, 'Qui non premunit alium de dampno uel incommodo.' Not to warn a man against something hurtful is slothful negligence; not to apprise him of something to his advantage is venomous envy. The sins are different and come under different heads. The first half of the sentence is in effect hypothetical, and equivalent to, if a man does not warn &c.; so 54/21; 66/120, and F, 'Ki ne garnist altre de son mal ou de son gaig[ne] nest ceo perescouse negligence ou venimouse envie.'

12. For *slaw þemeles* C has *slauðe scheomelese*. *teoheði mis*: Contrast 'rihtliche teðien,' OEH ii. 215/32; 'giuen rihte tiðinge,' id. 129/32; 'theoþe ryht vnder his honde,' OEM 77/149. *teouðen* C; *tiheðe* T; *Mis iteoðeged* N, the being mistithed; a remarkable use of the participle; 'male decimare,' M; 'mes doner,' F, a vague expression, which looks like a translator's failure. How S. Gilbert once dealt with a 'mistither' may be read in his life, printed in Dugdale, vi., pt. ii., p.*vii. *mis* is aphetic for *amiss*, wrongly; comp. 56/48.

13. **edhalden**: edhalde C; OE. **ophealden**, withhold; so at 64/73: comp. 'Lante ȝ thyng me was taght | I held ouer-lang as i noght aght,' CM 28398. **oðer**—**mis feāren**, or treat badly, is peculiar to A.

14. **ȝisceunge**: 'þe Vox of ȝiscunge haueð þeos hweolpes: Tricherie ȝ Gile, þeofðe, Reflac,' AR 202/18. ȝ **anes cunnes** is peculiar to A.

15. **strong reaflac**: 'rapina,' M. **hwa—mei**, if one is able to pay it; peculiar to A. **þe—ȝisceunge**: 'species cupiditatis,' M; 'qi est desouz couoitise,' F.

16. It is sinful 'biseon ȝemeleasliche eni þing þe me mide uareð, oðer ouhte to ȝemen,' AR 344/6.

17. **þen—hit**, than the owner of it thinks right: M has here *pr̄ius* for *peius*. **ȝemeles of slawðe**, negligence, a subdivision of Sloth. The author has already classified under *Geineleaschipe*, 'miswiten ei þing þet heo haueð to witene,' AR 202/14. C reads *scheomeles of slauðe*.

18. **alswa is dusi**: *alswa . idusi* C: apparently OE. *gedysig . longe—unbischpet*: 'diu esse sine confirmacione,' M.

19. **falsliche**, insincerely. **abiden**, put it off: N connects it with what follows by reading *uorte* for *ne*.

21. **moder**: so he writes of the 'seoue moder sunnen,' AR 216/21.

23. **istreonede**, *þp.* as noun: *þ̅ te istreonede* T; *þ̅ þe streonede* C. **strong monslaht**: 'fort homicide,' F; 'homicidium,' M.

24. **galnesse**: comp. 'þe Scoriun of Lecherie.' þet is, of *golnesse*, AR 204/15. **awakenet**, originated; comp. 64/61, 66/91, 143/70; AR 44/9, 220/9; HM 27/8, 31/5; 'woden . . . whence first awoke the West-Saxon bloud royall,' L'isle, *Divers Ancient Monuments*, sig. f 3 v. of *galnesse awakenet* are not represented in M, though necessary to the argument.

25. **nomeliche**, particular, proper; exceptionally an *adj.* here; in l. 27, as usually, an *adv.* corresponding to OE. *nameūþlice*; comp. 'ne ne muhte, ase ich wene, mide none muðe nomeliche nemen ham,' AR 226/6. 'touȝ peccheȝ seueralment par lour propre nouns.' ne porreit nul hom contier,' F.

26. **beoð bilokene**: 'includuntur,' M: comp. 'Auh ine þeo þet beoð her etforen iseid alle þeo oðre beoð bilokene,' AR 226/7. *ilokene* CT.

27. **understonden him**, perceive; see 13/34 note and comp. 'þenne aȝe we to understonden us | from alle uuele he scal blecen us,' OEH i. 57/63, 64; 'Peter . anon þer after . hyne vnderstod . | Hwat his louerd hedde iseyd,' OEM 45/297, 8. **of**: the genitive of the thing perceived is found in OE., 'ȝe hiora ȝeninga cuðen understondan,' Cura Past. 3/4.

28. **imeane**, 'general heads,' Morton, evidently taking it for the *adj.*

used as a noun: it seems better to regard it as the *adv.* generaliter, referring each species of sin to its genus. T omits; B alters by inserting þat, which I indicate. 'Nec est *aliquis* ut puto qui [non] possit intelligere suum peccatum sub aliquo *predictorum* contineri,' M.

29. **anlich**: comp. 'he (S. John Baptist) . . . wende into onliche stude iþe wilderness,' AR 160/7. **þe—for donne**: nothing corresponding in M. **for fearinde**: forð farinde CT; uorðfarinde N; 'passan3,' F.

31. **hehe** . . . **iheortet**: comp. 'ase of prude: of great heorte: oþer of heih heorte,' AR 342/24. **hehe**, adverb; LWS. **hēage**, comp. 68/142. **ouerhohe**: ouerhoþe C; ouer hehe T; ouer heie N. Apparently they all mean, too loftily; the forms with *o* may be due to the influence of ouerhowien (comp. 28/323): ouerhowe, contempt, occurs as a noun, 'ouerhowe of eorðliche þinges,' AR 276/3, HM 43/4 (comp. OE. **oferhoga**, a contemner): for hehe in B is corrupt. M has 'elatos corde.'

32. **iponket**: iponked C; iþoncked N, is explained as a new formation from ipanc, OE. **geþanc**, thought, thus meaning thoughted, but the versions connected it with þankien, OE. **þancian**, 'Serpens uenenosus inuidos ⁊ ingratos,' M; 'La venimouse serpente lenuious ⁊ ceau3 qe sunt de male voluntee vers lour bienfetours,' F. T has þe ondfule ⁊ te-luðere iþohtet: þ beoꝝ malicius ⁊ luðere azain oðere'; luþere J-hertet V. The unicorn stands for Pride, not Anger, in the patristic literature; comp. Cohn, Zur literarischen Geschichte des Einhorns, ii. 8.

33. **o rawe**, in their order, in succession. **to—isleine**: 'Interfecti quo ad deum,' M; 'qant a dieu: il sunt tue3,' F. Comp. 'mest al þe world, þet is gostliche isleien mid deadliche sunnen,' AR 156/9.

34. **hond**, control: the MSS., except V which has warde, agree with B: 'in eius excercitu,' M; 'de sa meignee,' F. **of**: comp. 56/48; a locative use = in.

35. **falleð**, is proper to, is in accordance with his nature; comp. 54/6: 'quilibet de officio ad se pertinente,' M, 'qe a lui apent,' F.

36. **draheð wind**: the germ of this comparison is possibly, 'Qui inflantur superbia, vento pascuntur,' Isidore vi. 241/4. Comp. also, 'Dominus cuidam heremite ostendit in spiritu tres homines quorum unus in monte excelso trahebat ventum ore aperto . . . Hii sunt vani et superbi homines qui vane glorie ventum attrahunt et multa opera faciunt ut ab hominibus laudentur,' Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 68/2.

37. **hereword**: comp. 84/69; 'don hware þuruh me buð þene kinedom of heouene, ⁊ sulleð hit for a windes þuf of wor[1]des hereword: of monnes heriunge,' AR 148/2; OEH ii. 83/20; 'vent de veyn glorie,' Bozon 89/25. **idel þelp**: comp. 'Se seofoða leahter is iactantia gecweden | þæt is ydel

gylp on ængliscra spræce,' Ælf. Lives, i. 356/300; OEH i. 103/29; VV 5/20; Orm 10/391; SK 470.

38. *orhel*, pride: so T; *oreȝel* C; *horel* N; *gle* P; *craft* V; 'pompose melodie,' F, confusing it with *orgel*, organ.

39. *o*—*world*, in four quarters of the world: comp. 'æt þissum feower endum middangeardes,' BH i. 95/13; 'þenne sculen engles mid bemen blauwen on fower halue þe world,' OEH i. 143/18. As to the form of the expression, N reads, a uour halue þe worlde; P, on foure half þe werlde; all the other MSS. have uninflected half and world (word B), and omit of. For the ellipsis compare the similar construction of *side*: half apparently follows the analogy of *pound* and similar words of measure.

40. *grurefule* . . . *grisliche*: see 120/95. *Ariseð*: see 58/77.

42. *iborhen*: *iboreȝen* C; *iboruwen* N; *iburhen* T; '*saluabitur*,' M.

43. *inohreaðe*: a favourite word with our author, comp. 62/41; 143/74, and not found outside AR and the group associated with it. It means literally, quite quickly, quite readily, but in AR it is mostly a sentence adverb meaning, quite possibly, probably; comp. 'ant so ofte inouhřeðe ne dest tu hit nout i rihte time,' AR 270/6. *inochraðe* C; *inohraðe* T: '*paraenture*,' F. *dimluker*: of this comparative, descending from an OE. **dimlice*, there does not appear to be any other example: for the termination see 125/270. Elsewhere in ME. *dim* is used of the voice. '*minus* sonarent,' M; '*plus* coieient sonereient lour busme,' F.

44. *Jeremie*: *sein Jerem* T; *sein Jerome* C. *solitarius*: '*assuetus in solitudine*,' Jer. ii. 24. M has '*Onager in desiderio . . . sui .i. vane glorie*.' T omits *sui*.

45, 46. N, apparently puzzled by *seið* ABCT, remodels, Of þeo ðet draweð wind in ward uor luue of hereword · *seið* ieremie · ase ich er seide. The other MSS. agree with A, but T has *prud* for wind, and C omits *in*. *seið*, means; 'And *seið* syon ase muchel on englische leodene ase heh sihðe,' HM 5/6. P omits *seið*—*seide*.

47. *iuglurs*: joculatores, called '*menestraus*,' AR 84/11; '*nebulones*,' W. of Malmesbury, ii. 438, were usually a combination of minstrel, storyteller, tumbler and buffoon, but those in the text are limited in their means of making mirth.

48. *makien*—*ehnen*, pull faces, twist their mouths awry, look obliquely with their eyes: '*mutare uultum. curuare os. obliquare oculos*,' M; '*faire cheres besturner la bouche ȝ trestourner les eoilȝ delesclent*,' F. *schulen*, *schuleð*, l. 53, are found only in this passage: OE. (*be*) *scȝlan*; dialectic *sheyle*, *shyle*. T has *schuldi* (? through confusion with *scyldan*), but *sculeð* at l. 53: P, *sculleh* (for *scullen*, *scowl*); V, *staren*.

49. **seruið**: comp. with this and the following paragraphs a passage from an anonymous sermon of the fourteenth century, 'Nota quam bonos (servos) habet diabolus qui ad nutum sibi obediunt, imo qui nutum eius praeveniunt. Habet suos ioculatores, scilicet lascivos; suos traectores qui trahunt de sacco plus quam sit in sacco, omnes male iudicantes et maledicos; suos thesaurarios, omnes avaros; suos gladiatores, omnes contentiosos; suos advocatos, omnes detractores; suos insidiatores, omnes invidos; suos latrinarios, omnes gulosos; et sic de aliis. Certe periculosum est servire tali domino,' Hauréau, *Notices*, iv. 101. **bringen o lahtre**, induce to laugh; a curious expression, which seems to be without parallel: 'ut ad risum prouocet,' M, 'pur mettre en risée,' F.

50 B. **liki** is a scribe's mistake for **loki**. Comp. 'Riht so hit farþ bi þan un gode | Þat nouht ne isyhþ to none gode,' ON 245, 6.

51. **þider**: **þiderwart** C; **þiderward** N. **riht—heorte**: comp. 'þa eagan minre heortan,' Ælf. *Lives*, ii. 28/425, 38/559; 'mid þe cþene of his horte,' OEH i. 157/28, 203/11; 'Ablinde þe heorte, heo is eð ouercumen,' AR 62/10, 90/22, 178/16; 'opene to vnderstonde þe ehne of þin heorte,' HM 3/15; 'espiritel sacrament | Ke nus od le oil de cuer ueum,' Adgar, 175/283. See also 115/119, and comp. 'lay to the eere of thy herte,' Rule of St. Benet, 1/3. For **ehe** C has **echþe**. **winkið**: the writer had perhaps in mind, 'Annuens oculo fabricat iniqua . . . novissime autem pervertet os suum, et in verbis tuis dabit scandalum,' Ecclus. xxvii. 25, 26.

52. **o þ half**: on C; **oþere half** N. He closes the eye which looks in the direction of the good deed: 'Sed ex parte illa conuiuent oculis,' M. The readings of the passage which follows are, **þ bi halt o luft · 3ef þer is eawet to edwiten oðer · ladliche þiderwart schuleð wið eiðer · C**; **þ biholdeð oluft þ asquint · þ 3if þer is out to eadwiten · oðer lodlich · þiderward heo schuleð mid eiðer eien · N**; **þ bihaldeð oluf 3if þer is eyt to edwiten · oðer loken laðliche þiderward · sculeð mid eiðer hwen &c. T**. A means, turn away their unclosed eye to the left and suspiciously try to pick holes in the good, or else they scowl wickedly at it with both eyes. BCV seem to have lost an infinitive after **oþer**. In N **lodlich** agrees with **out**. M has 'þ quasi a sinistris vident · si quid sit ibi quod reprehendant · uel displicenter se habent': F 'regardent del senestre sil i ad rien qe reprouer ou laid cele part regardent en esclench · dautre part qant il oient le bien,' &c. **o luft**, on the left side, askance, an expression of suspicion, Milton's 'squint suspicion,' Comus 413, or of incredulity as to the genuineness of the good deed. But 'ibi' in M suggests another explanation; he looks in another direction to see if he can there find something else to find fault with.

53. *skleatteð*—*adun*, slaps down the flaps of his ears: *scletteð* C; *sleateð* N; *scattes* T; ‘*deprimunt aures*,’ M.

54. *lust*, hearing; ‘*auditus*’ M: OE. *hlyst*. C has *luft*, and F accordingly ‘*Mes la senestre enqore al mal est touz iours ouerte*.’ T has *luf* and P *loue*. In 53 B *ea* may be miswritten for *aa*, ever.

55. After *muð*, CNV add *mis*.

56. *lastunge*: so CN; ‘*ampliori detractacione*,’ M; *leasinge* T; *sustenynge* V, due to confusion with *lasten*, endure: ‘*par plus entoccher*,’ F.

58. *eateliche*: *atterluche* T; no *adj.* in P. *ageasten*: *gloppen* T; *rapelich glutton* P, the former word due to reading *ȝet* as *ȝer*. There is an OWScand. *glúpna*, to be surprised, but Björkman (241) thinks a Scand. origin of the English word doubtful. Comp. the modern dialectic *gloppen* in the North and North Midland; *glottened*, startled, is also recorded for Shropshire.

59. *niuelin*: *niuelen* CNT; *nyuelen* V; P omits: probably means to snuffle: M has ‘*gement*’; F, no equivalent: is possibly a form of *snivel*, and is recorded in EDD. for Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire, to turn up the nose in disdain. *makien sur semblant*, wear a rueful countenance: comp. 117/19; ‘*ȝif þu makest ei semblaunt*,’ AR 90/18: *loply semblaunt* P; ‘*frunt vn egre semblant*,’ F.

61. *hond*: *ham* T.

62. *makien grim chere*: comp. ‘*niuelen ȝ makien sure ȝ grimme chere*,’ AR 240/4; ‘*makeð hire ueire cheres*,’ id. 218/11. M has ‘*quia prius discunt officium suum · ut facia[n]t horribilem*’ [uultum].

63. *skirmeð*: Master Walter Leskirmissour, who performed before Edward the First at Whitsuntide 1306, was, no doubt, an artist of this sort. A picture of one who is keeping three knives and three balls going in the air may be seen reproduced in Strutt, *Horda Angelcynnan*, i. plate 19. ȝ: BC omit.

64. *warpere*: so C; *worpere* N; *castere* T. M has ‘*Iracundus coram diabolo pungnat ut pugil · cum cultellus est protector cultellorum*’; his original had probably *cultellis*, and *projector*; possibly *protector* represents a mistake, *warde*, or *wardere*.

65. *eiðer beoð*: *eiðer baðe ha beoð* C, with same meaning.

66. *he . . . him . . . he*: *ho . . . hire . . . ho* T, and so *hire* for *him* in the next three lines. *warpeð*: so C; *warpes* T; *worpeð* N. *from*: *frommard* N; see 77/63 note. *skirmeð*, directs, aims: ‘*impungnat*,’ M. P has *kerueþ*.

67. *eawles*, hooks; comp. 120/126: used of the torturer’s hook, SK 2178; SM 6/28; the ‘*isen hoc*’ of BH 43/25. In *Ælf. Gloss.* 316/6

āwul glosses *L. fascinula* (= *fuscinula*), the Vulgate word at 1 Sam. ii. 14, which is a diminutive of *fuscina*, 'quoddam instrumentum ferreum . . . quo vtuntur . . . piscatores ad pisces capiendos, coci ad carnes extrahendas de caldario,' *Catholicon*. *F* has 'crochouns'; *M* 'cum creagris': *creagra* (= *κρεάγρᾱ*), fleshhook, occurs in the Vulgate at 2 Paralip. iv. 11, 16. Similarly, 'And when þai hadde on hym ylayd | Her scharpe hokes al þo | It was in a sori playd | Ytoiled boþe to ȝ fro,' *Desputisoun*, ed. Linow, 56/477.

67-69. **skirmi**—**ut**: *M* has *dimicabunt* for *pleien*; but otherwise nothing corresponding to this passage: *F* 'ietterunt, lun vers laltre.' *si come pesce de policon ȝ despeies denfer le percerunt parmi.'*

68. **dusten**, fling; a word characteristic of the group *SK, SJ, SM*; comp. 120/127: *dunchen P*, push, strike. **pilche clut**, rag of a pilch, whether that means a garment of fur or skin, or the nether garment of an infant: but the latter meaning is not evidenced till the seventeenth century.

69. **asneasen**: *snesen C*; *sneasin T*; *alsnesien N*; *stingen V*; *pierce OE. āsnāsan*. For **þ** see 1/10 note.

72. **tutel**, mouth: the word, which occurs only in *AR*, descends from a Teutonic root, meaning something projecting, comp. *Franck, s. v. Tuit*; in its English use it has acquired a derivative meaning like its *O. French* congener *tuel, tuellet*, pipe, passage: comp. 'þe veond of helle . . . went þurh þe tutel þ is euer open into þe heorte,' *AR* 74/7, 'ȝeoniinde tuteles,' (= *ures prurientes*) 80/15. For the verb **tuteleð**, whispers, comp. 64/88; 'þinne tutelinde muč,' *AR* 106/28; 'garulat ei quicquit uult,' *M*. For **eare C** has *arm*.

73. **hwam se**: *se C*. **idel of god**, not occupied in good; comp. 64/87; 'uol of zennes, and ydel of alle guode,' *Ayenbite*, 131/12; 'ydel of guode workes,' *id.* 218/20: the construction with *of* is rare; *Wiclif* has from: 'huclif (read hucsif) de bien faire,' *F*; 'ociosis,' *M*.

74. **underueð**: *underfeð C*; *underuoð N*; *vndertakes T*; *vnderfongeþ P*; *vnderuongeþ V*: *underweng B* is no doubt for *underuengþ*. **ȝemeles**: *C* has *scheomeles* corrected into *ȝemeles*. **is þes**: *is tis T*; *is wel C*.

75. **bearnes**: *so C*; *barnes V*: but *bermes N*; *barm T*; *barme P*: 'le dormir al filz del diable ȝ a la fille,' *F*; 'Ocium ȝ negligencia ȝ somnus sunt pueri diaboli,' *M*, surely a translator's mistake. For **abreiden** *T* has *abreien*.

76. **wontreaðe**: comp. 121/129, 143/96: *wrontrede C*; *wondrede N*; *wandreaðe T*: *OWScand. vandraði* (*Björkman*, 92, 290). *V* substitutes *serwen*: *P* for this and the next word, *wonderlich*.

77. **echeliche**: *so T*; *ateliche CN*; *ferfulliche V*. *M* has nothing corresponding to ȝ—*wakien*: *F* 'en la meseise denfer pardurablement

veillera,' but no Latin quotation. **Surgite** &c.: all the MSS. agree with B in this quotation. Part of it is in S. Jerome, 'Semper tuba illa terribilis vestris perstrepet auribus, Surgite mortui, venite ad iudicium,' ed. Martianay, 1706, v. 438; also in Alanus, 'Vos qui iacetis in sepulchris surgite et occurrite ad iudicium salvatoris,' 63 b.

79. **Þe—esken**: the readings are, **Þe giscere** is his eskebach fareð abuten esken C; **Þe ȝiscere** is his askebaðe · fares abuten askes T; **Þe ȝiscare** is þes feondes askebaðie ȝ lið euer ipen asken · ȝ fareð abuten asken N; **Þe couetous mon** · is þe fendes askebapi · ffareþ abouten asken V; **Þe coueitouse man** haþ swich a bay þat he liþ euere in þe askes ȝ askes al abouten hym P. askebaðe is a Scandinavian word, meaning one who bathes or sits in ashes, similar are Danish askefis, blower in ashes, askepot, wallower in ashes (Björkman, 135, 6), and the English dialectal ashypet. **feareð abuten esken**, is busy with ashes: the usual *prep.* is with; comp. 5/6. The form of the expression agrees with 56/36, 58/92, and contrasts with the vague 'Cupidi est officium cineres congregare · cumulare ȝ cumulos multiplicare' M: F has 'Li couoitous en son despit enfant qest touz iours entour la ceindre ȝ ententiuement sentremette damonceiller la ceindre ensemble a granȝ ȝ plusours monceals,' where despit is probably a mistake for *esperit* and qest for gist; the passage looks like a translation of an original wrongly read as, þe ȝiscere in his estre babe lið euer abuten asken.

80. **ruken**, heaps: probably a Scandinavian word (Björkman, 252): used in this sense still in North and North-Midland dialects.

81. **peaðereð**, pokes, stirs up: paðereð CN; puðeres T; poþereþ P; Piþerip V. A word of obscure origin: potter, pother, of same meaning, represent it in modern Yorkshire and Lincolnshire dialects: 'palpat ȝ planat,' M; 'Trestourne la cendre de fusiaus,' F. **augrim**: 'algorismi,' M; arithmetic.

82. **canges**, fool's: for the word, which is characteristic of the AR, SK, HM group, see Björkman, 290, note 4. T substitutes askebaðes. P reads conions; F has 'cangon.'

84. After **wis mon** T adds ȝ wummon, and for **eorðlich** T has worldlich.

85. **ahte** appears to have been repeated by mistake from the foregoing. **ablendeð**, probably from 'Quid aliud detrahentes faciunt, nisi in pulverem sufflant, atque in oculos suos terram excitant,' S. Gregorii Opera, ii. 193.

86. **bolheð**, inflates: boleȝeð C; boluweð N; bolhes T; bolneþ P; bloweþ V. M strangely, 'excecant (i.e. cineres) insufflantem ȝ inflant': F 'Cest qi se enfle par eus en orgoil de queor.'

87. mare—neodeð belongs to ethalt : T has mare þen hire nedes.

88. wurðen him, become for him ; 'vertetur,' M. T has hire, and similarly twice in the next line. tadden : frouden P ; see 46/273. ba : boðe N ; Baðe T.

89. hwitel : whittel P ; OE. hwitel is usually a mantle, cloak ; the sense here accords better with Icel. hvítill ; it means a blanket spread over the bed straw to lie on. So the poor man in Piers Plowman has a too short 'substratum,' 'when he streyneþ hym to strecche · þe straw is hus whitel,' C 284/76 ; Walter of Henley quotes as an English proverb, 'wo þat strechet forþerre þan his wytel wyle reche, in þe straue his fet he mot streche,' Husbandry 4/6. 'de vermibus erit tam coopertorium quam substratorium,' M ; 'son couertour j sa coilte,' F ; coilte meaning mattress. The reading of N, his kurtel j his kuuertur, spoils the meaning.

90. Subter &c. : Isa. xiv. 11 ; the Vulgate has erunt vermes.

92. For manciple M has mancipium, which may = manceps, purveyor. ah : Uor N : TP omit.

94. neppes, drinking cups, but Morton translates 'table cloth.' nepp C ; neppe N ; nappes TP ; cuppe V ; 'ciphis,' M ; 'hanaps,' F. crohhe : so T ; crochþe C ; OE. crōh : crocke NPV ; OE. crocca : 'urceolo,' M ; 'poot,' F.

95. bismuddet : so BT, a form found here only ; comp. 'smod,' stain, E. E. Allit. Poems, 59/711 : bismotted V, from be + smot ; both words mean besmuted, smudged. C has bismuðeled, which, with ð for d, appears to be a derivative of *besmud. bismitted N ; OE. smittian, to stain ; discoloured. bismoked P, grimed with smoke, is a substitution for a less familiar word. bismulret : bismurlet T ; bismorlet V point to a *smyrlian from smyrels, ointment : bismeored C ; bismeoruwed N ; bismured B ; bismered P, besmeared, are variant spellings of the same word ; OE. besmierwan. 'perfusus et fedatus,' M, a colourless expression beside the vigorous English ; 'esmite j enbroe,' F. scale : OWScand. skál, bowl (Björkman, 92, 93) : schale CP ; scoale N ; skale T ; bolle V.

96. mis wordes, words mispronounced ; comp. 62/43 note for another meaning : 'iargoune paroles corrupnement,' F. P omits all from Meaðeleð to fallen. haueð imunt, has an inclination ; OE. gemyntan, intend, purpose : the use here is peculiar : þat is in poynt to fallen V ; 'en pensee de cheir,' F.

98. 'Ecce servi mei' &c., Isa. lxx. 13.

99. hungrin : impersonal ; comp. 188/390.

100. feorle : apparently for feorli = OE. færlie, sudden ; used in ME. for wonder : it may have been suggested by vos confundemini in the

next verse: comp. 'Tamquam prodigium factus sum multis,' Ps. lxx. 7. But all the MSS. are with B, and F has 'vous seriez la pouture del enemy.' **Quantum** &c.: Apocal. xviii. 7. The following **Contra** &c. is adapted from 'in poculo, quo miscuit, miscete illi duplum.' M has the Latin of the text. CN read luctum ꝑ tormentum.

103. **kealche**: kelche BT; keache C. V has ȝif þou þe kelche þe cuppe. Wallynde bras to drinken, and P ȝiue þe gloton þe coppe · he þat wil euere drynk · Coppe in glotonye ȝiue hym wellande bras to drinken, from which it is evident that they regarded kelche as an independent word, perhaps as = OE. **celic**, cup, used for drinker. But the construction points to a compound, kelche-cuppe, of which the first element must be a verb, perhaps the word which has survived in the Northern dialects as kelch, to throw up, keiltch, an upward lift or push; giving a meaning for the combination of tosspot. M has 'miscete ei duo. pro cyphatu potus: date ei es candens'; where cyphatus means the man provided with a cup (scyphus). N has gulchecuppe, compound from gulchen, to swallow greedily; comp. 'ne beo hit neuer so bitter, ne iueleð he hit neuer,' auh gulcheð in ȝiuerliche,' AR 240/2 (gluccheð A; glucches T). **wallinde bres**: comp. 146/118.

104. **swelte inwið**, burn within: form from **sweltan**, to swoon, die, with meaning from **swelan**, to burn: aswelte wiðinnen N: 'qil arde tout de denȝ,' F; M has nothing corresponding to ȝeot—inwið. **aȝein** &c.: comp. 'Aȝaines an likinge; habben twa ofpunchunges,' HM 7/35.

B. THE OUTER RULE

Passages in C (mostly interlined or marginal) which are not in N are inserted between asterisks in the text of the latter. The collations at the foot of pp. 60–75 show the other divergences of C and those of T from N; when not followed by any letter they give the readings of T; those followed by C are the readings of C, while B indicates agreement of T and C as against N.

The Eighth Book of the Ancrene Wisse consists of a brief introduction, to the effect that the outer rule is not rigidly binding, and seven sections ('stucchenes' 72/188) treating of i. eating and drinking; ii. worldly possessions and dealings, ll. 1–25; iii. clothes, 26–67; iv. occupations, 67–100; v. care of the person, 101–20; vi. servants, 120–222; vii. use of the rule, and conclusion, 223–39.

i. **bute--reade** corresponds to frequent phrases in the Gilbertine Rule, like 'nisi necessitas postulet aliqua hoc fieri,' 'nisi magister aliter

iusserit.' With the former compare 60/18, 62/20, 64/84, 74/217; with the latter 60/13, 62/30, 37, 66/98; 'þes riwle 7 alle oðre beoð in owres scriftes read 7 in oweres meistres breoste,' MS. C f. 190. The master is 'presbyter aliquis senex maturus moribus, cui raro, nisi de confessione et animae aedificatione, [inclusa] loquatur. A quo consilium accipiat in dubiis, in tribulationibus consolationem,' Ailred, 642 c.

3. **puncheð bet**, seemeth to be rather. The contrast of Martha and Mary, the active and the contemplative life, is a favourite topic in the AR; 'Husewifschiþe is Marthe dole.' and Marie dole is stilnesse and reste of alle worldes noise,' 414/16. Less frequently it is Lya and Rachel that are opposed, Hugh of S. Victor, i. 133.

5. **for &c.**: the passage is based on Ailred, 'Aliae [inclusae] . . . pecuniae congregandae vel multiplicandis pecoribus inhiant: tantaque cum hac sollicitudine in his extenduntur, ut eas matres vel dominas familiarum existimes, non anachoretas. Quaerunt aliquibus pascua, pastores . . . Sequitur emptio et venditio' &c., 641 c, but its vivid detail and interest are all the writer's own.

6. **Olhnin**, wheedle, get on the right side of; a word peculiar to AR, SJ, SK, SM; 'couendra . . . de querre la *grace* de messer,' F. **heiward**: OE. ***hægweard** occurring in *dat.* hægwerde; adopted by the writer of Quadripartitus, p. 22 (*c.* 1100), as heiwardo, *d.*, but often called messor; among other duties, he kept cattle out of the enclosed fields and impounded strays: see Liebermann, Gesetze, i. 452; Leo, Rectitudines, 245. **wearien**: warien NCT; OE. **wergian**, curse, revile; comp. 'ne ne warien hwon me agulteð to ou,' AR 186/2, 284/22; '3e ne schulen uor none þinge ne warien, ne swerien,' 70/20: 'mandir (for maudir) le qant il les enparke,' F.

7. **zelden** &c., and moreover pay for the damage done. **wat crist**: comp. 'Deu le set,' AR 382/17. **hwen** &c., when there is complaint among the people at large about the recluse's cattle, or possibly, wealth. The order of the words forbids the explanation, 'complaint of anchoresses' cattle in an enclosure,' Morris. For the vague use of **in tune**, comp. KH 153 note. Comp. 'si bestias haberetis, aliena pascua forsitan occuparent, essetque magnus clamor vicinorum dicentium: Utinam isti eremitae nunquam advenissent, nam multiplex eorum possessio multiplex nobis infert impedimentum,' S. Stephani Grandimontensis Regula; De bestiis non habendis; Migne, P. L. cciv. col. 1143: possibly the source of this place.

8. **Nu þenne** introduces a command, 123/218, 126/311, or request 119/78, or argument 122/191, but its use here for still, notwithstanding, is peculiar. Note that the scribe of T deleted þenne in favour of þah.

10. **ifestnet**: L has nothing corresponding to the following *ancre—heorte*, but instead ‘*Cauens enim psalmista [di]cente. Nolite cor appon[ere]*’; a reference to Ps. lxi. 11.

11. **driue**, practise, pursue: comp. 130/72; ‘*þa þe þone ceap drifað*,’ *Benedictine Rule*, ed. Schröer, 95/11; ‘*þ nis bute dusilec | al þ ha driueð*,’ SK 424, 5, 1798; ‘*long wune is her driuen*,’ GE 1681. **chepilt**, a female trader, one who buys to sell at a profit, as the text explains.

12. **etter**: see 7/53. **chepeð**, offers for sale, with *dat.* **chapmon**; comp. ‘*And chepte heom to sullen vre helare*,’ OEM 40/115, but with prep. in sense of buying, ‘*3if me cheapeð on of þeos et ou*,’ AR 190/8.

14 C: the addition *þah—wordes*, not in any other MS., is noteworthy: F has nothing corresponding to it or to the sentence in A, *þing—honden*.

14. **sumhwile**: he is probably thinking of the *Fathers of the Desert*, who plaited mats of palm, for the *Vitas Patrum* was a favourite book of his. The regulation is only of general application, these sisters being fully provided for.

15. **wite**, take charge of: in troublous times the anchorhold would be regarded as a place of safe deposit. **of**: so CN, but T omits (correct footnote by deleting B); it depends on **Nawt**. ‘*Rien ne gardez en vostre maisone daltrui choses*,’ F. In N **of** must be partitive, for *witen* takes the *acc.* of the thing guarded: see 118/52 note.

16. **boistes**, boxes, caskets, mostly for ointment, but here probably jewel cases. **chartres**, deeds; probably the earliest instance. **Scoren**, scrolls: OF. *escroe*; comp. ‘*Scrowe oðer quær*,’ AR 282/29.

17. **cyrograffes**, indentures, bonds; an early instance of the word. **calices**: there was a special objection, ‘*nulla femina . . . calicem Domini tangat*,’ *Udalrici Sermo Synodalis*, Migne, P. L. cxxxv. 1071 b.

18. **strengðe**, violence: comp. 40/168: ‘*bute vor neod one, als strengðe 7 deaðes dred*,’ AR 6/23; ‘*auh teares doð him strençðe*’ (= *lacrima cogit*), id. 244/27; ‘*Ne dede dieuel him none strengþe*,’ VV 113/19. F has ‘*force*.’

20. **makeð—hus**, causes your house to be laid open; comp. 117/8, 118/28; ‘*oðer 3if þu iherdest þeoues breken þine woawes*,’ AR 242/23. The *Gilbertine Rule*, while forbidding access to the nuns ordinarily, says ‘*propter ignis incendium vel mortis instantis periculum, vel propter furtum et latrocinium omnibus sustinemus introitum*,’ p. *lxxvi.

22. **seoð**: comp. ‘*Nullich þ no mon iseo ou bute he habbe leaue speciale of ower meistre*,’ AR 56/21; ‘*inclusa etiam facie velata loqui debet cum viro*,’ Ailred, 642 d. **wel mei don of**, it matters little about: **don** means originally, serve, suffice, as in ‘*that will do*,’ but the phrase

with the words in this order is specialized: comp. 'Ah wel mæi don hu hit ga.' for wræcches we beoð æuere ma,' L 12754, 5; 'Scheome is understonden bi þe reade.' auh wel mei don,' AR 356/11, where Morton mistranslates. Quite different is, 'an olde ancre mei don wel þ̅ tu dest vuele,' AR 52/9. T has duhen here, as A at 64/59 and C at 65/52, ordinarily meaning to be of profit, to avail, but the sense is the same as in the phrase containing don. The construction is impersonal; ancre is *dative* at 64/59, 65/52, as at 64/74: for of, concerning, comp. 'he . . . dyde of heom þ̅ he wolde,' AS. Chron. D 208/9. 'De colore autem vestium non est multum curandum,' L; 'ne puit chaler de voz draps,' F.

23. **unorne**, plain, rough: 'vils,' F; 'dum [ta]men non n[im]is (?) exquisite,' L. But Förster (Morsbachs Studien I. 171) would translate, ordinary, usual.

24. **ow to neodeð**: comp. 'nimen . . . þet hire to neodeð,' AR 414/24. **ow** is *dat.* depending directly on the verb, the usual construction of the person in EME. for neoden and neod, comp. 123/210; **to** is adverbial and a superfluity, quite in the manner of the writer, comp. 'þurh hwat muhte sonre ful luue of aquiken,' AR 58/10; 'þet ich spec er of þeruppe,' id. 372/23; 130/80 note. Contrast, 'Nefde he nane neode to us ac we hefden mucele neode to him,' OEH I. 123/35, where to=of. **to bedde**: comp. 'to ruggen and to bedde.' iscrud mid gode webbe,' L 19946, 7; 'Nowe is the tyme of the yere when provysion was wont to be made . . . of ther wynter vesturys [to] theyr bodyes and to ther beddis,' Wright, Suppression of Monasteries, 68/4: 'a lit ȝ a dos,' F.

26. **linnene**: its use in any form was a great concession. It was noted that Abbot Roger Norreys of Evesham, in his contempt for the Rule, 'camisiis et lintheaminibus . . . palam utebatur,' Chron. Abb. de Evesham, 104. **hearde**, hard; *pl.* of heard, l. 44: **herde** N 28 is the same word, but Morris glosses it, hards, hurds, tow, and heorden, hards of flax, referring both to **heordan**, without accounting for the difference in form. The meaning, of hards and of coarse hards, is not satisfactory. F has 'sil ne seit de stupez ȝ de grosses estoupes'; the two nouns appear to be an Anglo-French and a French form from the same Latin word, *stupa*. Possibly the former means tow of flax and the latter tow of hemp; anyhow the cloth was called *stupacium*. Comp. generally, 'Porro talia ei vestimenta sufficient quae frigus repellant. Grossioribus peliciis utatur, & pellibus propter hyemem, propter aetatem autem unam habeat tunicam: utroque vero tempore duas de stupacio camisas vel staminas,' Ailred, 644 e.

27. **Stamin**: OF. *estamine*, an under-garment loosely woven of coarse wool, nearly as uncomfortable as a hair shirt, 'camiseam de grossiori panno [habeant], si voluerint' of the Gilbertine Rule, p. *lxxix. 'Estamiȝ,' F.

28. **hetter**, garment: 'vn de voȝ vestures,' F. OE. *pl. hæteru*, often in ME. as singular. 'Vestiti quoque dormiant et cincti, vt semper sint parati,' Grimlaici Regula Solitariorum, in *Holstenii Codex*, i. 291. Lay folk did not in those days wear night clothes. **leoðeliche**, loosely: the ME. adverb corresponding to the OE. adjective **līpīg**, flexible; comp. OWS cand. *liðugr*, free: *liðeliche*, 72/194 is OE. *līpe*, soft. The writer here and elsewhere shows himself anxious to mitigate the austerities of his pupils. F has nothing corresponding to *swa*—under.

30. **cunne** is historically genitive plural: see 132/9 note and 81/80 note. **schriftes**, confessor's: the 'meistre' of 60/2: comp. 80/62; 'bi ure shriftes rede,' OEH ii. 55/29; 'mid ðe rade of pine scrite,' VV 127/2. In F 'sanȝ congie de son confessour' corresponds to 'wiðute schriftes leaue,' 62/33.

31. **ilespiles felles**, hedgehogs' skins: OE. *igil, il*, hedgehog + *pīl*, prickly; the compound is used in ME. for the animal. Comp. 'ȝalle [sunnen] weren prikiende so piles on ile | He biȝ þicke mid piles,' Worc. Frag. F 21, 2. In **irspiles** N 30 *r* is probably due to OF. *heriçun*: F has 'peel diricon.'

31 N. **ileðered** in this MS. only: it must mean, furnished with leather thongs: F has '[pl]umbee.'

32. **holin**: OE. *holegn, holen*, holly.

33. **binetli**, whip with nettles: NED. quotes from Cotgrave, '*enortier*, to benettle.'

34. **biuoren**, in front of the body. **ne na keoruunge**, practise no cutting or mutilation. **ed eanes**, at any one time. F 'a nule foiȝ.'

35. **luðere**, severe, lit. wicked. **disceplines**: 'smerte smiten of smale longe ȝerden,' OEH ii. 207/6. Comp. 'Disciplina pacis nostre super eum, seið Isaye, þus ure beatunge ueol upon him,' AR 366/14, 346/24.

36. **cundeliche**: for sicknesses which come in the natural course they must not put faith in or try remedies which are unnatural, such as the nostrums of the herb-woman: see 54/6 note. The writer in another place, 368, says that recluses are apt to be far too much concerned about bodily health.

37. **leste** &c., lest worse befall you: see 30/18. **leste** descends from **þȳ lās þe**; this is an early instance of its use.

38. **meoke**, soft, supple; comp. 64/66: the only instances in English

of the use of this word in the material sense of OWScand. mjúkr as in Icel. mjúk-hendr, soft-handed. 'In yeme utamini sotularibus grossis ꝛ callidis,' L.

39. **Hosen wiðute vampeẏ**, stockings without feet; the 'chausses' were usually footed. 'En chaues sanz auant pieẏ gise qi voudra,' F; 'In caligis sine pedalibus dormietis,' L. **vampeẏ**, *pl.* of vampe or vampey, are properly the front part of a boot, the 'uppers' (avant pied), here they mean the whole covering of the foot. In Cavendish's Life of Wolsey (ed. Singer 335), Wolsey is represented as saying, 'we do intend . . . to go afoot . . . in the vamps of our hosen,' i.e. in our stocking feet. The second **and** in 35 N is superfluous.

40. **Ischeoed – bedde**: another prohibition of undue austerities. The passage is not in any other of the English MSS., nor in F, but L has 'calciatis numquam nec nisi in lecto.'

41. **Sum – wereð**, it may be that some woman wears &c. For **inohreaðe** see 56/43; F has 'paraenture' here as there. **brech**, drawers; OE. brēc, *pl.* of brōc, answering to femoralia of the monastic Rules. **here**, haircloth; OE. hāre.

42. **streapeles**, the legs of the drawers; especially so called when they were closely confined to the limb by cross-gartering. They were worn by men also: see Strutt's Complete View of the Dress &c. i, plates 31, 49, 56, for good illustrations. OE. **strapul**: 'Hoc tibiale: a strapylle,' Wright, Vocab. 775/18, 734/23. F has 'les braeis de heire m[u]lt bien noueẏ les tigus aual desqe a pieẏ mult ferm laceẏ,' but nothing corresponding to **ah – here**, which is in A alone: and yet it is necessary to the sense. The writer does not approve of the 'brech of here,' a sweet and patient disposition is better, an often-repeated idea; 'Þis is Godes heste, þet him is muchele leouere þen þet tu ete gruttene bread, oðer werie herde here,' AR 186/10. L is with A, 'Alique utuntur femoralibus cilicium. Mallein tamen in vobis cor humile ꝛ potens sustinere dura verba • et probrosa • quam durum cilicium portare.'

43. **swete . . . swote**: a frequent combination: comp. 'swete ꝛ swote ihorted,' AR 118/3; 'so unimete swote ꝛ swete,' id. 102/26. **polien**: comp. 'A mis-word þet 3e þolieð . . . 3e nolden sullen hire uor al þe worldes golde,' AR 190/7.

44. **3ef – wullen**, If you can do without wimples, and you would doubtless wish to do so.

45. **beoð bi**, have for use: comp. 'beoð bi þe leste þet heo euer muwen,' AR 350/7; 'gifð us al þat we bi ben,' OEH ii. 69/29, 179/6. Similarly, 'ne na mâ wifa þonne ân hæbbe, ac beo be þære anre þa hwile, þe heo

lybbe,' Wulfstan, 271/14 (B.-T.); 'ne æac maran getilige to haldænne þonne ic gēmetlice bi beon mage,' Brooms, ES xviii. 343/43. **cappen**: the 'mitras lineas, nigras et forratas de agninis pellibus' of the Gilbertine Rule, p. *lxxix.

46. **wimplunge**: so S. Bernard contrasts the wimpled fine lady and the veiled nun, 'Risus immoderatio, incessus lascivior, vestitus ornatio wimplatae magis quam velatae congruerent,' i. 123 f. The wimple was a long strip of fine linen which encircled the head, neck, and the top of the shoulders; at this time one end of it hung down along the left arm. There is a good illustration of it in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, i, on the middle figure of plate 10. Like other linen clothing, it was at this time coloured with saffron; 'hire winpel wit, oðer maked geleu mid saffran,' OEH ii. 163/32; Rel. Ant. ii. 15/8; the 'zeolewe clað' of 82/108. The long passage from Ancren l. 46 to wimplunge l. 59 is in AC only; in the latter it is added on the margin, which has been cropped. L is very fragmentary at this point, but it had matter corresponding to A.

47. **cundeliche**, by reason of her sex, because she is a woman, and ordered as such by S. Paul to veil her head.

48. **heaued clað**: the 'couvre-chef,' a veil of fine linen worn on the head. Holy Scripture says nothing of wimples or other head-dress, but speaks of covering only. 'Si turpe est mulieri tonderi aut decalvari, velet caput suum,' 1 Cor. xi. 6.

51-55. The source of this passage is probably, 'Linus papa . . . constituit ut mulieres in ecclesia velatae sint. Et hoc propter tres causas fit: una est, cum sint decipula diaboli, ne laxis earum crinibus iuvenum animi illaqueentur; . . . tertia est ut reatus originalis peccati, qui per mulierem evenit, ad memoriam nobis revocetur. Iudex quippe malorum est Christus: sacerdos eius vicarius. Ante sacerdotem ergo debet se mulier velare velut rea et tanti mali sibi conscia coram iudice celare. Unde dicit Apostolus, ut mulier velata sit propter angelos, id est sacerdotes,' Honorius Augustodunensis (Migne, P. L. clxxii) 589 d. **sunfule** goes with eue; comp. 63/44.

52. **on earst**, at the beginning, would correspond to OE. *on ærest, which is apparently not found: OE. **on ær** means beforehand. Comp. 'on erest,' AR 264/8; 'on earst,' SM 14/7; 'on alre earst,' HM 17/25; SM 14/4. The phrase is confined to AR and its group; elsewhere at erst is used.

53. **drahe**, divert from their proper use: a rare meaning. **tiffunge**, adornment.

54. If **ʒetten** means yet, furthermore, it repeats and reinforces **Eft**.

As a form it seems to be quite isolated : it may be derived from *zette* and owe its final *n* to the influence of such pairs as *ofte*, *often* ; *uppe*, *uppen* ; *buten*, *bute* ; *seppen*, *seppe*. *zette* 47 C is also a rare form ; comp. 76/19 ; HM 13/9, 43/13 ; 'ewt þ mon seið þe oðer deð *zette*,' id. 43/21. It can hardly come from *gieta*, which gives *zete* ; perhaps it is for *zet* + *þe*, like *þætte* for *þæt þe* : *þe zet* is frequent in Layamon.

55. *purh hire onsihðe*, through the seeing of her : comp. 124/253, perhaps the only other place where the word occurs : it is possibly formed on the analogy of OE. *ansien*. *Et hoc* &c. : 'Ideo debet mulier potestatem habere supra caput propter Angelos,' 1 Cor. xi. 10.

56. *iwimplet* : the writer is addressing an imaginary disciple who insists on the wimple as satisfying the requirements of S. Paul. He replies that the apostle requires more ; the face also must be veiled ; his words are directed against the recluse who receives visits from men. The wimple can be dispensed with by the recluse who keeps within her walls and avoids the sight of men. The visits of various people to the recluse are often referred to ; see AR 56/20, 58/5, 68/16.

57. *þe* is for *þe þe*, as in C and at 64/60.

59. *wel* is a mistake for *þurl* due to anticipation of the following *wel*. Three windows are mentioned, that looking into the church, the 'chirche þurl,' AR 68/16 ; the parlour window, through which they converse with visitors and communicate with the servants, the 'þurl' of 74/209, AR 68/19 ; and the house window, the 'rund windowe' of the text. Each window was hung inside and out with black cloths marked with a white cross, AR 50/2, 96/10, and furnished with shutters ; compare the elaborate regulations for the windows in the Gilbertine Rule, Dugdale, *lxxv. *wel mei duhen* : see 62/22 note : *ancre* is dative.

60. *þus ne dest*, i.e. hidest not thyself from men's gaze.

61. *þer . . . of*, thereby, by reason of that, see 1/3 note : so 'hwarof,' whereby AR 58/22.

63. *þah*, if. Comp. '3if we weopeð for ure owune [sunnen] hit is nout muchel wonder,' AR 312/23. 'ki qe vult estre veue mes qele satife nest pas grant merueille,' F.

64. *untiffet wið uten* : comp. 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4.

65. *broche* : 'fermail,' F ; firmaculos,' L (should be firmacula). *imembret*, striped, parti-coloured : comp. 'Singuli Fratres singulas zonas tantum habeant, sintque zonae eorum simplicis corrigiae, sine fibulis & absque omni tinctura,' Statuta Ord. Grandimont., Holst. ii. 303. *glouen* : comp. 'Ut nunquam induant gantos,' Regulae Sanctimonialium Fontis Ebraldi, Migne, P. L. clxii. 1097.

57 C-61. See 66/114-19. The scribe of C copied this passage by inadvertence at the bottom of f. 193 ν instead of f. 194 ν .

66. **ow ne deh**, it is not proper for you. **meoke**, soft and pliant, not like the heavy sheepskin winter garments. See 62/38 note.

67. **greattre**, coarser and larger pieces of work, not fancy trifles.

68. **forte—wið**, which to get yourselves friends. 'nec eorum (i.e. friends) munuscula litterasque suscipias, nec illis tua dirigas, prout moris est, puta zonas, marsupia, quae diverso stamine & subtegmine variata sunt,' Ailred, 642 e. In the Gilbertine Rule the nuns are forbidden to make purses embroidered with silk, p. *xciv.

69. **huue**, coif, skull-cap: OE. *hūfe*; Germ. *haube*. **blodbinde**, ligatures of silk to stop bleeding: 'tenas,' L (a LL. form = *taenias*). **laz**, not 'lace' Morris, but laces, i. e. strings for lacing garments: 'laqueos de serico,' L.

70. **chirche claðes**: 'les vestementz de seint iglise,' F.

72. **fore**, beforehand: OE. **fore**: without telling him about it beforehand, as well as the circumstances, your relationship to the persons, how often you receive them, how long you entertain them.

73. **tendre of cunne**, affectionate towards kindred. The story which follows is in Eudes de Cheriton (ed. Hervieux, 270) and in Jacques de Vitry (ed. Crane, 54). Both were active in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Eudes may have found the story (which is, in any case, an interpolation) in AR, he quotes, p. 195, a variant of the proverb found in AR 96/24, 'euer is þe eie to þe wude leie,' and applies it correctly.

74. **ȝ—him**, to whom came.

75. **efter**; see 7/53.

76. **dead biburiet**: probably and has fallen out between these words.

77. **dead gasteliche**: 'mortuus sum in clauastro sepultus,' Eudes, 271; 'Quanti monachorum dum patris matrisque miserentur, suas animas perdiderunt,' S. Jerome, ii. 577.

78. The **amice**, L *amictus*, is the oblong piece of linen which envelops the neck of a vested priest. For a good illustration see Bock, *Gesch. der liturg. Gewänder des Mittelalters*, ii. Tafel ii. To its upper edge is sewn an apparel which forms a collar to it. The **parures**, **apparels**, are pieces of richly embroidered cloth sewn on the amice and on the alb, two at the lower hem before and behind, two on the cuffs, and sometimes two on breast and back. See Shaw's *Dresses*, i. plates 14, 16; Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, i. 424-66. The Gilbertines were allowed to use silk for these embroideries.

80. **mustreisun**, ostentation, boasting: OF. *mo(n)straison*, L. *monstrationem*: NED. records a later *monstrison* and *monstration*.

81. For **gode werkes** spoilt by publishing them, see the characteristic passage in AR 146-52. **Criblin**: the exact meaning of this word, hitherto unrecorded, is hard to determine. Its connexion with F. *cribler*, LL. *criblare* (in *Mulomedicina Chironis*, ivth cent.), L. *cribrum* can hardly be doubted; it must mean some kind of open work; either embroidery on a net foundation, 'filatorium,' or drawn-thread work, or, what seems most probable, 'tambour,' wherein the strips of linen stretched in a ring frame, with the pattern pierced by a bodkin and the edges of the holes thus made framed in needlework, would above all things suggest a sieve. Such work might be used for ornamenting altar cloths, or pyx cloths, or even albs (see Bock, ii. 35). It was elaborate work, such as recluses ought not to undertake.

82. **Taueles**, linen cloths which are spread on the mensa of the altar, the 'tres tobaleae mundae' of the Roman rite. LL. *toualia*, Eng. towel. **riueð**, stitches, sews together; OWScand. *rifa*, to tack, sew loosely together: in Scottish dialects, *riv*.

83. **measse kemese**, albs: OE. *cemes*, LL. *camisia*. **nomeliche oueregede**, especially such as are foolishly elaborate: **oueregede** is found here only; *egede* is a characteristic word of the group, AR 282/13; HM 39/2; SM 11/9.

84. **Helpeð** &c.: comp. 'Quod ut fiat, videat inclusa, ut si fieri potest, de labore manuum suarum vivat, hoc enim perfectum est,' Ailred, 641 d. A general injunction, not applicable to the sisters, for whom ample provision had been made, AR 192/16.

85. **se forð se**, as far as: comp. 'so uorð so,' 65/67; 'se uorð ase,' 75/187; 'ase forð as,' 72/201; 'so uorð ase,' AR 268/10, 382/11.

86. The reference is probably to 'ne quemquam otiosum possit diabolus invenire, ne variis desideriis pateat cordis aditus, altera sororum libros scribat . . . suat altera cucullas sororum,' Opera v. 442.

87. **lihtliche**, without good reason. **allunges**, altogether, wholly: the genitive form is less common than the dative, 70/154, which represents OE. *eallunga*. **of sumping** . . . **idel**, without something to do: comp. 58/73. **anan rihtes**, immediately, straight away.

89. **for nawt**, to no purpose.

90. **izemen**: OE. *gegiēman* occurs only in the sense of treating as a patient, amending: *ȝeme* T means, take heed to, give attention, the variant in N, *ihwulen*, have leisure: comp. 'hwon so ȝe euer muwen ihwulen,' AR 44/5. Apparently it occurs nowhere else.

91. 'In desideriis est omnis otiosus,' comp. Prov. xxi. 26. For

awakeneð see 54/24. 'Ecce haec fuit iniquitas Sodomaë, sororis tuæ, superbia, saturitas panis et abundantia, et otium ipsius,' Ezech. xvi. 49.

94. **rust**: 'otium enim et desidia quasi quaedam rubigo sapientiae est,' S. Jerome, ii. 773.

95, 96. From Ailred; 'sunt quaedam inclusae, quae in docendis puellis occupantur, et cellam suam vertunt in scholam,' 641 f. **forwurðe**, degenerate into; a meaning apparently found only in AR; its ordinary sense is, to perish, 54/23. Comp. 'þeo þet schulden one lecnen hore soule mid heorte bireousunge . . . uorwurðeð fisiciens 7 licomes leche,' AR 368/28; 'bicumex (forwurðeð T) meister, þe schulde beon ancre,' 64/24.

96. **þ—of**, concerning whom it would be danger; comp. 1/3. For **of**, meaning ground, cause, comp. 'strengðe of,' 66/116; 'gostlich fondunge þat is more dred of,' AR 194/23: for **pliht**, risk, 'Nu ne sceole 3e halden eower child to plihte to longe hæpene,' Twelfth Cent. Hom. 6/7: **dute** 79 N has the same meaning.

97. **bimong**: a form characteristic of AR and the allied writings.

99. See 64/68 note. In the next line **writen** probably means compose or copy books; comp. 'Nulla etiam de nostris praesumat libros aliquos, vel orationes, vel meditationes scribere vel scribi facere sine assensu prioris omnium,' Gilbertine Rule, p. *lxxxiii.

100. Their hair is to be cropped, **idoddet**, or shaven four times a year, or if any one prefers it, trimmed, **ieueset**, but in that case, the hair must be washed and combed more often, C 85; not more than seven times in the year according to the Gilbertine Rule.

102. **beo bi**, as at 62/45.

103. **as ofte**: four times a year, as in the Gilbertine Rule, p. *lvi. **þe**, who, equivalent to whoso; if any one can dispense with bloodletting; **þer buten**, without it: see N.E.D. s. v. Here § 16.

105. **þe þreo dahes**, a recognized period of indulgence; 'Minutis tribus diebus pitantia mane vinum autem bis datur . . . a laboribus vacant, ad lectos redeunt, a post prandium usque ad vespertas colloquium de bonis faciunt,' Guignonis Consuetudines, Migne, P. L. cliii. 737.

106. **schurteð**, amuse: a rare word supposed to be cognate with Germ. scherzen. 'Mes daliez de paroles od vo3 meschines 7 od honestes countes solace3 vous ensemble,' F.

107. **beoð**: the subject 3e is understood from the preceding ow.

109. They were too severe in their austerities, AR 378/21, 228/18.

110. For **monluker** see 125/270 note.

115. **þ—riwle** depends on **nan**. This passage corresponds to 65/57-61.

116. **strengðe**, weight, importance: a favourite word of the writer;

comp. 'of þincges wiðuten . . . nis nout muche strenče,' AR 12/12; 'me schal makien strenče of onnesse of cloþes,' id. 12/5. For of see 66/97. In the introduction to part viii, he says that they must not promise, as unwise people might do, to observe any of the external rules.

117. **inre**, the inner rule, the 'lady rule,' to which the outer is but an handmaid: comp. AR 4/10, 12/24, 410/18.

118. **skile**, reason.

119. **þuften**, handmaid; comp. 68/123; 'for mi lauere biseh his þuftenes mekelac,' HM 45/12; AR 4/11. OE. **þyften**.

120. **feareð to wundre**, goes to misfortune, ruin: OE. **wundor**, a portentous thing. Comp. 6/46 note; 117/10; 'þu scealt to wundre gewurðan,' AS. Hom., ed. Assmann, 174/163; 'ȝ tukeð ham alto wundre,' AR 380/15; 'ȝeuest þin ahne dere bodi to tuken swa to wundre,' HM 27/14; 'so was ðis were to wunder brogt,' GE 3977. **Ancre** &c.: the first clause is conditional, as at 54/11; if an anchoress have not her food close at hand, two women are busy, i.e. have plenty to do, are needed. This absolute use of **bisie**, meaning fully employed, is noteworthy. F has 'Recluse qe nad pas sa vetaille pres · mestier ad dauer ij femmes'; L, 'Anachorita que non habet victum ad manum indiget duabus ancillis.' The rule is founded on that of Ailred, 'Itaque eligatur tibi aliqua anus, non garrula, non vaga, non litigiosa, non nugigerula . . . Haec ostium cellulae custodiat . . . Habeat sub cura sua fortiorem ad onera sustinenda puellam,' 641 f.

121. **þe leaue**, who may remain, to stay: an intransitive use.

123. **unorne**, not 'old,' but plain in appearance; comp. 62/23; either a young girl or middle-aged, without adornment.

124. **beoden**, prayers: comp. 'Cheatereð ouwer beoden euere, ase sparwe deð þet is one,' AR 174/24: 'voise disant ses proiores,' F.

129. **dame**, mistress: each of the anchoresses had her own maids; see 74/208.

132. **ȝe**: the reading of N is preferable: CT have no nominative: 'Nul hom ne lessent entrer,' F.

134. **oboke**, by book; comp. 'Sum is clergesse ȝ sum nis nout ȝ mot . . . an oðer wise siggen hire ures,' AR 6/12. **bi**, by the repetition of: 'die par *patrie nostre*,' F. Comp. AR 24, where the writer describes how the lay brethren of his own order say their hours.

136. Comp. 'So þet me seið ine bisawe, "Vrom mulne ȝ from cheping, from smiðe ȝ from ancre huse, me tiðinge bringeð,"' AR 88/26: Ailred, 641 b.

140. to uuel turnen : 'vnde quis aliquid mali poterit suspicari,' L.

141. heaued clað : 'coeuere chief,' F. eiðer ligge ane, let each lie by herself, comes in awkwardly among the directions about their clothes : F has it here, but T after habben, l. 143.

142. cop is apparently the caputium of the Gilbertine Rule : 'Conversae vero laicae sorores vestiantur sicut monachae, cucullis et scapulari exceptis; quorum loco habeant pallia de adultis agnis forrata; et caputia earum mamillas tegentia ad formam scapulariorum sanctimonialium,' p. *lxxxvii: so a short cape covering the shoulders instead of the longer cloak called scapular. It was to be sewn high on the breast, not closed by a brooch: hence its name hesmel in N, as a garment with a hole for the head to pass through; Icel. hálsmal: istihd in N is probably miswritten for istichd. 'lour cotes soient par de sus closes par deuant la poitrine sanz fermail,' F.

143. unleppet, literally unlapped, not enfolded; 'desaffubliez,' F: not in their 'cop' or 'hesmel.' OE. læppa, skirt. unweawed N, ungarmented, means the same thing, not 'unveiled,' Morris: comp. OE. wæfels, pallium, indumentum. open heaued, bare-headed; 'teste descouerte,' F. ihudeket C, covered; from *hýðecian, derivative of hýðan (NED).

144. cussen: the mode of salutation then general among lay folk is forbidden them. For the custom at a much later period see Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, ed. Singer, p. 171.

145. toggin, tug, pull about; comp. 186/318. T has the derivative, toggle: Sc. dialect, tuggle.

146. aturn, attire, or possibly, bearing, manner. OF. atourn, equipment, adornment. Comp. 'for þi is hare aturn se briht,' HM 23/10; 'aturnet,' 123/209.

147. hwerto . . . iturnde, in what direction they are going, what way of life they have chosen. Hare lates &c., let them wisely give heed to their gestures, behaviour; 'porteures,' F.

150. venie, acknowledgement of fault and petition for pardon, usually in the form of a genuflection or of a profound bow (curvatio). It was also used as a formal act of humiliation at the end of a Psalm and with the angelic salutation, as 'cum tribus veniis totidem feci salutationes,' Caesarius Heisterbach., ii. 33, 39: see also Ecbasis Captivi, ed. Voigt, ll. 769-72. Comp. 'nimeð ower uenie dun et ter eorðe mid te honden one.' oðer ualleð adun al uor muchel misnimunge,' AR 46/27; 'sumat veniam super terram,' Gilbertine Rule, p. *lxxxi.

154. do—ut, put it utterly out.

156. *eiðer* &c., and let them raise one another and end with a kiss: *ham* in N is reciprocal.

157. *þe greatluker gulte*, who was more in fault; see 125/270.

158. *witen* &c.: see 90/73 note. *some*, concord: comp. 'to some and to sehtnyse,' *Ælf.*, *Hom. Cath.* ii. 198/19, 'myd sib and myd some,' *OEM* 89/15; 'sib ȝ sæhte,' 11/184; 'sib wið ute uihte,' 133/60. *somentale* in T means concord; in *Orm*, *sammtale*, in *CM*, *samertale*, concordant.

159. *umben*: see 74/229 note. For *leaððe*, *OE.* *læððo*, hatred, N has substituted the commoner *wreððe*.

160. *o brune*, alight; comp. 'bed bringen o brune,' *SK* 1355; *AR* 296/12. *aga*, go out; an uncommon use of a word which means, to depart. Comp. 'That other fyr was queynt and al agon,' Chaucer, *C. T.*, *A* 2336.

161. *nond*, aphetic form of *anond*, *onond*. The emendation appears to be justified by the reading of N, although this shortened form does not occur elsewhere. All the scribes seem to have been puzzled by the peculiar use of the word; N adds a gloss 'also.' T has *dos hond to*, sets his hand to; C omits. The word is adverbial, meaning likewise; a development of *on efen*, on a level with. He doth likewise the same thing, is a tautology characteristic of the writer: 'il fet meismes ceste chose,' F.

162. *þ he wule þ*, which he wills that it should burn: comp. 7/52: 'le quel il vult qe arde en *nostre* queor,' F.

163. *ne geineð nawt*, is of no avail.

164. *nohtunge*, depreciation: comp. 'for noht oðer nohtunge,' *HM* 9/1. But F interprets it otherwise, 'ascune altre chose qe rien ne vaut.' *to hurten*, may dash asunder: 'par quey il seuerent lune de laltre,' F. *to hurren* CT means, whirl asunder: comp. dialectal Danish *hurre*, dial. English *hurr*, to whirr round.

165. For *frommard* see 58/66. *cwencheð* should be *cwenche* or *hurten*, *hurteð*. An early instance of *cwenchen*, to be extinguished.

166. *halden ham*, let them, i.e. the brands, hold themselves firmly together.

167. *ne—of*, let them not heed; see 8/84. F has 'ȝ ne lour seit a rien tout soffle lenemy.'

168. *monie*, i.e. *brondes*. *iueiet*, joined; corresponds to *OE.* *gefēged*, *pp.* of *gefēgan*: a favourite word of the author; comp. 'iveied togederes,' *AR* 26/9; 'iueied somed,' *id.* 308/17; 'hope ȝ dred beon euer iveied togederes,' *id.* 336/9, 356/7. *ontende*: comp. 128/370; 'of þeos two treon

ʒe schulen ontenden fur of luue wiðinnen ower heorte,' AR 402/7. For wið see 130/52: F has 'nomeement ensemble. si plusours estes ensemble iointes ʒ bien damur esprises,' where the first ensemble is superfluous.

170. **schriuen ham**, let them make their confession: a new development in the meaning of the word: OE. **scrifan** means, to hear confession, to impose penance (**script**). F has 'Al prestre ia le plus tard ne se confessent souent,' where the equivalent of **noðdeleater**, nevertheless, is noteworthy.

174. **se lengre se mare**: 'a touz iours · plus ʒ plus,' F.

177. **gruchesi**, a hitherto unrecorded form, means, like the other readings, to munch, nibble. It is related to **gruse** T as the mod. dialect. forms growdge (Lincs.), grouge (Notts) are to grouze, to eat noisily (mostly Lincs.): **gruselie** N may be represented by gruzzle, to eat voraciously (Lanark). Similarly OF. **groucier** is grutch in ME., in mod. dialects, grouse, to grumble.

178. **liht**, readily given by the mistress; comp. 48/312. F appears to have read lip, 'le conge gist en toutes choses la ou ny ad pecche.'

179. **na word**: the rule for the anchoresses was, 'Silence eue et te mete.' vor ʒif oðre religiuse doð hit . . . ʒe owen biuoren alle,' AR 68/21. ʒ **teo stille**, and those few in a low voice: N has added **beon**, and let those be &c. **complie**: after the anchoress has said compline, the servant must be careful not to disturb her obligatory silence. The times of silence are stated in Ailred's thirteenth chapter. **aþet**, until; OE. **oð ðæt**, until that, a conjunctive phrase, as at 72/189, 77/61, 69, 118/23, but here a preposition; comp. 'aþet endunge þissere weorlde,' OEH i. 119/15; 'aþet tes dei,' SK 1305. þet, þat are used alone as conjunctions, until; comp. 162/248; 'þ come þes dei,' OEH i. 33/32; KH 123 note, a þa, 78/71 (= a þe) represents **oð þe**, *conj.*, until: so too of = oð, 13/15. **uort** N 73/162, until, is shortened from for te (= for to); comp. 'slepte uort midniht,' AR 236/25; 'for to þe fowertuþe dai,' OEH ii. 23/7. But it is mostly a conjunction, as at 134/64, 136/156, 151/41; 'uort ʒe beon al greiðe,' AR 16/6; 'for to þe time cam,' OEH ii. 23/4; or it forms with þet a conjunctive phrase, 73/172; 'vort tet we speken,' AR 64/12; 'forte þ on þen þridde dai.' þ is heorte be liht,' OEH ii. 103/23. Finally, in 'ʒet nabbe ʒe nout wiðstonden uorte þet þe schedunge of ower blode,' AR 262/17, **uorte þet** is a preposition. Note the readings of TC at l. 172.

181. **hure** appears to be a repetition of the preceding: N has cloð; CT clað: 'fors le mangier ʒ auestir,' F.

182. þ . . . bi, by means of which. **flutte**, subsist; OWS cand. flytja, but

the meaning here answers to the reflexive flytjask, to maintain oneself: 'dunt ele se puit sustenir,' F. Comp. 'þet moni þusunt muhten bifluttan,' AR 202/25, apparently the only other place where it is used in this sense. The noun fluttunge is in HM, 'to fluttunge ȝ to fode,' 27/8, 29/4; SM 22/34. **Ne misleue** &c., Let no recluse's servant have such want of confidence in God as to think that He will fail her, whatever betide the recluse. The servant may rest assured that she will be provided for in any contingency. 'Nule ne mescroie dieu qeiqe auienge de la recluse qil lui faille,' F. See 141/36, and for **trukie** comp. further 82/105, AR 68/6, 234/17, 356/31.

183. **þe meidnes wið uten** would seem to restrict the application of the last sentence to the aged indoor servant, see 66/121. The reading of T, **þeo þ̅arn wið uten**, applied to people in general who help the recluse, seems better.

184. **alswa as**, even as, just as: so 'alriht so,' AR 92/8. **hom** in T is a mistake for **ho**.

185. **haueð ehe . . . toward**: comp. 'hwon ȝe habbeð touward me eien oðer honden,' AR 76/15 (= 'cum extenderitis manus'): 'qi ad loil desperance *vers* si haut louer,' F. In N 168 'of' has been lost after 'eie,' which cannot mean any.

186. **heh bure**, Blake's 'heaven's high bower' is quite in the manner of the writer; he has 'breoste bur,' AR 34/11; 'heorte bur,' 102/22; 'in to þe stirrede bur bliðe to heouene,' SM 22/12. Comp. also, 'in to þan heuenliche bure,' OEH ii. 167/3. A has preserved the original reading: F has '*vers* si haut louer.'

187. **eise . . . este**: a frequent combination in AR, comp. 'Eise ȝ flesches este beoð þes feondes merken,' AR 364/2, 136/26, 220/6, 374/27; 'Al þe este ȝ al þe eise is her,' HM 29/26. 'Od aise ne od delit ne achate **hom pas tiele ioie**,' F.

188. **reden**: F has 'lire,' but the women would not understand French. **euche wike eanes**: 'Quater in anno legantur scripta fratribus et sororibus,' Gilbertine Rule, p. *xciv. **ou beoðe** in N 173, to both of you, means, to the anchoresses as well as to their servants; comp. N 176.

190. **igodet**, improved: comp. 8/92; AR 386/15.

192. **for þi as**, for the reason that: comp. 130/53. The writer affects a fullness of expression in such phrases: so 'ȝef þet' in the preceding line; 'uor þi þ̅,' in order that, AR 66/22; 'uor hwon þet,' if on occasion, id. 160/3, 270/11, 300/16; 'mid tet þ̅,' as soon as, id. 76/22; 'wið þen þet,' on condition that, id. 242/27; 'bi þen þet,' by that, id. 330/18. **ow**: dative, to you.

194. *liðeliche* ꝛ *luueliche*, gently and affectionately. *wummone lare*, teaching to women.

195. For *selthwenne sturne*, F has 'relement estiburne'; the former word is dialectic for rarement, the latter apparently ME. *stiborn*, Chaucer C. T., D 456; comp. 'Styburne, or stoburne (or sterne). *Austerus*,' Prompt. Parv., ed. Way, 475: OF. *estibourner*, to palisade.

197. *eoli* ꝛ *win*. The source is probably, 'Hinc namque est, quod docente Veritate per Samaritani studium semivivus in stabulum ducitur, et vinum et oleum eius vulneribus adhibetur, ut per vinum scilicet mordeantur vulnera, per oleum foveantur. Necesse quippe est ut quisquis sanandis vulneribus praeest, in vino morsum doloris adhibeat, in oleo mollitiem pietatis,' S. Gregorii Pastoralis Cura, ii, ch. 6. The biographer of S. Gilbert says he applied this teaching, 'Quoniam autem vulneribus saucii nunc vinum, nunc oleum infundere debet Samaritanus qui interpretatur custos, studuit . . . medicus iste animarum utroque uti genere medicamenti.' Dugdale, p.*vi. Wine is mystically interpreted justice; oil, mercy.

199. *suhinde*, biting, smarting: perhaps connected with OWS*cand*. *svíða*: a Northern word, see Minor, v. 12 note and EDD *sou*. C substitutes *sturne*.

200. *luue eie*, love-fear; 'doute en *amur*,' F. Comp. 'With loue awe, sone, þy wyfe chastyse,' How the Wyse Man taught hys Sone, 33/140, where the editor reads lone; 'frigti luue,' 197/18. The words are often associated, as 'And quat for luue and quat for age,' GE 3632.

201. *icnaweð*, confess: *arn cnawe* in T means are confessing; OE. *gecnāwe*; see KH 983 note. *Ase forð as*: see 64/85: 'Ausi auant come *vus* poe3,' F.

203. *nearowe*, strict, sparing: comp. 'hold hire neruwe,' AR 268/25; 'neruwe domesmon,' id. 156/14; 'et te neruwe dome,' id. 308/9. It is a noun in the next line, as is *wide*, l. 205: 'lestreit del corn . . . le large,' F. *hearde*: as they in fact were; 'Noðeleas, leoue sustren, ower mete and ower drunch haueð ipuht me lesse þen ich wolde,' AR 412/28. Similarly Ailred, 'parcissimo cibo vix corpus sustentas,' 644 c.

205. *ʒe don*, may ye do, do ye.

207. *ahnes*, own; a gen. sing., corresponding to OE. *āgnes*, in a sort of apposition to *ower*: so *aunes* in C: the construction is probably the same in 'His ahzenes þonkes he þrowede for us,' OEH i. 121/27. With *ones* N 193, alone, comp. 147/163; 'mid his ones mihte,' AR 160/10, where T has the curious *anres* as here; 'wið his anes wit awarpen,' SK 591, 1283; as in Latin, 'Mea unius opera respublica salva est.' In OE. are found, 'mid þines anes ʒeþeahthe,' Boethius, ed. Fox, 128/19;

'ðæt ge ures nanes ne siendon,' Cura Past. 211/14, where the possessive has conformed to the adjective.

209. **cumeð** &c., pay a visit to your maids for relaxation. With **froure** comp. 'iuuencula quaedam quae ei (sanctimoniali) ad solatium fuerat deputata,' Caesarius Heisterbach., ii. 216. **cumeð** . . . **to þe þurl**: comp. the rule as to visits of the recluse's friends, 'ʒif eni haueð deore gist, do hire meiden ase in hire stude te gladien hire uere, ʒ heo schal habben leaue to openen hire þurl enes oðer twies ʒ makien signes touward hire of one glede chere,' AR 68/22. **earunder**, before undern, noon: undern is from nine to twelve, sometimes twelve as here and at 206/323, sometimes nine as at 220/205: comp. 'ereyesterday,' the day before yesterday, quoted from Coverdale in NED iii. 267. With **ouerunder**, after undern, comp. 'ofer non,' Wulfstan, 205/9; 'ouernon,' afternoon, R. of Gloucester, ed. Wright, 7302, 7487; 'mydouernoon,' Hymns to the Virgin, 84/49; 'þy feorþan dæge ofor undern,' BH 93/14. The dialectic overday, overnight, overyear refer to the past day &c.

210. **note gastelich**, spiritual occupation, duties.

211. **sitte** &c.: do not remain at the window talking to them past the proper time for compline.

213. **hurten heorte**, wound another's feelings, if retailed: that readily works mischief. Comp. AR 256/1-7, where the devil is said to be busy about separating the sisters with gossip.

215. **lokeð**, watches over, preserves; see 4/20. **edhalden**, entertained: comp. 'Prohibemus . . . ne aliqua . . . praesumat alicui hospiti dare carnes . . . nec aliquem balneare, vel minuere vel ultra unam noctem retinere,' Gilbertine Rule, p.*lxxxv. **þ beo**, let it occur.

218. **plohien** is *subj. pr. pl.*, Let not the anchoress or her maiden play; it represents OE. **pleogian** as ME. **pleien** does OE. **plegian**. Possibly the dialect word ploy, amusement, usually explained as aphetic for employ, is connected with this form. The **gomenes** would be backgammon, chess, and the like.

219. **ticki to gederes**, pat, caress each other, or possibly, romp, play the child's game of 'ticky.' See NED s. v. Tick, v.¹ for examples of the phrase 'tick and toy.'

220. **fleschlich froure**: the reference is perhaps to 'Venientibus quippe ad religionem non est considerata carnis fragilitas, ut ei delicate subserviatur, sed impedimenta fervoris spiritus, ut sollicite fugiantur,' Opera, i. 370 b.

221. **wið ute met** &c., beyond measure (exceptional) exquisite joy. Comp. 'utnume feir,' SJ 6/1.

222. **þruppe** usually means, in addition, as at 127/358, but in AR it generally refers to what has previously been said. Comp. 'Turneð þeruppe (=back to the place) þer ich spec hu he was ipined,' AR 188/17; 'þet ich spec er of þeruppe,' id. 372/23; where it repeats 'er'; 'þeruppe is inouh iseid,' id. 194/5, already enough has been said. The passage to which he refers them is probably 'ne schal tu nonesweis þeos two ilke cumforz, min 7 te worldes—þe joie of the holi gost 7 flesches froure habben togederes,' AR 102/13.

223. **eise**, at leisure, have opportunity: so 'hwen þu art on eise carpe toward ihesu,' OEH i. 287/11; 'eise (=opportunity) makeð þeof,' HM 17/24; AR 288/21; 'aisie,' convenient, OEH ii. 47/16; 'cfter hire eaise,' to her liking, AR 114/10. In 'Et te one psalme 3e schulen stonden 3if 3e beoð eise,' AR 20/27, it means, in good health, as 'hwo se is ful meseise,' id. 46/22, means, whoever is very infirm. The Gilbertine Rule gives leave to sit at the choir offices, especially after bloodletting, p.*lvii.

225. **biheue**: see 91/108. **bitohe**: see 21/106.

226. **wite**: subj. as in the exclamation 'wite Christ,' OEH i. 29/26: the ind. as in N is usual. CT have deu le set. **do me toward**, set out for Rome, a journey of hardship and difficulty; see Arnulfi Lexov. Epistolae, ed. Giles, 197. The simple infinitive after **leouere** is noteworthy: the reading of N represents the normal OE. **to donne**.

229. **beoð umben**, be bent on. The phrase is constructed with (1) inf., 70/159: (2) noun, 'and beo ge embe þæt ylce,' Ælf.; Lives, i. 120/79, 154/120, 434/34; 'Ac hi efre beoð ymbe þæt an,' OEH i. 221/7: (3) relative adverb as here and at 75/201: (4) with relative clause, '7 ymbe þæt wæron þæt hig hig sylfe on Hierusalem beclysan woldon,' AS. Hom., ed. Assmann, 185/123; 'is vmbe eueriches weis þet heo him luie,' AR 218/12. **bēon abuten** has the same meaning and constructions: comp. 46/267, 118/29; 'Aure to feawe men bien abuten to habben ȝese hali mihte,' VV 133/20; 'Satan is ȝeorne abuten (=expetivit) uorto ridlen þe ut of mine corne,' AR 234/15, and absolutely, 'Inouh ich was abuten,' I did my best, AR 88/8. But 'abuten to eggen,' AR 146/1, means, employed in inciting. **þeronuuen**, thereupon, on that object, i.e. that ye keep it better &c., where the adverb is somewhat superfluous, but in the writer's manner. OE. **þær an ufan**. But **on uuen** has in two places at least the meaning of, for the future; SJ 53/9; AR 236/14; and the word in the text might mean, thereafter. **þer abuten** N 202, about that thing.

231. **wite . . . warde**: see 118/50.

233. **dreheð 7 dreaeð**, suffer and endure; OE. **drēogað 7 dragað**: comp. 'þe alre meast derue | þeni deadlich flesch | mahe drehen 7 drawen,'

SK 1889; 'þu hauest for mi luue muchel idrohen ant idrehen,' SJ 34/9. For the form *dreaieð*, comp. 123/206, 147/153.

234. *him seoluen*: comp. 50/360. *aa*, ever: comp. 118/53, 119/90, 120/108, 125/276: so in SK (MS. R) 664, 1480; HM (MS. T) 'aá' 15/34. The doubling is merely an indication of length.

235. *þe leafdi*: comp. 'Saluum la Dame souent,' Adgar, 200/58.

236. *meaðful*, moderate: OE. *mæþfull*; comp. 122/197.

237. *writere*, the scribe; comp. 128/375. *sum chearre*, sometimes; comp. 'sume cherre,' AR 108/10.

238. *þe*, for thee, dative.

X. IN DIEBUS DOMINICIS

Manuscript: Lambeth, 487: see p. 312.

Editions: Morris, R., OEH i. 41-47, and Specimens, 17-21; Zupitza-Schipper, AE Lesebuch, ed. viii, 92-95.

Literature: (1) of the Vision of S. Paul. Brandes, H., Ueber die Quellen der me. Versionen der Paulus-Vision, in ES vii. 34-65; id. Visio S. Pauli, Halle, 1885; Batiouchkoff, Th., in Romania, xx. 17; James, M. R., Visio Pauli in Texts and Studies, ii. 3, Cambridge, 1893; Meyer, P., in Romania, vi. 11-16, xxiv. 357-375, and in Notices et Extraits, xxxv. 153-158; Ward, H. L. D., Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum, ii. 397-416; Cohn, O., Die Sprache in der me. Predigt-sammlung der Hs. Lambeth 487, Berlin, 1887. Vollhardt, W. (see p. 269/19). (2) of the Vision in general. Fritzsche, C., Die lateinischen Visionen des Mittelalters, in Romanische Forschungen, ii. 247, iii. 337; Peters, E., Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Visionslegenden, in Romanische Forschungen, viii. 361-364; Becker, E. J., A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Mediaeval Visions of Heaven and Hell, Baltimore, 1899; Bedae Opera Historica, ed. C. Plummer, ii. 294. (3) of the Sunday Letter. Pribsch, R., in Otia Merseiana, i. 129, and in Mod. Lang. Review, ii. 138-154; Napier, A., in An English Miscellany, 355-362.

Phonology of x and xi: References to piece xi are marked b. Oral *a* is *a*, crabbe b 84, slakien b 67; *a* before nasals, *o*, biwon 73, from 87, but swam b 90; *a* before lengthening groups, *o*, ahonge 14, ontful 53, but and 8, 85, b 25. *æ* is regularly *e*, cweð 45 (3 times), þet 25 &c., but abac b 86, blake b 82, b 120, blaca b 99, saterdei 71, þat 25, 68, watere b 86: with habbe b 14, b 77 comp. LWS. *subj. habbe*. *e* is regularly *e*, betre b 24, eten b 101, b 104 (but eoten 80), engles 5 (4), sunbendes b 67; but it is *i* in tilden b 110, *eo* in seolcuðre 17: stude 40, 41, b 26, whulche b 80, wulc b 20, swulc b 85 are due to OE. forms with *y*, hwilc b 21, swilc

21, uwilc 83, 85 to forms with *i*. *i* is *ī*, bidde 60, wille 60, b 62, bindeð b 110, but en 59, wule 6, nule b 28 and all other parts of *willan*. *o* is *o*, froggen b 83, longe 47, but iwrat 79, walde 46, 47, b 93, nalde 46, 51, nalden 32, 58, all Anglian forms with *a*; in weord 65 (5) *eo* is written for *o*. *u* is *u*, bicumeð 73, sunedei 4, hundes b 38. *y* is *u*, cunnes b 80, cunde b 85; *mycel* is *muchele* 67 &c.

ā is regularly *a*, an 16, claþeð b 114, gast 87, lauerd 39 (5), na b 100 (Anglian), þas 30, swa 29, but on 43, louerd 60, þon 5, þeo b 19, þeos b 14 (4) þos b 95, b 99, se b 11, b 69; noteworthy is foage b 119: *escade* 44, 49 descends from *æscian*. *æ₁* is *e*, efreni 27, ledde 50, but *a* in þare b 98, *ea* in eani 18, 48, sea 24 (4); *ulcne* b 66 descends from *yle*. *æ₂* is *e*, breþe 42 (Anglian *brēþ*), neddren 26, but ariste 87. *ē* is *e*, gleden 35, ferde 10, but deað b 58. *ī* is *ī*, is 25, swipeliche 90, fife 26. *ō* is *o*, bicom b 9, nom b 10, bisocnie 80, but eoðre 45. *ū* is *u*, hus b 73, lude 33. *ȳ* is *u*, fur 25 (3), mus b 113, tuneð b 27 (4), uþe 24, but forþi 6.

ea before *r*+cons. is *e*, herde b 51, midelerd b 81, both before lengthening group; *a* between *w* and *r* appears in swart b 105, warp 16, warðe 41. *ea* before *l*+cons. is invariably *u*, ald 43, alle 5. The *i*-umlaut is *e*, aweriede b 29, erming 6 (3), but earming 22, bicherreð b 112. *eo* before *r*+cons. is *eo*, eorðe 59 (4), ȝeorne 49, heorte 16 (3), weorkes 67, but ibureȝe 36, apparently from OE. *gebeorgan* (comp. 'bureȝe,' OEH i. 25/16, 'bureȝest,' id. 39/20). The *wur* group is represented by wurþien 75, 90. The *i*-umlaut is wanting in beorninde 12, after *w* it is *u*, wurse 26, wursien b 14, unwurðe b 29: berninde 16 (3) is from *bærnan*, smuricð b 114 from *smȳrian*. *eo* before *l*+cons. is seen in seolf 76, 83. *ea*, *u*-umlaut of *a*, appears in eateliche 17, heauekes b 38. *eo*, *u*-umlaut of *e*, is *eo*, heofene 5, 99, ȝeolewe b 107, b 108, weorlde b 91, b 100, or *o*, ȝolewe b 120, world b 36, but hefene 82, heueneriche 55, ȝeluwe b 83, without umlaut. *eo*, *ā*-umlaut of *e*, is seen in beode 80, beoden b 29, beoreð b 82, eoten 80, feole 19: unaneomned 28 is perhaps an analogic form. *eo*, *ā*-umlaut of *i*, is *eo* in seodðan 16, b 115, seodþan 40, seodðe b 25, heore 6 (3); hare 31 is Anglian *heara*: analogous are *dalneominde* 99 (comp. 'neoman,' OEH i. 29/18), icleped 88 (4). *eo*, *u*-umlaut of *i*, is seen in seofen 41, seofe 17, seofeþe 26. The palatal diphthong *ea* appears in sceal 62, scal b 89, ȝete 13: *ie* after *ġ* in ȝeue 71, ȝefe 60, 69, geuen b 49, b 102, ȝeueð 93; *gef* is *ȝef* 1, *gif* 6. *eo* after *ġ* is *u* in ȝunge b 87; after *sc* it is seen in sceolde b 13, scolde b 111, sculen b 21: *heom* is *heom* 9 &c., *ham* 70.

ēa is *e*, deðe 87, eren b 27, aȝen b 90 (ongēan), and six others, but *ædie* b 19 ('eadi,' OEH i. 39/5), dead, deade b 59: the *i*-umlaut gives *e*, alesnesse b 76, chese b 111, iheren b 28 (12), remeð 33. *ēo* is regularly

eo, beot 98, feorðe 25, iseo 58, þreo b 51, but bitwenen 83, fredome 3, þre b 69; the *i*-umlaut does not occur. After *sc*, *ēa* appears in *scean* 29.

a + *g* is *aʒ*, *dazēs* 98, *mazēn* 40 (5); *slage* b 57, *slazēð* b 98 are new formations from the *þþ*. *slagen* (Bülbring, Ablaut, 96); *ah* 51 (5) is Anglian *ah*. *æ* + *g* is invariably *eī*, *mei* b 103, *seide* b 87. *e* + *g* is also *eī*, *eisliche* 12, *toʒeines* 60 (3), *wei* b 24, but *away* b 94. *o* + *g* is seen in *forhoʒie* b 25. *ā* + *g* is *aʒ*, *aʒene* 23 (4), *faze* b 82 (3), *foaʒe* b 119, expressing the [ā⁰] sound. *ǣ*₁ + *ht* gives *ehte* b 100, b 105. *ē* + *g* appear in *leies* 17, *leit* 30 (*lēget*), *tweien* 8; *ō* + *g* in *wohe* 47; *ū* + *h* in *þruh* b 60. *ea* + *g* is seen in *gneʒeð* 34 = **gneagað*, with *ǣ*-umlaut of *a*, *idreʒen* b 70, *þþ*. analogous to *dreagan inf.* with the same umlaut; *ea* + *h*, *ht*, in *iseh* 48; the *i*-umlaut in *mihte* 42, *mihte* 92, *niht* 30. The *i*-umlaut of *eo* + *h* occurs in *siste* 26 (*siexta*). *ēa* + *g* is *eʒ*, *eʒen* 15, *heʒe* 12; *ēa* + *h*, *eh*, *abeh* 64, *heh* 45; *þah* 23, b 97 is Anglian *þæh*. *ēo* + *g*, *ht* are seen in *liʒere* 53, *lihtliche* b 43, the *i*-umlaut in *lihting* 72. *ā* + *w* is *aw* in *iknawe* b 24, *nawiht* b 22, *au* in *saule* 7 (7), *snau* 25. *ǣ*₁ + *w* gives *eu* in *eubruche* b 34. *ō* + *w*, *noht* b 11 (*nōht*). *ēa* + *w* is seen in *sceawede* 12 (8), *sceaude* 16, *scawede* 11, *scawere* b 116; *ēo* + *w* in *eow* 2 &c., *fewer* b 45, *heowe* 17 (WS. *hīw*), *reowliche* 33, *how* b 118, *fower* b 80, *bireusunke* b 53.

In syllables without stress *a* is usually levelled to *e*, but it survives in *dringan* 47, *ilca* 31, *locan* 86, 91, *pinan* 36, 37: *o* becomes *e* in *heuene* 55, *seofeþe* 26, *suteliche* 3, but *a* in *escade* 44, 49; *onuppan* is *anuppon* 46. In *alla* b 76, *alra* b 46, *blaca* b 99, *wiðinna* 43, *a* is written for final *e*, similarly *clusterlokan* 41, *manaðas* b 34; comp. *quica* 41/192. The prefix *ge-* is largely retained as *i*, *iblisseeð* 5; it is *u* in *uwilc* 83 &c. *e* is added in *amonge* 30, medially in *hefede* 68, *swiþeliche* 90, lost in *onswerde* 57, *sceaude* 16.

w is added in *hwure* 61. *ll* is simplified in *suteliche* 3; *m* doubled in *summe* 14 &c.; *mm* simplified in *swim* b 88, *swam* b 90, as *nn* in *clennesse* 51, 91, *ene* b 45, *ine* b 34: *n* is doubled in *sunne* 100. *p* is doubled in *deoppre* b 41. Initial *f* is written *u* in *ualleð* b 46, b 47, *uindeð* b 7, *uenne* b 8, b 33, but *f* in *falleð* b 106: *f* between vowels or vowel and liquid is usually *u*, but *ʒefe* 69, *leofe* 72, *monifolde* 57, *ufele* 42, b 94, *wifes* b 37, *nefre* 45, 51, 52, *efre* 97, *efreni* 27: *f* is assimilated in *wimmen* b 113, but *wifmen* 93. *tt* is simplified in *put* b 31; *ts* is *c* in *milce* 63, *mīlcien* 62. *dd* is simplified in *midelerd* b 81; *d* is lost in *onswerde* 57, 70: *d* is *t* in *ontful* 53, *iseit* 82, b 14, *tđ* in *feðer fotetđ* 28, *ð* in *forðwarð* b 87, *iclepeð* 3, *iherð* 73, *isceaweð* b 49. *þ* is written *ðđ* in *strengðdeð* b 85, *dþ* in *redþer* 68, *d* in *dringan* 47, *rested* 95, *wurdliche* 91, *t* in *speket* b 92: *þþ* is *dð* in *seodðan* 16, b 115, *seodðe* b 25, but *seoðpan* 40. *sc* [š] is *sc* in

gledscipe 81, iscild b 121, scal b 89, scolde b 111, and other forms of *sceolan*, scrift 32 (5), *s*, *ss*, *ssc* in *fis* b 84, *fisses* b 88, *fissce* b 84: the scribe writes elsewhere 'ichefte,' OEH i. 77/5 (*gesceafta*), 'iblesced,' id. 5/7, 'edmodnesce,' id. 5/19. *ċ* is expressed by *ch*, *chese* b 111, *chirche* 79 &c., *eche* b 98, *tech* b 89, *uwilche* 74, *whulche* b 80; but *c* is used finally for the same sound in *ic* 57, *hwilc* b 21, *swilc* 21, *swulc* b 85, *uwilc* 85, *wulc* b 20. *ċċ* is seen in *totwiccheð* b 94, *wrecche* 7, 11. The stop *c* is *k* before *e*, *i*, *stoke* b 113, *swike* b 111 and in *clusterlokan* 41, otherwise *c*, *locan* 86, but apparently *ch* in *musestoch* b 109, b 110. *čġ* is *gg* in *liggeð* b 34, *seggen* 3. *cw* appears in *cweð* 45 (3), but *qu* occurs elsewhere in the MS., as 'quic,' OEH i. 81/1. *ġ* is *z*, *dazes* b 45, *ʒef* 1, *ʒeue* 71, *ʒete* 13, *slazed* b 98, but *Gif* 6, *slage* b 57, *geuen* b 49: *ng* is *nk* in *bireusunke* b 53, 'of sprinke,' OEH i. 75/31 (comp. Horn, Beiträge, 29); but *ng* for *ne* occur in 'þong' (= þonc), OEH i. 39/33, 'dringen' (=drinken), id. 37/33. Initial *h* is lost in *lauerdes* 4 &c., *lusten* 1, *lude* 33, *redliche* 64, *redþer* 68, *remeð*, *reowliche* 33, *bireusunke* b 53, *witsunne* 88; it is added in *heow* b 21, *how* b 118, *hiheren* b 16; *h* is also lost in *iwrāt* 79; for it *ð* is written in *þurð* b 53. *hw* is seen in *whulche* b 80, *wulc* b 20: *siste* 26 is *siexta*, Angl. *sē(i)sta*.

Accidence: Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. In the *s. n.* *sune* b 120 represents *sunu*. *Gen.* -es, *muðes* b 53, *cunnes* b 80, but *monedeis* 72: *d.* -e, *deie* 3 (3 times), *scifte* b 69, *fredome* 3, *ʒete* 13, but *domesdei* 72, *sunnedei* 61, *gast* 87, 100, *scrift* b 67, *atter* b 106, *non* 71, *smel* b 112, without inflection. *Plural n. a.* of masculines, -es, *dazes* 98, *sunbendes* b 67, but *euencrestene* b 96 with adj. termination; *neuters n.* are *deor* 28, 33, *weord* b 14, *beode* 80 (*gebedu*), but *þinges* b 80, with *masc.* termination; *beoden* b 29, *clusterlokan* 41, *deoffen* 21, 43, 48, weak forms; *a. hors* b 37, *weord* 65, but *huses* b 36, *weordes* b 16 (4), *wifes* b 37, *treon* 12; *d.* -es, *rapes* b 12, *weorkes* 67, -*weorkes* 94, *weordes* b 94, but *manaðas* b 34, *treon* 13 (? *trëum*). Of the *feminines* *mihte* 92, 94, 95 has added *e* in the *nom.*, *bisocnie* 80 represents -*soen*. The other cases end in -e, *s. g.* *dede* b 54, but *weorlde* b 100, a *masc.* form; *s. d.* *ireste* 77, *weorlde* b 91, but *irest* 5, *sea* 24, 27, b 84 (*sæ*); *s. a.* *reste* 7 (5), but *rest* 6, *sea* 24; *pl. n.* *ehte* b 105, *saule* 19, but *gleden* 35, *saulen* 6; *pl. d.* *pine* 27, 97, *saule* 7, 73, but *honden* 14, *pinan* 36, 37, *sunnen* b 32 (3); *pl. a.* *laʒe* 59, b 28, *pine* 57, *saule* b 98, but *laʒen* 46, *pinen* 39, *saulen* 14, 22, *sunnen* b 62 (3) are weak forms. Nouns of the weak declension have -e in all cases of the singular, *n.* *crabbe* b 84; *g.* *heorte* b 53; *d.* *chirche* b 28; *a.* *nome* b 96: the plural has -en, *n.* *crabben* b 84, *neddren* 26, b 82, but *neddre* b 91; *d.* *eʒen* 15, *haleʒen* 68; *a.* *eren* b 27, but *licome* 31. Minor

declensions: fet *pl. d.* 14, 28, 64 (possibly *sing.*); mon *s. n.* 42 (3), *s. a.* 43, b 66, men *pl. n.* b 33, monne *pl. d.* 32, 74, 83, men 31, wepmen 93, wifmen 93, wimmen b 113; boc *s. d.* b 7; mus *pl. a.* b 113; þruh *s. d.* b 60; niht *s. a.* 30; feder *s. n.* b 120, fedre *s. d.* 99; moder *s. n.* b 88; breðre *pl. n.* 72; children *pl. a.* b 37.

The weak declension of adjectives has -e throughout the singular, *n. m.* alde 44, b 87, halie b 121, *f.* leofe b 88, foaȝe b 119, blake b 120, *neut.* faȝe b 91; *d. m.* zunge b 87, halie 87, 100, usele 42, *f.* eche b 98, stronge b 106, *neut.* halie b 17; *a. f.* muchele b 36. The only exception is heh *s. n. m.* 69. The strong forms are flectionless in the singular, except *s. d. f.* halie b 7, b 27, b 75, heuie b 66, mildere 70, seolcuðre 17 (with heowe *neut.*), warde 41 (= wardre); *s. a. m.* sunfulle b 66, *s. a. f.* muchele b 15, b 49. The termination of all cases of the plural, strong and weak, is e, exceptions are blaca b 99, freo b 50, sari b 56. *āgen* is represented by aȝene *s. a. f.* 34, *pl.* 23, 35, b 98: *ān*, *nān* appear as an *n.* 45, 50, b 84, on 43, nan 42, b 69, naping 79; *ane d. m.* b 8, *a. m.* 40, ene b 45, an 16, *ane a. f.* 20, b 9, an *a. neut.* 49, nan 51, na b 101. Adjectives used as nouns are deade *s. d.* b 59, fulle *s. a.* b 104, god 48, 52, b 101, sunfulle *pl. d.* b 76, *pl. a.* 11: nouns as adjectives, erming 6, 22, 31, 96, liȝere 53, wrecche 7, 11, 13: hindene b 116 has *pl. adj.* termination. Noteworthy among numerals are þridde 25, 95, fife 26, siste 26, seofese 26 (*seofopa*).

The personal pronouns are ic, we, us, þu, ȝc, eow, heow b 21, how b 118. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n.* he *m.* 13, heo *f.* 50, 86, 91 (dei like L. dies is *fm.*), b 88, b 104, hit *neut.* 10, *d.* him *m.* 12, 13, hire *f.* 91, *a.* hine *m.* b 10 (4), heo *f.* 50, hit *neut.* 2, *pl. n.* hi b 93, heo 8 (10), ha 21, b 15, *d.* heom 9, 56, b 39, ham 70, b 117, *a.* heon b 98 (for heom), ham 36, 39. Reflexives are ham 5, heom 94, heom seoluen b 117, b 118; definitive, seolf 76, 83; possessives, mine *s. a. f.* 63, *pl. a.* 58, þin *s. n. m.* 60, 69, þines *s. g. m.* b 62, þine *s. d. m.* 66, b 63, *s. d. f.* 67, *pl. d.* 66, his 34, hire 20, ure 55, 83, heore 6 (5), hare 31. The definite article is *s. n.* þe *m.* 4, *f.* 25, þet *neut.* 25 &c., þat 25, *g.* þes *m.* 4, *f.* b 100, *neut.* 68, *d.* þam *m.* 41, 87, þan 3 (6), þen 61, 69, þon 5, þe b 8 (4), þa 3, þare *f.* b 98, þere b 60, b 84, b 103, þer 15, b 106, þe 15, þan *neut.* b 17, þon 23, þa b 111, þe 15, *a.* þenne *m.* 75, þene 90, 97, b 59, þon 88, þe b 24, þa *f.* 20, b 32, þe 24, þet *neut.* b 70 (with scrift *m.*), *pl. n.* þa, 5, 6, b 79, *d.* þam 7 (4), þan 13, 32, þa 14 (4), þe 15, *a.* þa 11 &c.: þet 8, b 35, b 47, b 51, b 114, b 115, b 116, is demonstrative. The article is also used as antecedent to relatives, þeo þe b 19, þa þe b 39, they who. The compound demonstrative is *s. n.* þis *m.* b 84, þes b 31, þis *neut.* b 91, þas b 73 (comp. 13/43), *d.* þisse *m.* b 10 (3), þis b 77, þisse *f.* 54, b 91, *neut.* 31, *a.* þeos *m.* b 81, þas *f.* b 36, þis *neut.* b 39, *pl. n.* þas 30, b 90, þos

b 95, b 99, þeos b 14, b 33, b 105, *d.* þas b 113, *a.* 57, 65, þes b 100. The relative is mostly þe, but þ 43 (6), þet b 106: interrogatives are hwa *s. n.* 7, 73, hwet 44, hwat, þ b 78, hwilc *s. n.* b 21, wulc b 20, whulche *pl. n.* b 80, correlative swilc 21, b 40, swulc b 85: *ilca* is *ilke s. d.* 27, *pl. n.* 30, *ilca pl. d.* 31. Indefinites are hwa 6, hwa efre 97; me 36, b 9, mon 98, b 24; sume *s. d.* 9, sum *s. a.* 95, summe *pl. n.* 14, 28; oðer *s. d. neut.* 50, eoðre 45, oðre *pl. d.* 27, b 35, oðer *pl. a.* 97; ulcne *s. a.* b 66; uwilc *s. n.* 85, uwilche *pl. d.* 74, uwilc 83, uwilcan *s. n.* 17 (*gehwilc ān*); eani 18, 48, efreni 27; monie *pl.* b 113; alle *s. d. f.* 5 (4), al *s. a. m.* b 81, *s. a. neut.* 90, b 39, alle *pl. n.* 17 (4), alra *pl. g.* b 46, alremest b 35, alle *pl. d.* 27, alla b 76, alle *pl. a.* b 121.

The infinitive ends regularly in en; locan 86, 91, ipolie b 11 are the only exceptions; verbs of the second weak conjugation have -ien, iðolien 40, lokien 46, and six others; exceptions are enden 32, iloken 85, sceawen b 21. Dative infinitives with inflection are to bihaldene 18, to brekene 30, to demene 89, to swimminde b 86, uninflected are to halizen 74, to wurðien 75 (virtual nominatives), for to lokien 9, for to arisen b 40 and ten others in piece xi with for to, to drazen b 117 and fifteen others with to. Presents are *s. 1.* bidde 60, iseo 58; *2.* bringest b 63, leist b 60; *3.* bicherreð b 112, wuneð b 91, exceptional are bitacnet b 74, speked 37, speket b 92, contracted forms as beot 98, bret b 111 amount to one-third of the total number; *pl. 1.* cumeð b 58, slage we b 57, tuneð b 44; *2.* habbeð 73, b 20; *3.* beoreð b 82, wepeð 34, and of the second weak conjugation, iblissieð 5, lokieð b 115, smurieð b 114, wunieð b 80; *subjunctive s. 2.* 3efe 60, 69, milcie 68; *3.* ibure3e 36, iknawe b 24, icnawe b 25, cumé 61, 69, forho3ie b 25, ilokie 97, trukie b 105; *pl. 1.* tunen b 44: *imperative s. 2.* aris 70, haue 39, iscild b 121, swim b 88, tech b 89; *pl. 2.* ihereð b 79. Past of Strong Verbs: *Ia. s. 3.* cweð 45 (3), iseh 48: *Ib. s. 3.* com 10 (3), bicom b 9, nom b 10: *Ic. s. 3.* biwon 7, 73, gon 65, bigon 54, b 89, swam b 90, warp 16; *pl. 3.* urnen 20: *II. s. 3.* scean 29; *pl. 3.* swiken 30: *III. s. 3.* abeh 64: *IV. s. 3.* stod b 7: *V. s. 3.* het 9, weop 55. Participles present: *Ib.* dalneominde 99: *Ic.* beorninde 12, berninde 16 (3): *II.* glidende 35; past: *Ia.* ibeden 71, geuen b 49, b 102, ispeken b 77: *Ic.* biwunden b 79, idoluen b 46: *III.* icorene *pl.* 68: *IV.* idre3en b 70, istonde b 9: *V.* ahonge 14, 19, ihaten 4, b 52. Past of Weak Verbs: *s. 3.* ferde 10, ledde 50, sende 88, escade 44, 49, onswerede 70, onswerde 57, sceawede 12 (7), sceaude 16, hefde b 69, b 70, hefede b 8, seide 59, b 87; *pl. 3.* ledden 44, 49. Participles present: graninde 33, liuende 42, wuniende 12, 53; past: afered b 104, ibet b 62, forgult 22, iherd b 20, iherð 73, b 77, isceaweð b 49, iseit b 14, ise[i]t 82, isend b 39, iwrat 79; fotetd 28 is participial in form; inflected are aweriede

b 29, blessedde b 19, iclepede b 110, forgulte 73, isende b 73. Minor Groups: witen *inf.* 7, 58, wat *pr. s.* 62, witeð 2 *pr. pl. imp.* b 118, b 119, wiste *pt. s.* 51, biwisten *pt. pl.* 21; aȝen 1 *pr. pl.* 90, b 65; sceal 1 *pr. s.* 62, scal b 89, sculen 1 *pr. pl.* b 21, sceolde *pt. s.* b 13, scolde b 111; mei *pr. s.* b 103, b 107, maȝen 1 *pr. pl.* 40, b 50, 2 *pr. pl.* 65, 92, *pr. pl.* b 101, mihte *pt. s.* 42, b 11; to beon *dat. inf.* b 49, is *pr. s.* 60, nis b 69, bið 53, b 59, beoð 1 *pr. pl.* b 56, *pr. pl.* 34 (5), beon b 19, beo *pr. s. subj.* 79, 84, beo 2 *pr. pl. subj.* b 119, *pr. pl. subj.* 99, wes *pt. s.* 8, nes 52, weren *pt. pl.* 17 (4), were 11, nere 23, were *pt. s. subj.* 44, nere b 70; wulle 1 *pr. s.* 62, wule *pr. s.* 6, nulle 85, nule b 28, b 67, wulleð 1 *pr. pl.* 2, wuleð 2 *pr. pl.* 1, walde *pt. s.* 46, nalde 46, nalden *pt. pl.* 32; don *inf.* 48, *dat. inf.* b 101, deð *pr. s.* 29, deað b 58, do we 1 *pr. pl.* b 44, doð *pr. pl.* b 34, fordoð b 81, idon *pp.* b 69; gan *inf.* 42, 43, eode *pt. s.* 10, eoden *pt. pl.* 9.

With ȝette *adv.* 19, comp. 'ȝiete,' OEH i. 139/13, ȝetten 64/54; mid *prep.* 65 with accusative is Anglian (Napier, Anglia, x. 138): leste *conj.* b 104 (þȳ lǣs þe) is an early instance of the compound.

Dialect: These pieces were copied by the scribe of the PM in the same MS. As was said at p. 327, he belonged to the Southern border of the Midland area. On the evidence of the spoilt rhymes in the Pater Noster, inne: sunne, OEH i. 55/23, 24 (4 times), linnen: sunnen, id. 67/230, 231, he must be located to the West of that area, where u was the representative of OE. *y*, *ȳ*.

In the present articles his exemplars were in the South-Western dialect. That of piece x was considerably the older, probably of the early transition period about the beginning of the twelfth century, as is evident from the archaic forms which have survived in the copy. There is no trace of these in piece xi, the original of which was probably little older than the copy. As in the copy of the Poema Morale, the scribe's alterations affect mainly the sounds; the grammar remains Southern; a Midland form like beon b 19 is isolated.

Vocabulary: The foreign element is small; most of the Romance words are in piece xi. French are archangel 8, blanchet b 114, castles b 38, feble b 9, gluteneric b 34 (first appearance), grace b 49, lechurs b 117, manere b 84, prophete b 7, b 43, sacreð b 76, sacramens b 75, salmes 47, seint b 22, merci 39, meister 21, mestres 23, ureisuns b 75: Latin, aposties 88, sancte 8; mihhal 8 is probably a direct borrowing from the Vulgate Michahel. Scandinavian are caste b 10, icast b 68, griðe 80.

Introduction: The ultimate sources of this discourse are (i) the Legend of S. Paul's visit to the other world, and (ii) the Sunday Letter as extended by the addition of the Dignatio diei Dominicae.

(1) S. Paul in his second epistle to the Corinthians, xii. 2-4, said that he had been caught up to the third heaven and heard words unspeakable. But a detailed account of what he saw, partly drawn from the Revelation of Peter (ed. M. R. James, p. 65) and coloured by Egyptian ideas of the other world, was extensively circulated in the early Church, and existed in two Greek versions as early as the fourth century. One of these, the *Ἀναβατικὸν Παύλου* is lost, but it is probably represented in a Latin Version discovered by Dr. M. R. James and published in *Texts and Studies*, ii. no. 3. The other younger Greek version, denounced by S. Augustine as *'nescio quibus fabulis plenam'* (iii. 541e), was printed by Tischendorf in *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, 34-69: he dates it about 380 A.D. There is an early Syriac version, an English translation of which is reprinted by Tischendorf under the Greek Text.

The Latin version already mentioned is the most ancient and the fullest form of the legend, and it is the main source of the Latin mediaeval versions, which have been classed by Brandes in six redactions. Of these the first alone contains an account of S. Paul's visit to heaven, the others describe only the abode of the lost. The fourth redaction (B iv) printed in Brandes, *Visio Pauli*, 75, in the Cologne edition of Bede, vii. 362, as one of his sermons, and by P. Meyer from a Toulouse MS. of the fourteenth century in Romania, xxiv. 365, appears to be the main source of most of the versions in the modern languages, as of our text. Meyer enumerates twenty-three MSS. of it; he thinks that it is not anterior to the twelfth century and that it was widely circulated in England. In *Notices et Extraits*, xxxv. 153, he gives a list of six versions in French: (1) by Henri d'Arci, there printed; (2) by Adam de Ros, *trouvère* anglais, printed by Ozanam in *Dante et la philosophie catholique*, 1845, p. 425; (3) Anonymous, MS. Bibl. Nat. 2094, of which Brandes cites the beginning and end, p. 51; (4) Anonymous, BM Add. 15606, printed in part in Romania, vi. 11-16; (5) by Geoffroi de Paris, an adaptation of the preceding; (6) by an anonymous English *trouvère*, printed in Romania, xxiv. 357. The English versions in verse are (1) MS. Laud 108, Bodleian, printed by Horstman in *Archiv* lii. 35; (2a) MS. Jesus Coll. Oxford E 29, printed in OEM 147-155; (2b) MS. Digby 86, Bodleian, printed by Horstman in *Archiv* lxii. 403; (3) Vernon MS. Bodleian, in OEM 223-232 and ES i. 293-299; (4) MS. Douce 302, Bodleian, in OEM 210-222. There is, besides the present article, a fourteenth-century prose version printed in ES xxii. 134. The relations of the English and French versions are determined by Brandes in ES vii. 34.

Some references in the older literature should be noticed. Ælfric (*Hom. Cath.* ii. 332) calls the legend a lying composition, and proceeds to tell that

of Fursey as true. The writer of the Blickling Homilies (43, 45) relates the episode of the wicked bishop, following a text closely resembling the oldest Latin version, which differs little from the Greek at this point. In a second passage, 209/29-211/7, he has combined vague recollections of the legend with scenery drawn from Beowulf (see the Preface to BH, pp. vi, vii).

The first part of the present article differs from B iv and agrees with F iii in substituting smoke ('smorðer,' l. 26) for fulgur; with F iii it omits the Fiery Wheel and the Bridge of Dread, and the punishment of usurers by name. It is therefore possible that it and F iii had a common source. But our author has exercised a free choice in details; he says nothing of the punishment of the unchaste child murderers, of the oppressors of widows and orphans, of those who broke their fast before due time, and of those in the pit; nothing of the vision of sinful and righteous souls borne through the air; all of which are in B iv. His own fantasy is probably responsible for the division of the torments of the furnace, l. 24, between the furnace, the fount of fire and the sea of hell, and for the pleading of S. Paul in ll. 56-72, which are without parallel in any of the other versions.

(2) The Sunday Letter was a fiction which originated in the south of France or northern Spain towards the end of the sixth century. It purported to be a letter, which had fallen from heaven, written in Latin by Christ's own hand, denouncing judgement on those who did not observe Sunday rightly. It had great vogue in England before the Conquest, and furnished material for the homilies printed in Wulfstan, ed. Napier, nos. 43, 44, 45, 47, in Otia Merseiana i. 129, and in An Eng. Miscellany, 357. Latin versions are printed in the two last-named. Our author makes only general reference to it in 78/75-85, but ll. 85-91 are taken directly from a *Dignatio diei Dominicae* which is sometimes associated with it, and is found separately in the Pseudo-Augustine Sermons clxvii, cclxxx, and Alcuin, ed. Froben, ii. 487. It is also added to one MS. of the *Visio Pauli* (Brandes, 102), and it precedes the German version which he prints at p. 83. It also forms the subject of the fourteenth homily in OEH i. 139.

1. **Leofemen**: like 'Men þa leofestan' of the Blickling Homilies: the writer also uses, 'Gode men.' But 'Lordinges and leuedis,' 215/31 is French = Seingnurs & dames. **3e willeliche**: Zupitza prints *zewilleliche* (*adv.*, meaning gladly), and the separation of the words in the manuscript is of no weight against it. But the prefix *ge* is in this text commonly reduced to *i*, and *zewilleliche* occurs nowhere else and has nothing to correspond in OE., the forms in which are **willice**, **willendlice**, while **willeliche** is in AR 396/20. **3e** is probably a repetition of the preceding *by*

mistake for *ec*, which very frequently goes with and in these homilies (comp. 76/4, 78/68).

2. *hit* belongs to *lusten* as well as to *understonden*; comp. 'þe luste nulleð þesne red,' OE*H* i. 63/161, and for the postponement of *hit*, 'Al hit us mei rede ȝ to lare ȝif we wulleð,' *id.* i. 15/5, where *to goes* with *rede*.

3. *fredome*: the Latin version in Harley 2851 has for title *Privilegia diei dominice*.

4. *blisse* &c.: see 78/77.

6. *erming*, only here and at 76/22, 31 as adjective, for the usual *armliche*. OE. *earming*, a miserable person. *rest of*: comp. 78/96; 'þæt is sio an ræst eallra urra geswinca,' Boethius, 144/27; 'hwonne him lifes weard, | frea ælmihtig frecenra siða | reste aȝeafe,' Genesis, 1426; 'lagosiða rest,' *id.* 1486. Rare in ME., but for the verb comp. 'thei rest of her traueilis,' Apoc. xiv. 13 (Purvey).

7. *to soþe* &c.: see 90/73 note.

8. *þet wes*: comp. 1/10, where the verb is plural.

10. *hu—ferde*, how things went on there: 'quia deus voluit ut Paulus videret penas inferni,' B iv. 75/5. *Mihhal—wuniende*, there is nothing corresponding in B iv, but James has, 'dixit [angelus] mihi: Veni et sequere me, et ostendam tibi animas impiorum et peccatorum ut cognoscas qualis sit locus,' 28/17, and Adam de Ros, 'Seint michiel en ueit auant | Sein pol ses hores disant,' Ward, ii. 410.

15, 16. *ezen*: probably a mistake for *eren* (= 'auribus' B iv), as Kölbing pointed out in ES xxii. 137. *hefeðe*, by the hair, 'capillis.' *heorte*: a strange substitution for 'brachiis' of B iv.

16. *ouen—leies*: 'fornacem ignis ardentem per septem flammis in diversis coloribus,' B iv. *he*, i.e. *ouen*; if not a mistake for *þe*, a striking example of parataxis.

17. *eateliche to bi haldene*: comp. 'eatolice on to seonne,' Bede, 240/21; the *dat. inf.* answers to the L. supine as in *terribilis aspectu*. In *sead . . . to iseonne*, 133/30, it corresponds to the genitive of the L. *gerund, aspiciendi*.

18. *strengre*: see 21/94 note, and comp. 'ne geþæncaþ hio na, hu strang hit biþ an helle to bionne,' Wulfstan, 225/12.

21. *meister deoffen*, principal devils: for this use of *meister* comp. KH 642 note. They are not in B iv, but F iv has 'Soignours, an l'apre fornoise habitent · vij · delo[u]rs | · vij · diable l'atisent: cest lor maistre labours | Et · vij · flames an issent de diverses colours.' *swilce*, as if; OE. *swilce, conj.*; comp. 'He . . . geseah | modiglice menn on merebate | sittan siðfreme swylce hie ofer sæ comon,' Andreas, 247; 'mon geseah swelce hit

wære an gylden hring on heofonum,' Orosius, 234/8; 'þe king Leir iwerðe swa blac.' swlch hit a blac cloð weoren,' L 3069. **Swylc swa** is also found with the same conjunctive sense, 'þyslic me is gesewen . . . þis andwearde lif . . . swylc swa þu æt swæsendum sitte,' Beda, 134/24. For **swile swa**, such as, 76/29, see 34/80 note.

24. **þe sea of helle**: B iv has 'Et septem plage erant in circuitu eius (i.e. fornacis): prima nix, secunda glacies' &c. The writer or his original has changed these plagues of the furnace into waves 'uþe' of the 'flumen orribile in quo multe bestie dyabolice erant quasi pisces in medio maris,' which is mentioned at a later point in the Latin, while he alters the river into a lake, perhaps due to a recollection of the 'stagnum ignis et sulphuris' of the Apocalypse, xx. 9.

25. **snau**: comp. 120/100.

26. **smorðer**, thick smoke: B iv has 'sexta fulgur'; F iv 'Et la siste de foudres et d'avenimemant.' F iii agrees with the English text. **ful stunch**: comp. 46/277; 133/44.

28. **unaneomned**, without a name, because they were like nothing in this world; not 'unmentionable, on account of their number,' Morris. There is no description of the beasts in the Latin, but such details are to be found elsewhere in the Visions literature, e.g. Visio Tnugdali, 16/7, 17, 19/26.

31. **to brekene**: dative infinitive: OE. **swican**, **geswican**, to cease from, are often constructed with dative of nouns, as, 'gif he ðonne ðære hnappunge ne swicð,' Cura Past., 195/11, but apparently not with the dat. inf. This construction is common with analogous verbs such as **onginnan**, **forlætan**, **ieldan**. In ME. the dative of the noun occurs, as 'þa aswac worden.' Merlin þe wise,' L 16112; and the gen., 'iswikeð unrihtwisra dedan,' OEH i. 117/32 as in OE., 'ðæs noldan geswican,' BH 211/6. Comp. 81/85, 6. **þe—nalden**: 'qui non egerunt penitentiam post peccata commissa in hoc mundo,' B iv. 75/14.

32. **enden**: see 80/54.

33. **lude remeð**: 'ululant'; comp. 120/99, 192/528.

34. **his**, each of them his; distributive in meaning.

37. **Miserere** &c.: possibly from some unprinted version of the Visio, or from some version of the Evangelium Nichodemi; comp. The Harrowing of Hell, ed. Hulme, 18/203.

39. **ham**: the writer frequently doubles the subject or object by a pronoun; comp. 'þ ic hit efre dude mid mine wrechede licome þas sunnen,' OEH i. 29/9; 'þe mon þe leie . xii . moneð in ane prisune nalde he 3efen,' id. 33/9; 'Gif þu hine ise3e þet he wulle,' id. 17/13. See also 78/97 note; 136/144; 138/12.

41. **midde warðe**: OE. **middeweard** is usually an adjective, occasionally a noun: it is probably adj. here, and miswritten for **middewarðe**. Comp. 'In mideward þe felde,' KH, O 574. **clusterlokan** is explained as 'enclosures,' Morris; 'cloisters,' Strat.-Bradley. The corresponding passage in B iv appears to be, 'Et ostendit illi puteum signatum ·vij· sigillis et ait illi: Sta longe ut possis sustinere fetorem hunc,' and the meaning, fastening, lock, seems most appropriate here. The word is OE. **clūstorloc**: comp. Pogatscher, §§ 179, 182; L. L. **claustrum**, *pl.* of **claustrum**, is glossed **clusterlocæ**, Sweet, *Oldest E. Texts*, 50/220; **hæpsan**, *loca*, Napier, OE. Glosses, 106/4003; **clustello**, *loce*, **fæstene**, id. 136/5936. The metrical versions have 'seals,' except the Jesus MS., 'Seoue duren þer beoþ on'; OEM 153/235 and the second prose version renders, 'a put ylokke wiþ seuen lockes,' ES xxii. 136/53. Comp. also, 'Til he vnclustri al þe lokes | þat liif ligges vnder,' ES ix. 441/59, 60.

42. **þar neh**, near that place; an expression of rare occurrence; comp. 'magas þa þe þær neah wæron,' BH 139/16.

44. **escade . . . to**: see 77/49; a rare construction, not in OE., and probably influenced by F. *demande à*; comp. 'Huet may þe zone betere acsy to his uader þanne bread,' Aynbite, 110/14: analogous is, 'fulluht we to þe ȝeorneð,' L 29473. But at is older, 'hwæt axast ðu æt us,' Ælf. Lives, ii. 74/112, and of is in Layamon, 'he axede gael of þan londe,' 6122. Comp. 'pretest to,' 155/83.

45. In the Latin and the other versions the bad bishop is not in the 'puteus,' but in another place of less torment; there he is 'avarus et dolosus et superbus,' here he is specialized into one who iniquitously vexed his tenants and dependants by legal proceedings and steady oppression. So the Monk of Eynsham saw a bishop grievously tormented 'quod placitoris loco inter saeculares iudices consedere plurimum delectari soleret, multis etiam bona conscientia nitentibus in litigantibus violentus contra iustitiam oppressor extiterit,' 698/5. Some contemporary is here meant, such as Gilbert Glanville, Roffensis (Godwin, *De Presulibus*, i. 572), or perhaps the earlier Gerard of York (id. ii. 27; Mapes, *De Nugis Curialium*, 224). The haughty maiden of ll. 50-54 is not in the Latin; in all probability she is drawn from the life.

46. **lokien**: 'non custodivit legem dei,' B iv. 77/21; see 4/20 and comp. 'witen,' 77/58.

49. **swiðe unbisorȝeliche**, with great want of care, consideration, like 'mid mycelre reþnesse,' said of the bishop's treatment by the devils in BH 43/29.

52. **Elmesȝeorn**, fond of giving alms, benevolent; OE. **ælmes-georn**:

it occurs here only in ME. *prud . . . ȝ modi*: comp. 3/4; 'So modi and so prute,' OEM 82/300.

53. *wreðful ȝ ontful*: comp. 56/31.

55. *forð mid*, together with: see 1/19 note. *of*, from: a common use with dative in OE.; comp. 'Peahte ðeod com of Scyppia lande on scipum,' Bede, 28/7.

56. *on þunres liche*, in the likeness of thunder: the alteration of the MS. reading *wunres* is due to Morris, but the resultant meaning is unsatisfactory. He suggested, on *þunres sleȝe*, comparing 'þær com swylce þunres sleȝe,' Ev. Nichod. ed. Thwaites, 13/3, and the expression occurs in ME. 'ofdradd of ðese muchele ðþunresleiȝ ðe cumþ ut of godes auȝene muðe,' VV 11/18. The writer has elsewhere, 'Vre drihten wile cumen dredliche in fures liche,' OEH i. 143/15, which may suggest the true reading here. The Latin has 'deus descendit de celo et dyadema in capite eius'; possibly *crunes* lurks under *wunres*.

60. *toȝeines*, *adv.*, in reply: *him* depends directly on *seide*, as in 'ic eou habbe þet godspel iseid,' OEH i. 5/13; 'heom seggen godes lore,' id. 7/33, though the construction with *to* is also found in these homilies. Comp. 'Cuðberhtus him togeanes cwæð,' Ælf. Hom. Cath. ii. 138/34. But the word is generally a preposition, as at 64/56, 86/142. *ȝef-is*: see 134/84.

61. *la hwure*, ah! at any rate. This writer uses *La* mostly with interrogatives, 'La hu ne beað,' 89/34; 'Lahwet scal þis beon,' 89/36. *a þet*: see 72/179 note.

63. *afterward*, in quest of, seeking; = 'eſter' 7/53; comp. 'þat ha beon þe laſſe afterward swuch þing,' HM 37/7; 'Iohannes . . . wearð him æfterweard,' Ælf. de Novo Testamento, 18/21. Similar uses of the compound in the sense of the simple preposition are, 'al urommard þiſſe,' AR 178/18; 58/66 note; 70/165: 'They met Beues inwarde the paleys,' Beues of Hamtoun, 69/1208; 'ałyſde of þam witum ða þe towearde wæron,' Wulfſtan, 228/11. Similarly 'þu moſt beon on ward þine ſunnen,' OEH i. 37/20 appears to mean, thou muſt give attention to thy ſins.

64. *ſwiðe wa*: ſee 40/181 note and comp. 'Ofte hadde horn beo wo | At neure wurs þan him was þo,' KH 115, where him ſhows that horn is dative. *abeh* &c.: 'Post hoc proſtravit ſe Michabel et Paulus et angelo- rum milia milium ante filium dei,' B iv.

66. *for*, *by*: comp. 94/26.

68. *þes þe redþer*, the ſooner on that account, the ſooner. The more regular comparison is ſeen in, 'ah þes þe we heoueden mare wele on piſſe liue, þes we ahte to beon þe edmoddre,' OEH i. 5/27, 21/12.

69. **a þet**: see 72/179 note.

71. **non**, three o'clock, when the Sunday festival began; 'ab hora nona sabbati usque in prima hora secunde ferie,' B iv. 79/21; 'fram nóntide þæs sæternesdæges oð monandæges lihtincge,' Wulfstan, 207/11. **a þa**: see 72/179 note.

72. **þet efre forð**, for all future time: for **þet**, until, see 72/179 note; it is so used especially when **aþet**, or **aþa** precedes it; comp. 'a þet ic beo ealdre oðer þet ic beo sec,' OEH i. 23/3. **forð**, right onwards, develops the meaning, continuously, ever; comp. 'ðat we moten forð mid 3ew on blisse wunizen,' VV 21/24, 25/12, 113/16.

74. **mucheles**, by much; an adverbial genitive, mostly used in comparative phrases, as, 'mucheles þe swuðere,' AR 368/6; 'mucheles þe more,' OEM 86/74; 'se læce bið micles to bald,' Cura Past., 60/2.

75. **for—seið**: 'Hanc epistolam scripsit dominus Iesus Xristus manibus suis,' Sunday Letter in An Eng. Misc., p. 400. The Latin quotations which follow are probably from some redaction or expansion of the same fiction.

79. **Ne beo** &c.: 'nec aliud faciat in die dominico nisi sacerdotibus meis seruiatis,' An Eng. Misc., 403.

80. **bisocnie**, visit, frequenting; elsewhere, petition, request: Mätzner compares ON. kirkju-sókn: see chirkhocne 82/4; hamsocne 12/9.

82. **iset**, miswritten for **iseit**, translating 'dicitur.'

85. **iloken**, observe, from the idea of keeping guard over something; comp. 116/156.

86. **ester dei**: 'Dominicum ergo diem Apostoli . . . religiosa sollempnitate habendum sanxerunt, quia in eodem Redemptor noster a mortuis resurrexit,' Pseudo-August. Sermo cclxxx; 'dies clarus in quo resurrexit Dominus a morte . . . in quo Spiritus sanctus descendit in Apostolos et in quo speramus Dominum nostrum . . . ad iudicium venturum,' id. Sermo clxvii. Comp. Wulfstan 219/27-29, 230/26-28; 294/5-12; Alcuin, ii. 488; OEH i. 143/7.

91. **hafð mid hire**, there is inherent in it.

92. **mihte**, virtues, the power to accomplish certain purposes.

93. **eorðe þrelles**: a combination after the pattern of **eorðwaru**, as in 'Sunne dei blisseð togederes houeneware 7 horðeware,' OEH i. 139/22: not 'slaves,' Morris, but said of men generally as enslaved by earthly pursuits; comp. 14/54-56.

94. **heom**: the corrupt reading of the MS. perhaps points to **he heom** as the original; see 77/39 note. Comp. 'þe sonenday is best of alle þanne aungles habbuz heore pley,' Archiv lii. 35, the Latin has only 'in quo [die] gaudent angeli et archangeli maior diebus ceteris.'

96. **ireste** . . . of: comp. 76/6.

97. Whosoever then observes Sunday . . . let them be participators &c., is a sentence of much the same type as, 'Se þe Drihten ondræde herie hine, eall Iacobes cynn,' Psalter, ed. Thorpe, xxi. 21; 77/39. Morris suggests the change of heo to he, but singular and plural in these texts often alternate: for **beo**, *pl. subj.*, see 82/119. **þa oðer halie dajes**: the feast-days of obligation.

100. **abuten ende**: see 34/85 note.

XI. HIC DICENDUM EST DE PROPHETA

Manuscript: As for piece x.

Editions: Morris, R., OEH i. 47-53, and Specimens, 21-25.

Literature: Cohn, O., Die Sprache in der me. Predigtsammlung der Hs. Lambeth 487, Berlin, 1880.

Phonology &c.: See piece x, pp. 407, 410, 413.

Introduction: No source has been found for this singular piece, which, in its treatment of Jeremiah in the pit as the type of the unshriven sinner, differs from the usual mystical interpretations of this episode in the life of the prophet. So Adam of Prémontré, 'Pax tibi, o sanctificate in utero, virgo et sacerdos Dei, o Jeremia sanctissime! quem de lacu lutoso et funes et panni levant veteres, quia sanctos Dei ab aeterno ad vitam ab ipso praedestinos de sordido vitae praesentis profundo et sacrae Scripturae praecepta et sancta elevant exempla,' De triplici genere Contemplationis, Migne, P. L., cxcviii., col. 824. So for S. Gregory, the ropes are 'praecepta Dominica,' the old rags, 'antiquorum patrum exempla,' Moralia, xxv. 7, and the interpretation of Hugh of S. Victor, ii. 256, is similar.

The homily consists of two parts, very dissimilar in style and discordant in tone; the joint is plainly discernible at 81/76. The first part is an earnest insistence on the necessity of sacramental confession, a question much debated at the time of this sermon and after, till it was finally disposed of by the fourth Lateran Council in 1215 A.D. The passages in Latin, like 81/64, do not necessarily imply a Latin original, they are rather headings of the divisions of the discourse, which is probably an effort of the writer's own ingenuity in support of his favourite contention. It contains no hint of the crabs and other 'wurmes' of the pit. The second part reads like a translation; it has all the vivacity and simple directness of the contemporary French Sermo ad Populum. Its leading idea was probably suggested by the famous apologue in the legend of Barlaam of

the man who, pursued by a furious unicorn, fell into a well tenanted by a dragon, a four-headed snake, and two mice. This story was used by Eudes de Cheriton, p. 217, and Jacques de Vitry, no. cxxxiv.

The thirty-third Homily in OEH ii. should be compared with this second part: it is in the same style, if not by the same author.

1. The Latin is based on Jeremiah xxxviii. 6-13, but there is no authority in that place for the second sentence and the first half of the fourth. Comestor adds to the Scripture narrative, 'et erat propheta in luto usque ad guttur.'

7. þ = þet : see 76/8, 25.

8. ȝ þ , and what is more, and indeed: comp. 80/33; OEH i. 121/9.

12. *claðes*: 'veteres pannos et antiqua quae computruerant,' Jer. xxxviii. 11.

15. *bitacnunge*, spiritual meaning, allegorical significance.

17. *fuliwiſ*: see 32/40. *almihtin*, comp. 51/337: according to NED., it owes its *n* to imitation of *drihtin*: Morsbach, ME. Gram. 95/4 sets it down to late OE. acc. *ælmihigne*.

18. *Beati* &c.: S. Luke xi. 28.

23. Alanus de Insulis, Opera, ed. Visch, 78, has the same words as a quotation without naming the author. S. Gregory, Regula Pastoralis, pars iii. ch. 34 and in four other places, quotes 2 Pet. ii. 21 thus, 'Melius enim eis non cognoscere viam iustitiae, quam post agnitionem retrorsum converti ab eo quod illis traditum est.'

25. *þe*: miswritten for *þen*; see 80/39: *þet*, from the preceding clause, is to be understood with it.

26. 'Qui declinat aures suas ne audiat legem, oratio eius erit execrabilis,' Prov. xxviii. 9, is quoted by S. Gregory, Moral., xvi. ch. 21, with variant 'aurem suam,' as in Codex Amiatinus, and again Moral., x. ch. 15, with 'avertit aurem suam.' *Obturat* is probably due to 'Qui obturat aures suas,' Isa. xxxiii. 15, also quoted by S. Gregory, Op. i. 755.

28. *þe*—*beoð*, that proceed from him.

29. *unwurðe*: *þl.* OE. *unwierþ*, despicable: see 26/258. *Puteus* &c. What follows is drawn from S. Augustine's Enarratio in Psalmum lxviii. 15, 16, 'Eripe me de luto ut non infigar: libera me ab iis, qui oderunt me, et de profundis aquarum. Non me demergat tempestas aquae, neque absorbeat me profundum: neque urgeat super me puteus os suum,' on which part of the comment is, 'Magnus est puteus profunditas iniquitatis humanae: illuc quisque si ceciderit, in altum cadet. Sed tamen ibi positus, si confitetur peccata Deo suo, non super eum claudet puteus os suum,' Op. iv¹, col. 523, an interpretation adopted by Bede, viii. 655. The writer

of the homily probably had for his immediate source the abbreviated quotation in the *Liber Poenitentialis* of Alanus, 195. Comp. OEH ii. 43 for another comment on this passage.

32. **heueð sunnen**: see 54/8.

34. **glutenerie**, gluttony: OF. glutunerie; apparently here only.

35. **þ**: comp. 1/10.

37. **hames**, estates, possessions, as in 'hig cípton ealle hira hámas,' Gen. xlvii. 20 = 'vendentibus singulis possessiones suas.'

38. **tunes**, enclosures, such as parks: comp. OE. *dēor-tūn*.

39. **þe liggeð—arisen**: comp. 'in quo lacu sunt multi qui se ibi esse non sentiunt, quia peccata sua non attendunt, nec clamant ad Dominum,' Beda, viii. 508.

41. **propheta**, S. Augustine: the quotation in Alanus is 'non claudet super te os suum, si tu non claudas os tuum.'

43. Comp. 'ne þ þe pit tune ouer me his muð,' OEH ii. 43/16.

45. **feower dazes oðer fiue**, for a considerable length of time: comp. 'Iesus þo his wille wes · aros from deþe to lyue. | Þeyh hyne bi-wusten knyhtes voure oþer vyue,' OEM 52/538.

46. **ualleð &c.**: probably suggested by 'Lacum aperuit, et effodit eum: et incidit in foveam, quam fecit,' Ps. vii. 16.

47. **him**: comp. 2/17, 120/96, 121/132. This dative instead of the possessive adj. is common with parts of the body affected: in 'þat his ribbes him to brake,' KH 1077 we find both. **þ is þ**, that means: comp. 'þ is þet þe deofel þe geð abutan . . . þ he neure ne maȝe cuman wið-innan us,' OEH i. 127/27. **þer &c.**, where he never again cometh out of penance, i.e. where he must make perpetual expiation instead of a brief one on earth. For omission of the subject comp. 6/18 and for of = out of, 'forfaren of ða rihte weiȝe,' VV 125/30: for bote comp. 80/58. Morris, in OEH i. 48, translates, 'from whence he will never again return to repent,' joining **þer** of and taking bote as = to bote. In *Specimens* it is taken to mean, 'therefrom neuer again cometh help,' but of should be after bote for that sense, comp. 64/61, 66/116, and the examples in the note at 1/3, though the prep. is occasionally awkwardly placed before a noun which it does not govern, as at 84/45, 106/210.

51. **þreo herde weies**: comp. 'Tria debent occurrere ad hoc ut vera sit confessio; scilicet cordis contritio, oris professio, operis satisfactio. . . . Haec est via trium dierum per quam debemus ire in solitudinem,' Alanus, 99. But it is a commonplace: see the *Liber Sacerdotalis* on Confession. In a French sermon we find, 'Vocabatur [diabolus] primo, gallice "Clocuer," claudens cor contra contritionem; secundo "Clobоче," claudens os contra

confessionem; tertio "Cloborse," claudens bursam contra satisfactionem,' Hauréau, Notices, iv. 159.

54. **dede wel endinge** is wrongly explained in Specimens as = wel dede endinge, completion or performance of good works. It is a very literal translation of the Latin phrase, **dede**, *gen.* = operis, **wel** = satis, **endinge** = factio. For enden, to perform, especially of religious observances, comp. 77/32; 'þat oure louerd hem 3eue grace : þis holi dede wel ende,' E. E. Poems, 47/137. **Cordis** &c.: the source of this is unknown to me.

56. **þe[nne]**: the correction was perhaps unnecessary, for þe = when, occurs in OEH i. 79/21: possibly in both places þe is for þē = þen.

58. **sunbote**, confession, here corresponds to 'oris confessione': its more usual meaning is penance, 'operis satisfactio,' as in 'Alle weldede beoð freomfulle to sun-bote · ah nan mare freomful denne elmes idal,' OEH i. 135/29: so 'bote' in l. 48 above. In 48/314, 'cume to bote' has a more general sense of, find pardon.

60. **þruh**, coffin, not 'tomb,' Morris; the burial belongs to the third stage, 81/63.

61. **scrift underuonget**, dost undertake, submit to the penance enjoined by the priest: comp. 'ær he hæbbe godcunde bote underfangen,' = 'antequam divinam emendationem suscepit,' Schmidt, Gesetze, 178/5.

62. **þenne** &c., when thou hast done penance for thy sins in accordance with the directions of thy confessor: see 62/30.

63. **þine onwalde**, authority, power over thee: **þine** corresponds to the genitive which goes with OE. **anweald**, **onweald** in the same sense, as 'onwald . . . ƿæs folces,' Cura Past., 3/5, power over the nation.

66. **heue** is probably a mistake for heued; comp. 80/32; but 'heue sennen,' OEH ii. 11/29.

67. **sunbendes**: 'colligationes impietatis,' Isa. lviii. 6; comp. 85/100; 'þeo þat ye aleseþ here · of heore sunnes bende,' OEM 55/629. Similarly 'bendes' 40/188: the verb is common, 135/123; 'Ðe ilke mann ƿe is ibunden mid heaued-senne,' VV 101/8; OEM 192/5.

76. **in alesnesse**, for the deliverance: **in** expresses purpose and the noun is historically accusative; comp. 'in gemynd þæs wundres,' Beda, 204/27.

77. **þe . . . embe**, about which: comp. 1/3; 89/48; 90/73; 118/44; 'mast ƿar embe spekð,' VV 101/9. So, **þe . . . mide**, 79.

80. **fower cunnes wurmes**, crawling things of four kinds; in such expressions the *sing. gen.* cunnes often displaces the normal plural; comp. 27/295, 88/13, 92/117, 119/90, 124/264, 134/93, 187/358, and contrast

'kunne,' 132/9 note. So too the predicative 'manie kinnes,' of many kinds, 85/104, 105.

82. *ȝ beoreð*, which carry: parataxis as in 150/27; 'Euelin iseh enne gume . . . ȝ bar an his riht hond.' ænne stelene brond,' L 8435.

85. *euer*, as an invariable result; comp. 7/69. Connect *se mare*, the more. *strengðdeð* him, exerts himself; comp. 'ȝ streinþede him by al ys miht | to serue god,' Bödd., AE. Dicht. 257/7. to *swimminde*, in order to swim, for swimming: corresponding in form to LWS. to *swimmende*, alternating with the regular *dat.* infinitive to *swimmene*: comp. 'to quemende,' 84/68, 70; 'to lesende,' 87/148; 'to clensende,' 87/177. Another exchange of terminations is seen in 'Hit is to vnderstondinge þat sir Renaud . . . purchacede' &c., An Eng. Miscellany, 350/6. The writer has 'to brekene,' 76/31, 'for to lokien,' 76/9.

86-90. Comp. 'Ecce quot laqueos diabolus tendit litteratis et maxime theologis et predicatoribus, nam subplantatis et dejectis doctoribus facile deiciuntur discipuli; verum dicitur quod cuidam querenti a cancro cur non incederet recte sed retrograde, respondit cancer: "Ita didici a parentibus meis,"' Jacques de Vitry, xlv. (thē Exempla ex Sermonibus Vulgaribus may have been written as early as 1210 A.D.). The crab is accordingly the type of the teacher who cannot himself perform what he expects his pupils to do.

90. *swam hire*, swam: see 13/34.

92. *alse feire* . . . *alse*, as kindly as if.

93. *in--bosme puten*, clasp to their heart, like 'suo sinu complexuque recipiet,' Cic. Phil. xiii. 4, 9.

94. to *twiccheð*, pluck to pieces, speak censoriously of; like L. *vellicare*, *discerpere*. to *drazed*, rend, practise detraction, L. *detrahere*.

95. *doctores*: perhaps detractores; comp. 'Detractores, Deo odibiles,' Rom. i. 30. But the mother crab was a 'doctor,' and *eciam* here may be significant.

96. For the absolute use of *bihinden* comp. 'þe ȝ spekeð faire bi-foren ȝ false bi-hinden,' OEH i. 143/25.

97. *monslaȝen*, homicides. S. Gregory calls them cannibals, 'Sciendum quoque est quia hi etiam qui alienae vitae detractone pascuntur, alienis procul dubio carnibus satiantur,' Moralia, xiv. 52.

100. *pes—ehte*: read *pes* weorlde's muchele ehte.

101. *itimien* represents OE. *getimian*, to befall, happen, a meaning which does not suit here or at 104. The ME. word may here have been influenced by OWScand. *tíma*, always used with a negative as in *tíma ekki*, to grudge (Egge in Mod. Lang. Notes, i. 131), but his suggestion of

a connexion with 'beteem,' Shak. Hamlet I. ii. 141, must be rejected, and the isolated use of the word in a Scandinavian sense, afford, find in his heart, in this Southern text makes a difficulty. Mätzner suggests the meaning, 'verfallen auf etwas,' and Strat.-Bradley, 'to use opportunities.' Possibly the writer was trying to translate some such Latin as, *non potest temporanee manducare*, or *temporare* (= *in tempore vivere*, *Catholicon*), or *adtemporare*, which would suggest *getimien* in a strained sense of, to do at the proper season.

102. *ah liggeð þer uppon* : comp. 'Condit opes alius, defossoque incubat auro,' Virgil, Georg. ii. 507; 'Chryseros quidam nummularius, copiosae pecuniae dominus ... sordidus aureos folles incubabat,' Apuleius, *Metamorp.* iv. 9.

103. Eudes de Cheriton, *Fabula lxvii.* has, '*Contra auaros et laycos tenaces.* Bufo, qui habitat in terra, rogauit Ranam, que habitat in flumine, quod daret ei de aqua ad potandum. Ait Rana : Placet; et dedit ei quantum uolebat. Rana esuriens rogauit quod daret ei de terra. Respondit Bufo : Certe nichil dabo, quia ego ipse, timens ne deficiat, [non] comedo ad sufficienciam. Sic sunt plerique in tantum tenaces, quod expectant quod panes sint muscidi, bacones rancidi, pastilli sint putridi; nec possunt manducare nec pro Deo dare; timent quod terra eis deficiat. Hii sunt bufones Diaboli.' Eudes flourished about 1219 A.D. The parallelism between 'nec—dare' and *mazen—godalmihtin*, 101, 2; and between 'timent—deficiat' and 'swa—trukie,' 104, 5, is striking.

105. *trukie* : comp. 72/183.

107. The passage in brackets is conjectural : the copyist passed over a line ending with the same word as that which he had just completed. For the yellow cloth see 62/46 note.

109. *helfter*, halter, noose : OE. *hælfter*. The original had, no doubt, *laqueus diaboli*. For similar expressions comp. 'Revera ornatus muliebris sagena diaboli est,' Caesarius Heist., 287; 'diaboli hamus,' *Vitas Patrum*, 302. *peos wimmen* &c. : comp. 'Mundus est *la garanne au diable* in qua venatur ut capiat animas, et tendit ibi laqueos infinitos. Unus laqueus ejus est pulchritudo corporalis et ornatus. Unde istae dominae, quae tam pulchrae videntur esse et tam bene ornatae, *acemées*, sunt muscipula diaboli, quam tendit ad capiendum fatuos; ipsae sunt *la ratière au diable*,' Hauréau, *Notices*, iv. 154. *lumeð*, shine, are splendidly attired. The MS. reading *luueð* and Morris's conjecture *liuieð* give a poor sense. For *lumen* comp. 'Hire lure lumes liht, | ase a launterne a nyht,' Böddeker, *AE. Dicht.* 169/23; 'þat lemeþ al wiþ luefly lyt,' id. 152/6, 155/8, 145/3. The transitive 'alemeþ,' illuminates, occurs in *OE. H.* ii. 109/1; 'alumþ,' id.

141/29. **musestoch**: comp. 'Similiter assatur caseus et ponitur in muscipula. Quem cum sentit Ratus, intrat in muscipulam, capit caseum et capitur a muscipula. Sic est de omni illicito. Caseus as[s]atur, quando mulier paratur, ornatur, ut stultos ratos alliciat et capiat,' Eudes de Cheriton, 221/1; 'Mulier pulchra . . . est caseus in muscipula. Mulier adornatur . . . Hoc est caseus assatus,' id. 328/1. See also 62/51 note.

114. **blanchet**, 'fine wheaten flour,' Halliwell, who quotes from MS. Bowes of Robert of Brunne, 'With blanchette and other flour | To make thaim qwyttter of colour.'

116. **scawere**, mirror: comp. OEH ii. 29/9-13. **hindene**, Morris thinks is miswritten for hid-ern, hiding-place; a word which does not occur elsewhere; if it were connected with OE. *hȳdan* the first syllable would be hud- in this text. In Specimens it is translated snare, with comparison of OE. *hinderhōc*, stratagem, as if for hindere. I take it to be the *adv.* *hinden* in substantive use, the hinder parts, the 'behind'; in CM 22395, 'hindwin.' There is an 'exemplum' preserved in Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry, ch. xxxi, which tells what the lady who devoted a fourth of the day to her toilet once saw in her mirror; it was probably in our writer's mind here. The Book of the Knight was written for the instruction of his daughters.

118. **wið**: comp. 48/299 and 'þer wið,' 82/121; 'þe clenesse iscilt heo wið unþeawes,' OEH i. 111/17; but 'from,' 148/141; 'Wiðtieð giu fro flesliche lustes,' OEH ii. 63/28.

XII. SERMONS FOR PALM SUNDAY AND EASTER DAY

Manuscript: Trinity College, Cambridge, B. 14. 52. See p. 312.

Facsimile: Frontispiece to OEH ii.; gives f 44 r.

Edition: Morris, R., OEH ii., and Specimens, pp. 26-33.

Literature: Krüger, A., *Sprache und Dialekt der me. Homilien in der Handschrift B. 14. 52.* Trinity College, Cambridge, Erlangen, 1885.

Phonology: Oral *a* is *a*, *ateliche* 128, *axen* 183; *a* before nasals, *a*, *manne* 168, *þanken* 48, but *o* in *þonc* 72, *þonked* 84, 139; *a* before lengthening groups, *o*, *honde* 23, *understondeð* 146, but *a* in *lange* 101, 184, *understandeð* 180: *þanne* 45, 136 alternates with *penne* 52, 117. *æ* is *a* (12 times), *bad* 88, 120, *wat* 175, and *e* (9 times) *bed* 11, *set* 71, *wecche* 97. *e* is *e*, *eft* 37, *bendes* 100, but *understont* 176, *understant* 181 (-*stont*). *i* is *i*, *bidden* 188, *bringen* 11, often written *ȳ* in *synne* OEH ii. 57/5, *synfulle* id. 57/17, *synegeden* id. 65/16, and similar words: but *i* is *e* in *beð* 122 (from pl.), *sleðrende* 169. *o* is *o*, *biforen* 28, *one* 11, 14, *borde* 87, *wolde* 22, but *an* 185, *a* 4 (5 times). *u* is *u*, *burh* 21, *bunden* 127, but *o* in *comen*

66, 69, folcninge 111, beside fulcninge 114. *y* is *i* (29 times), iuele 116, kinne 103 (3), but *e* in specð 85, euel OEH ii. 183/10, kenne id. 201/11, *u* in cunde 162, fulste 76; cuinde 160 shows hesitation between *u* and *i*. *ā* is normally *o*, aros 137, bitocneð 102, but *a* 11, an 19, hatte 9, naðeles 13, 74. *ǣ*₁ is mostly *e*, bileueð 158, clensinge 186, leren 65, but *a* in ani 136, ar OEH ii. 11/24, lareð id. 15/2, *o* in goð 4, 56 (from plural); a diphthong has developed before *sc* in fleis 144 (6). *ǣ*₂ is also mostly *e*, beren 23, selðe 123, but *a* in aristes 140, adrade OEH ii. 193/18, dade id. 187/22. *ē* is *e*, bete 73, este 166, but *o* in doð 15, 159, 164 (from plural), *ie* in gie OEH ii. 21/9. *ī* is *i*, lichame 126, lif 67. *ō* is *o*, blod 47, blostme 24, but *te* 11. *ū* is *u*, abuten 101, husel 47. *ȳ* is *i*, kidde 135, *e*, bet 147, *u*, cud-den 18.

ea before *r* + cons. is *a*, armheorted 119, harde 98, warð 175, but *e* in bern 30, smerte *adj.* 98, *ea* in smearth *pt. s.* OEH ii. 21/27. *ea* before *l* + cons. is *a*, al 71, half 68, but sometimes *o*, olde OEH ii. 47/3, *ea*, ealde id. 19/15, ealse id. 35/23, and *ia*, ȝiald id. 169/4: the *i*-umlaut is *e*, eldre id. 43/35. *eo* before *r* + cons. is *eo*, eorðliche 72 (3), heorte 62, but *e* in beregeð 114, herte 17, lerneð 17, sterre OEH ii. 161/4, *o* in storre id. 161/19, storres id. 161/6; the *wur* group has *u*, wurðe 84, 140, wurðlice 92, the *i*-umlaut is wanting, wurð 162, wurðe 91. *eo* before *l* + cons. is *e*, self 155, seluen 90 (4), but sulfen OEH ii. 45/6. *eo*, *u*-umlaut of *e*, gives heuene 74, 79, wereld 168: *eo*, *a*-umlaut of *e*, is wanting in fele 105. *eo*, *u*- and *a*-umlaut of *i*, is *e* in bileue 149, clepen 10, cleped 44, 108, here 20, 107, 123, seueðe 102, but biliue 172. *ea* after palatals is *a*, shal 27 (3), gaf 14, shap 158, but gef 172, gíaf OEH ii. 113/27; *a* in shameliche 127 before nasal. *ie* after *g* is *i* in giueð 160, forgiuenesse 46, but gíef OEH ii. 9/10. ȝef is gif 57, 182. *eo* after *sc* is *u*, shulen 74: *eom* is am 17, *heom*, hem 171. *ēa* is regularly *e*, bred 87, 156, deð 6, ec 105, ester 101 (4), leue 143, þeh 12, but *a* in admod 17, admodnesse 15, shad 148, *ea* in deaðe 137; its *i*-umlaut is *e*, lesen 147, lesende 148, remden 28, semeð 73. *ēo* is also *e*, beð 51, ben 63 (10), crepe 100, preste 9 (5), but *ie* in bie 30, 115, bien 61 (4), and *i* in bi 57; its *i*-umlaut is *e*, þester OEH ii. 39/29, but þiesternesse id. 9/27, and þeoster id. 171/25. *īe* after *g* is *e* in geme 57, 182; *hīe* is hie 74, 105.

a + *g* is *ag*, lage OEH ii. 3/6, dages id. 3/14. *æ* + *g* is *ai*, dai 4 (5), fair 12 (3), mai 38 (4), but sunedeies 99, seið 24, 31, seide 155. *e* + *g* is *ei*, leiden 20, wei 32 (5); agen 37, 182 descends from ongæn, so togenes 19, but toȝanes OEH ii. 177/32 is togeanes. *e* + *h* gives *eh*, sehte 51 (3), sehtnesse 53, but Scand. sahtnesse 50. *i* + *g*, reine 171 (O.North. reg-nian). *u* + *g* is *ug*, muge 152, 188, but mo 77 (Kentish). *y* + *h*, drihten

33, driste 189. *ā* + *g* is seen in *agen* 165, *ogen* 121; *th* + *g* in *eizer* 126; *ō* + *g* in *twēle* 39, *twēlen* 10, 17, *twēre* 103; *underfoȝe* 106 (= *fēhp*) has *o* from the plural. *ō* + *g* gives *boges* 33, 65; *ō* + *h*, *boh* 24, *brohten* 34; *ū* + *g*, *bugen* 88 (3). The *i*-umlaut of *ea* + *ht* is *i* in *mihite* 135, 159, *iē* in *nichtes* OE.H. ii. 11/5. *eo* + *h* is represented in *riht* 68, *rihte* 143, *six* 96, *sixte* 101, its *i*-umlaut in *geat* OE.H. ii. 137/5, *seȝe* id. 121/26. *ea* + *g*, *h* in *hege* 21, *heg* 35, *nehgebares* 122; *hegeste* 176 has no umlaut. *eo* + *ht* is seen in *leohtes* OE.H. ii. 11/5, *liht* id. 13/16. *ā* + *w* is *au*, *ow*, *soule* 116 (4), *snow* 169, *wowe* 138, 181; *noȝer* 12 is *nōȝer*, *noht* 65, *nōht*. *ea* + *w* is *ew*, *sheweȝ* 94. *eo* + *w* is *ew*, *cou* in *reoweȝ* 119, *reouȝe* 122, *ew* in *trewes* 34, 60, *hew* 159, but *hiu* 158 (*hiow*), *giu* 147, 148, 153, comp. *giu* 16/117: *feorȝe* 99 is *fēorpa*, *reorȝe* 121 (**hrēowȝe*) is probably miswritten for *reowȝe*.

Swā is *swo* 9, in combination also 15, *wat* . . . *se* 175. *e* is inserted in *heregeȝ* 114, *forsinegeȝe* 71, 124, *husel* 47, *ouelete* 154, *chanclerliche* 127, added finally in *one* 11, 14, *permade* 139 by analogy of *inne* 45, *uppe* 71. For *a*, *e* appears in *felefolde* 164, for *o*, *i* in *giarked* 84; the prefix *ge-* is *i* in *iwis* 150. *o* is *e* in *makede* 5, *u*, *e* in *purch* 54 (3); the suffix *-ung* is *iug*, *clensing* 186, *toorninge* 55, *wissinge* 95, but *wissenge* 187 and the compromise *proweinge* 52. *th* is *e* in *maȝeles* 74; *ou*, *o* in *felefolde* 164; *ea*, *e* in *endelese* 74, *loȝlesnesse* 109.

In *nemed* 118, *n* is omitted, by influence of the past *nomde*: *n* is lost finally in *selde* 98, *a 4* &c.: *nn* is simplified in *mankin* 136, *sinbote* 109, *smedei* 183: *ng* is *gg* in *beginnigge* 5. *bb* is *n* in *hauen* 71, *liuen* 153. *f* becomes *n* between vowels or vowel and liquid, *driven* 127, *freureȝ* 124, *ouelete* 154; in other positions it is generally unchanged, *tele* 105, *stefne* 28, but *wantstone* OE.H. ii. 61/17, *uele* id. 63/11. *t* is doubled in *settle* 35, *ts* is *e* in *mille* 188, *n* in *blesed* 30; *d* is doubled in *bided* 86; for *d*, *ð* appears in *stefrende* 169; *ȝ* in *daurȝen* 30 is OE. *p* is assimilated in *atte* 156, *likeste* 122; *te* for *pe* 6, 166 is probably from the scribe's exemplar as *tis* 174 for *pis*; *bethfage* is French, *bethphage* from the Vulgate: *d* is written for *p* in *bided* 86, *maked* 62, *quedinde* 145. *m* is simplified in *cos* 53; initial *mo* is *sh*, *shal* 27, *shrud* 113, *shrifte* 183, but exceptionally *srifte* OE.H. ii. 73/5, *scrifte* id. 11/11: medially it is seen in *axen* 183, *axen* 96, *bisschopes* 61, *englese* 44, it is *s* final in *fles* 47, *fleis* 150 (6). The stop *c* is written *k* before *e*, *i*, *chinke* 150, *kinne* 103, but *spece* 118: it is omitted in *offinȝ* 123. *ē* is *ch*, *eche* 125, *swich* 98; *chosene* 78 (*coron*) is conformed to *cōoman*; for *cruche* 185 see NED. s. v. Crouch: *ōȝ* is *ch* in *wecche* 97, *wreche* 123: *ow* is *qu*, *quemende* 68. Palatal *g* is written *g*, *gucȝ* 160, *gaf* 14, *hege* 21, but occasionally *ȝ*, *ȝaf* OE.H. ii. 141/28, *heȝest*

id. 197/14: final **-ig** is *i*, but bode 189: swimesse 156 represents **swīg(e)-messe**: **čg** is *g* in wig 14, *gg* in briggeden 32, 59. *h* is added initially in heste, hestene 164, heorðliche 35, his 47; *h* is lost in ider 130, louerd 13, lude 28, remden 28, reoweð 119, reouð 122, reoðe 121; for *h*, *g* occurs in hegsettle 35: **hw** is *w*, wat 38 (3), wile 114, wit 113, conversely **hū** is *hwu* 130, **wu** 167: **ht** is written *st* in driste 189, *cht* in leochtes OEH ii. 11/5.

Accidence: Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. *Gen.* -es, sunedeies 99, kinnes 104, 105: *d.* -e, deaðe 137, borde 87, but the inflection is often wanting, as in the compounds of dai, 101, 183, 184 and in most of the neuters, blod 144 (4), fleis 144 (4), &c.; muð 156 may be *acc.* (Anglian) after mid. In the *acc.* weie 59, 60, 62 has *e* like jo-stems, and tacne 53 from *pl. tācnu*: mule 12 is French. The *pl. n. a.* of masculines ends in -es, cloþes 20, prestes 61, bendes 100; preste 9 is a scribe's mistake for prestes: neuters are burhfolc 21, þing 148. *Pl. g.* kinne 103, but englene 172, estrene 140 (*ēastrena*), kingene 13, muðene 44 are weak forms, louerdes 12; *d.* boges 33, 65, trewes 34, 60. The *fem.* nouns, except wereld 168, have *e* in the *s. nom.*, chirchsocne 4, sinbote 109, abstracts in -nes, 109, 118, 119 as also in the *s. acc.* cuinde 160, forbisne 14, mihte 135, 159; hond 69, wereld 168 are exceptions: *g.* -e, sinne 100, but aristes 140 (occasionally *m.* in OE.): *d.* -e, cunde 162, dede 15. Plurals are *n.* hese 73, wede 103, wedes 104; *g.* estene 166, hestene 164, wedes 127; *d.* weden 131, honde 23, wedes 22, 125; *a.* mede 74, sinne 119, sinnes 46 (4), honden 128, pinen 96. Nouns of the weak declension have -e in all cases of the singular; lichames *s. g.* 162 excepted. Plurals are *n.* names 39, sanderbodes 18: *d.* axen 183, blostmen 26: *a.* acxen 96, blostme 24. The minor declensions are represented by fot *s. a.* 9, fet *pl. a.* 128; man *s. n.* 36, cristeman 176, mannes *s. g.* 62 (4), man *s. d.* 117, manne 176 (a weak form), men *pl. n.* 10, *pl. d.* 116, *pl. a.* 143; burh *s. d.* 21, bureh 11, 18 (**by-rig**); boc *s. n.* 24; helende *s. n.* 5 (5) with participial termination; comp. 273/3, helendes *s. g.* 57; child *s. a.* 112; children *pl. n.* 31.

Strong inflections of the adjective are *s. n. f.* bicumeliche 116, holie 45, 51; *s. d. m.* bicumeliche 93, eche 125, *f.* bicumeliche 93, 94, 183, eorðliche 72, faire 64, lude 28, wise 66; *s. a. m.* endelese 181, rihte 143, sehte 55, *f.* eche 181; but holi *s. d. m.* 184, soð 183, fair *s. a. m.* 12 are not inflected. The weak form has mostly -e in the singular, holie 24 (9), but holi 47 (9), lift 69, riht 68 are not inflected. Adjectives in the plural have -e; as also comparatives and superlatives, loðere 116, hegeste 176, but biterest 178. Adjectives used as nouns are bitere *pl. g.* 178, half *s. a.* 68. **āgen** is ogen *s. d. f.* 121; **ān** is an 19, a 11; **nān**, no 106 (3). Noteworthy among the numerals are tweire *pl. g.* 103 (**twēgra**), fite 100, sixte 101, seueðe 102.

The personal pronouns are *ich*, *me*, *we*, *ure* *pl. g.* 182, *us*, *te* = *þu* in *likeste* 122, *ge*, *giu* 147, 148, 153. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n.* *he m.* 12, *d.* *him m.* 19, *a.* 27, *hit neut.* 19 (with *asse m.*), *it* 21 (with *strete f.*); *pl. n.* *hie* 33, 74, *g.* *here* 107, *d.* *hem* 72, *a.* 11. Reflexive is *himseluen d.* 107, *a.* 90: definitive, *himself s. n.* 155: possessives are *mi*, *ure*, *þin*, *his*, *hise pl. d.* 10, 78, *here*. The general form of the article is *þe*, *te* 6, 156, 166; inflected forms are *ȝet s. n. neut.* 26, 117, *þo pl. n.* 17 (3); *þet* 14, 84 is demonstrative: the article is used pronominally in *þo þe*, *those who* 27 (10). The compound demonstrative is *s.* *þis*, *tis* 174, *pl.* *þese*, once *þis[e]* 125. The relatives are *þe*, *þ* = *þet*, *þat* 115: *wat* 38 (3) is interrogative: *swiche* 106, 129 is *pl.* Indefinites are *me* 27; *sum* 24, *sume pl.* 33 (3); *eiðer* 126; *oðer* 117, *oðre s. d. m.* 15, *s. a. m.* 136, *pl. d.* 22, *pl. a.* 135; *ech* 38, *elhc* 36, *eches s. g. m.* 175, 178; *ani* 136; *manie* 104; *fele* 105; *al s. a. m.* 71, *s. a. f.* 167, *alle* 114, *pl. n.* 105 (3), *alre pl. g.* 12 (6), *alle pl. a.* 135 (3).

The infinitive ends *ir^h-en*, *bidden* 188, *þolen* 6 and fifteen others; exceptions are *crepe* 100, *reine* 171, and the contract verb *fon* 74. Dative infinitives with inflection are *to clensende* 177, *to lesende* 148, *to quemende* 68, *for to quemende* 70; without inflection, *for . . . to hauen* 70, *to blissen*, *to gladien* 83, *to bete* 73 and ten others. Presents are *s.* 1. *speke* 104, *spece* 118; 2. *likeste* (= *likest þu*) 122; 3. *beregeð* 114, *liðe* 100 (miswritten for *liðeð*), *bidded* 86, *for biddeð*; contract verb, *underfoð*, 106, 117; syn-copated forms, about one-third of the total number, *bet* 120, *bet* 147, *bit* 120, 143, *sent* 53, *understont* 176, &c.; *pl.* 1. *hauen* 186, *undernimen* 142; 2. *understonden* 154; 3. *bidden* 46, *herien* 46, *noten* 45, *þanken* 48, *wunien* 9 and ten others in *-en*, *lereð* 67, *semeð* 73, *wisseð* 63, *maked* 62, *for makeð*: *subjunctive s.* 3. *drinke* 91, *wurðe* 84, 140; *pl.* 1. *bugen* 88; *nime we* 56, 182, *understonde* 88; 3. *liuen* 153: *imperative s.* 2. *haue* 121, *underfo* 113; *pl.* 2. *brukeð* 147, *cumeð* 87, *lerneð* 17, *understondeð* 87, 146. Past of Strong Verbs: Ia. *s.* 3. *gaf* 14, *gef* 172, *bad* 88, 120, *bed* 11, *set* 71, *spec* 160; *pl.* 3. *eten* 172: Ib. *s.* 2. *come* 130; 3. *com* 8, 26; *pl.* 3. *beren* 23, *breken* 33, 60, *comen* 28: Ic. *s.* 3. *warð* 175; *pl.* 3. *funden* 19: II. *s.* 3. *aros* 137, *rod* 20: IV. *pl.* 3. *understoden* 27: V. *s.* 3. *let* 171; *pl.* 3. *bihengen* 21; *s.* 3. *hatte* 9. Participles present: Ia. *queðinde* 16 (3), *quedinde* 145; past: Ib. *brokene adj.* 65, *cumen* 182, *cumene pl.* 185: Ic. *bigunnen* 179, 187, *bigunne* 177, *bunden* 127, *worpen* 128: II. *driuen* 127: III. *chosene pl.* 78: V. *forleten* 179, 187, *shad* 148. Past of Weak Verbs: *s.* 3. *fette* 138, *kidde* 135, *lufede* 175, *rerde* 137, *seide* 155, *sende* 10 (3); *pl.* 3. *wenden* 23, *ferden* 18, 28, *leiden* 20, *makeden* 61, but exceptionally *ferde*, *makede* 58. Participles present: *seiende* 89, 120, *seggende* 86, *sleðrende* 169;

past : blesced 30, nemed 118, bet 179, 187, clepede *pl.* 108, forsinegede *pl.* 71. Minor Groups : wot *pr. s.* 38 ; agen *pr. pl.* 165 ; shal *pr. s.* 27, shulen *pr. pl.* 74 ; mai *pr. s.* 38 (4), muge we 1 *pr. pl.* 188, mo 77 (Kentish), muge [ge] 2 *pr. pl.* 152 ; ben *inf.* 77, 127, am 1 *pr. s.* 17, is *pr. s.* 44, his 47, beð 122, 154, ben 1 *pr. pl.* 142, 185, *pr. pl.* 63 (10), bien 61 (3), beð 51, bie *pr. s. subj.* 30, 115, bi 57, si (lof) 30, bien 1 *pr. pl. subj.* 182, was *pt. s.* 18, weren *pt. pl.* 31, 67 ; wile *pr. s.* 78, wolde *pt. s.* 6, 22 ; do 1 *pr. s.* 105, doð *pr. s.* 15, 159, 164, don 1 *pr. pl.* 141, fuldon *pr. pl.* 74, do *pr. s. subj.* 114, do we 1 *pr. pl. subj.* 88 ; dide *pt. s.* 136, diden *pt. pl.* 31, gon *inf.* 101, goð *pr. s.* 4, 56.

Dialect : A scribe of the South-East Midland has copied a manuscript written in the South-Eastern area bordering on Kent. The changes he has made affect both sounds and inflections in varying degree ; in this extract the Midland element is more pronounced than usual ; towards the end of his task the Southern gains the upper hand. But his exemplar was in its turn descended from an original of the Middle or Western South, written not long after the Conquest, or at any rate by a man to whom OE. constructions, such as the uses of the dative in him 106, iuele 116, folke 174, manne 176, were not strange.

Vocabulary : Scandinavian are rideð 62, sahtnesse 50, shereðursdai 184, wanrede 124, and probably gestninge 84. French are absolucion 100, custume 3, diciples 10, mule 12, oliue 24, palefrei 12, procession 4, prophete 169, proue 90, richeise 72, sepulcre 102. Latin are apostles 20, bisshopes 61, calice 52, cruche 100, crisme 112, fant(ston) 101, munt 10, temple 23.

Introduction : These pieces appear to be original compositions of the Middle English period, but the work of a writer who drew his ideas from the older literature, Beda and Ælfric, and used many archaic words such as burhfolc, chirchsocne, hegsettle, ouelete, sanderbodes, swimesse, wig. There is similarity in parts to the sixth Blickling Homily.

1. **Turbe** &c. : S. Matt. xxi. 9.

4. **ȝ** = and. **haueð**—of, has its origin in : for of comp. 131/98.

6. **Et** &c. : not a quotation from the Vulgate or Comestor.

8. **pe** is a mistake for he, necessary as sende l. 10 has no subject.

9. **preste** : 'Bethphage erat viculus sacerdotum in monte Oliueti,' Beda, Opera, vii. 183. **pe . . . one** : see 1/3 note.

11. **into . . . ierusalem** : 'in castellum quod contra eos erat ·i· in hierusalem,' Comestor, Hist. Euang. ch. cxvij. **wig** : OE. **wieg**, steed ; a poetical word, but here apparently in a depreciatory sense.

12. **noðer stede** &c. : comp. 'Ne he nedde stede · ne no palefray. | Ac

rod vppe on asse · as ich eu segge may,' OEM 39/67; OEH i. 5/19; 'Brought þai noþer on hir bak | Na sadel ne panel,' CM 14981.

15. **on his dede . . . on his speche**, by means of act and word: *on* is more energetic than *in*: comp. 'herte biðencheð þ hie seggen shal on songe,' OEH ii. 211/17. But **on oðre stede** is a purely local use.

16. **Discite** &c.: S. Matt. xi. 29.

18. **sanderbodes**, messengers; apparently the word occurs only here, but sandermen is in AS. Chron. 1123 A.D. A combination of **sand**, *gen.* **sande**, message, and **boda**, messenger: *r* may be due to Scandinavian influence (NED viii. 91), or it is possibly analogous to that in provender, OF. provende, lavender, Anglo-French lavendre, from LL. lavendula. **pideward**, on the way there; see 91/93 note.

21. **hihten**, adorned; comp. 'alle þos wennen huihten his wurðshipe,' OEH ii. 195/32, 71/24.

22. **oðre**: *adj. pl. d.*, practically adverbial, besides.

25. **Occurrunt** &c.: Antiphon sung in procession on Palm Sunday, according to Old English and Roman uses: see York Breviary i. 367.

27. **understoden**, received: for the earlier **underfōn** in this sense, comp. 6/37, 11/187, 197, 207.

28. **remden lude stefne**, cried with a loud voice; *stefne* is dative; comp. 'and on cleopie agan ⁊ loudere stemne,' L, MS. O 20789.

29. **Osanna** &c.: S. Matt. xxi. 9.

31. **Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta prosternebant** in via, one of the Antiphons sung at the blessing of the palms in the Old English and Roman uses: see York Missal, i. 85, Breviary i. 367. *v. p.* are incorrectly expanded in the text, through a too trustful following of Morris.

35. **heg settle**. OE. **setl**, **stōl** continue in regular use for the official seat of king and dignitary till the middle of the thirteenth century, when they are displaced by F. *trone*.

37. **fro chirche to chirche**. The Palm Sunday procession at Mattins issued from the west door of the church, visited the stations in the churchyard and re-entered the church by the same door. In so doing it was mystically said to leave Bethphage and return to Jerusalem. The scribe has misplaced **ȝeft agen**; it should come before **to chirche**. **ȝ bitocneð**: parataxis; see 81/82.

40. **domus bucce**: 'Bethphage autem domus buccae . . dicitur . . quia multos ante passionem suam docendo [Saluator] donis pie confessionis & obedientiae spiritalis impleuit,' Beda, Op. vii. 183; 'Venit Bethphage quod dicitur domus maxillae, dum adveniente morte salvandus quisque peccata sua aperit in confessione,' Godefridi Homiliae in Migne, P. L.

clxxiv. 22: Hildebert, id. clxxi. 500; 'Betfage, se tun, getacnaþ þa halgan cyricean on þære biþ sunge ƿ halige geryne, 7 men þær heora synna andettaþ, 7 him þær forgifnesse biddaþ,' BH 77/14.

45. **þet . . . inne**, in which: see 1/3. **noten**, employ (with advantage) the functions of their mouths: comp. 'here wiken hem binimeð. þe hie ar noteden,' OEH ii. 183/1: it takes an *acc.* here and at 87/165, but 'noten of,' 191/488: OE. **notian** often governs *gen.* of the thing enjoyed.

48. **uisio pacis**: so Beda, vii. 262; Ælfric, Hom. Cath. ii. 66. **soð**, 1. 50, is a mistake for **sihð**, repeated OEH ii. 53/20; it really translates *pax uera*; see 116/140. Comp. 'sibbe gesihð Sancta Hierusalem,' Crist, 50; BH 81/1.

52. **of þe calice**. At this period, the celebrant after the consecration of the elements kissed the chalice and then the Deacon, with the words 'Habete vinculum pacis et caritatis'; the Deacon next passed on the kiss to the assistants and so to the congregation. See York Missal, i. 198, Zaccaria, Bibliotheca Ritualis, ii². cxlviii–cli. Ælfric calls the messe *cos*, 'sibbe coss,' Lives, ii. 46/699.

53. **þe folc sent**, dismisses the people, with the words 'Ite, missa est': a sufficient sense, but interposing awkwardly between 'cos' and 'þer mide.' Probably *folc* should be taken as dative, or *folke* should be read; and sends it to the people and thereby betokens &c.

56. **7 eft** should come before **of ierusalem**: the church is Bethphage when the procession goes out of it, but Jerusalem when it returns to it: see 83/37.

60–72. The interpretation is peculiar; in some points it resembles that of Hildebert of Tours, Migne, P. L. clxxi. 501.

62. **rideð**, clear the road; OWS cand. *ryðja*; elsewhere in this text *ruden*; comp. 'ich sende min engel biforen þine nebbe þe shal ruden þine weie tofore þe,' OEH ii. 133/27. **makeð**—**heorte**: comp. 'ut Christo iter ad mentem parent,' Hildebert.

64. **forbisne**: 'virtutum suarum exemplis,' Beda, vii. 263.

65. **þo þe leren**: 'Hi sunt qui a sanctis patribus bona sumentes exempla, aliis etiam normam [bene] vivendi proponunt,' Hildebert.

68. **quemende**: see 81/85 note.

69. **hereworde**: see 56/37.

72. **unwillliche** is an adverb; OE. **unwilsumlice**; comp. 40/181 note.

73. **semeð**, burdeneth, as at 4/18.

74. **fuldon**, fulfil: comp. 'dædbetan and þæt fuldon on þæs abbodes hæse,' Benedictine Rule, ed. Schröer, 70/21. As it appears to be always

transitive, the following *hie*, *them*, must be taken as its object, and *shulen* is without subject expressed.

79. *Read secla.*

82. *Hec &c.*: Ps. cxvii. 24: the Graduale in Old English and Roman uses for Easter Day.

84. *ponked wurðe him*, lit. be it thanked to him: comp. 'we ahte . . . *ponkien hit ure drihten*,' OEH i. 5/29. *þe . . . offe*, concerning which.

85. *Ecce &c.*: St. Matt. xxii. 4 adapted.

87. Morris alters *þe* to *we*, but the article is necessary, and the subject is often omitted by this writer; see 83/10, 85/105, 87/152, and 6/18 note.

88. *bord bugen*: so at 85/102, but 'to *godes bord bugen*,' 88/188: *bugen*, to bend one's steps, to go, is elsewhere used with a preposition; either to has dropped out in these two isolated instances, or there has been some confusion in the writer's mind with *begin*.

89. *Probet &c.*: 1 Cor. xi. 28.

91. *wurðe þer to*, fit for that: *þer to* replaces an older genitive, *ðæs wierþe*; comp. 86/142.

94. *Erest*, firstly: *oðer siðe*, 95, secondly; *þridde siðe*, 99, thirdly.

95. *wissinge*, instruction, guidance; i.e. penance.

96. *acxen*: referring to the ceremony of giving the ashes to the congregation on Ash Wednesday. *bilien*, pertain, are associated with: comp. 'þe six werkes of þesternesne · þe bilige to nihte,' OEH ii. 15/3.

97. *saccum*, a penitential garment of sackcloth, worn over other clothes, thus differing from *cilicium*, hair-shirt; S. Jerome, Ep. 44. The writer has omitted after it, *plagas*, the 'smerte dintes' of the next line, 'disciplines,' 62/35.

99. *siðes*: read *siðe*; the superfluous *s* is due to the initial of the next word: in *liðe*, 100, final *þ* has been lost before initial *þ*: *swiðere*, 119, owes its final *re* to the beginning of the next word. *shereðuresdaies*, of Maundy Thursday: corresponds to OWScand. *skríþórsdagr*, purification Thursday, but was wrongly connected with ME. *scheren*, to shear. The form in *sh* is native or naturalized; see Björkman, 125, and comp. 99/73.

100. *sinne bendes*: see 81/67 note. *crepe to cruche*, creeping to the cross; the adoration of the cross on Good Friday; Rock, Church of our Fathers, iii². 88.

101. *lange fridaí*: *langa frígedæg*, an ancient name for Good Friday, so called from its fast and observances. *gon—fantston*, appears to refer to some procession of the laity at the blessing of the font on Easter Eve, perhaps local, as it is not noticed in the service books. Brand, Popular Antiquities (Bohn), i. 158, quotes from Googe's translation of the Regnum

Papisticum of Kirchmayer, 'Nine times about the font they marche, and on the Saintes do call; | Then still at length they stande, and straight the priest begins withall.' Of course there was a procession of the clergy to and from the font, Frere, Use of Sarum, i. 149. In 'ȝor-of in esterne be we wumen | Seuene siȝes to funt cumen,' GE 3289, the reference is to the procession made to the font every afternoon in Easter week. The font is the symbol of the sepulchre because, as Durandus, vi. De Sabbato sancto, says, 'fit hac die baptismus, quia in eo consepulti sumus christo.' It is noteworthy that nothing is said of the Easter Sepulchre, which was probably not instituted before the fourteenth century.

103. **tweire kinne**, of two kinds; OE. *twēgra cynna*, but *kinnes*, 104, 105 is a *sing. gen.* in form, with plural meaning: see 81/80 note.

105. **do**: comp. 122/185 note.

106. **faire him**, becoming to him; 'bicumeliche,' 86/116.

107. **underfo**, used absolutely, like mod. receive, to communicate: comp. the full expression 86/117. **himseluen to hele**, to his spiritual well-being. **here oðer**, one of these two; but **eiðer þese wedes**, 86/126 can only mean, at this date, each, i.e. both of these garments. If **eiðer** be a mistake for **oðer**, then **þis wede** must be read in l. 125.

109. **sinbote** is explained by ll. 119, 120.

112. **crisme cloð**: in the service books 'chrismalis pannus, vestis': 'crismale seu vestis candida que super caput baptizati imponitur significat secundum rabanum interioris et exterioris hominis castitatem et innocentiam,' Durandus vi. The chrism cloth was put on with the words, 'Accipe vestem candidam, sanctam et immaculatam,' after the sign of the cross had been made with chrism on the head of the person baptized.

115. **for þat**, by reason of which, through which.

116. **iuēle** is predicative dative, equivalent to the usual construction with **to**, as in l. 125. It is OE.; comp. 'heora nan him ne mehte bion nane gode,' Orosius 282/18.

118. **embe**: usually **þe . . . embe**, about which.

120. **he**: for the personal pronoun used instead of a repeated relative, comp. 'hem,' 87/156; 'He ȝurh hwam kinges rixit, ȝ alle mihtes . . . of him cumeð, he lai bewunden on fiteres,' VV 49/27. **bet ȝ milce bit**, amends and prays for mercy; comp. 36/126, 44/238. Read **seiende**.

121. **Miserere &c.**: Ecclus. xxx. 24.

123. **likeð . . . selðe**, is pleased at the prosperity of all of them.

126. **soule, lichame**, datives; comp. 'himseluen to hele,' 85/107; 176/24 note.

129. **Amice &c.**: S. Matt. xxii. 12.

132. 'Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus : exultemus et laetemur in ea,' Ps. cxvii. 24.

135. *oðerluker*, in quite another fashion : a comparative adverb : see 125/270.

140. for *þi* . . . for *þ* *þe*, for this reason . . . because.

142. *þer togenes*, for its coming, to meet it, as in 'biþ hit eft him togeanes gehealden on þæm heofonlican goldhorde,' BH 53/13. Comp. 'þer to,' 85/91, and for a similar pregnant use of 'afterward,' 77/63 ; 'hamward,' 91/93.

143. Holthausen in ES xv. 307 emends this sentence by omitting *ȝ* before *bringe* and before *þus* and changing *bringe*, *leue* into *bringeð*, *leueð*. It might be better to omit *þe* and retain *ȝ* before *bringeð*, with *leued* and omission of *ȝ* before *þus*.

145. *Accipite* &c. : from the Missal, with substitution of *commedite* (S. Matt. xxvi. 26) for *manducate* (1 Cor. xi. 24), as in all the English service books. After *novi*, add 'et aeterni testamenti, misterium fidei.'

148. *to lesende* : see 81/85 note.

149. *Caro* &c. : S. John vi. 56 : the quotation in l. 151 is from verse 54 of the same.

152. Morris says *muge* = *muge ge* : probably the latter word has dropped out.

154. *ouelete*, oblation, the thing offered, here the wafer to be consecrated. OE. *oflāte*, *oflēte* from L. *oblata*.

156. *ȝ* . . . *hem*, and which : comp. 86/120. *swimesse*, lit. silent mass, explained in Specimens as a mass without music ; in Bradley-Strat. as a low mass. But the words of consecration were used in masses low and high ; the meaning is the Canon of the Mass, containing the words of consecration, which was said *secreto*, and was often called *secretum*, as by Durandus, 'secretum silentium in quo & misse canon devote dicitur.' Comp. 'Si comenca puis le secrei | De la messe, par bone fei ; | Et quant li secrez ert finez, | Est danz Theophle auant alez ; | Recut le dulz cors de Jhesu,' Adgar, Mary Legends, 113/1041 ; and see the Lay Folks Mass Book, pp. 267, 274. A similar compound is 'swidages,' OEH ii. 101/15, the still days, the last three days of Holy Week, which is called 'swiwiki' in MS. Cleopatra of AR 70/7.

157. Comp. 'colorem et saporem panis voluit [Christus] remanere, et sub illa specie veram corporis Christi substantiam latere,' Hildebert, 535.

159-61. The words in brackets were supplied in Specimens, with translation, 'Greater might doth our Saviour than the holy words which he spake by his (the priest's) mouth, when he giveth mankind his flesh and

his blood,' an explanation unsatisfactory in substance, for the 'might' is not 'greater,' but the same. Besides 'his' must refer to helende, and the earliest certain example of man's kind = mankind 'þar he for mans kind wil dei,' CM 14909, is more than a century later; the word in this text is 'mankin,' 86/136 (**mann cynn**), 'manken,' OEH ii. 19/14. **mannes cuinde** cannot mean anything but man's nature, humanitas, like Orm's 'mennisske kinde,' Dedic. 218, 'mennisscnessess kinde,' id. 15687. Omitting the supplement the meaning appears to be, Our Saviour works a greater miracle than if the words of consecration were literally fulfilled, since he gives us in the sacrament his perfect human nature.

161. **ȝ Napeles** &c., and moreover when a man eats and drinks in the ordinary way, the bread he eats and the drink he drinks do change into flesh and blood by the natural working of the body, wherefore &c.

163. **swo doð**: comp. 6/18 note.

166. **estene dai**, day of dainties, with a word-play on **estre** as in **hu sel = wu god**: **sæl**, happiness.

169. **sleðrende**, falling gently, like dew or rain. **Pluit** &c.: Ps. lxxvii. 24, 25.

172. **biliue**, food: comp. 'bileue,' 87/149.

173. **Manna** &c.: 'filii Israel dixerunt ad invicem: Manhu? quod significat: Quid est hoc?' Exod. xvi. 15.

177. **clensende**: see 81/85 note.

178. **michele sinnes**, mortal sins.

179. 'Qui enim manducat et bibit indigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit: non diiudicans corpus Domini,' 1 Cor. xi. 29.

182. **agen**, with reference to; an early example of this use: comp. OF. **devers**.

189. **driste**, for **drihte**, Lord, as at 35/79. For **st** = **ht**, see KH 249 note. But Morris reads **Ariste**, resurrection.

XIII. VICES AND VIRTUES

Manuscript: Stowe 34, British Museum: of the early part of the thirteenth century; written on vellum, 223 × 160 mm., by three scribes, with numerous corrections by at least three other hands. It belonged once to William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, and to Thomas Astley. See Catalogue of the Stowe MSS., and Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Stowe MSS., no. 240.

Facsimile: Palæographical Society; Second Series, plate 92.

Edition: Holthausen, F., Part i. Text and Translation. E. E. T. S., O. S. 89.

Literature: Schmidt, G. Ueber die Sprache und Heimat der 'Vices and Virtues.' Leipzig, 1899; Philippsen, M. Die Deklination in den 'Vices and Virtues.' Kieler Diss. Erlangen, 1911; Heuser, W., Anglia, xvii. 88.

Phonology: Oral *a* and *ā* before nasals is *a*, wascen 82, swanc 4; *a* before lengthening groups wavers between *a* (9 times) and *o* (5), lande 16, londe 8, understanden 34, understonden 138. *æ* is regularly *a*, after 42, cwað 94, was 3; wrecche 60, 116 comes from *wrecca*. *e* is generally *e*, but umlaut *e* before nasal is *a* (representing *æ*, Bülbring, § 171) in namden 117, inamde 120, sant 127, sante 84, wante 88; before lengthening groups *e*, lengðe 45, but *a* as above in andin 122, andeden 123, wand 93, and *æ* in wænden 46, strænges 28; *a*, *æ* for umlaut *e* before nasals is characteristic of the South-Eastern area (Morsbach, § 108); *i* for *e* in ðingþ 41 is due to confusion of *þencan* and *þyncan*; hwilliche 112 descends from *hwile*. *i* is *i*, bidde 52, finde 83; cherche 9 is *cyrice*, ferst 91, ðessere 22 (3) come from forms with *y*. *o* is *o*, dropes 12, borde 15; ðane 3 is LWS. *ðane*. *u* is *u*, cumeð 26, swunken 146, grundwall 53, but beswonken 136, forðer 45 (late North. *forþor*). *y* is *e*, euele 26, kennes 13, þelliche 36; *mycel* is *muchele* 4 (3), beside *michele* 21 (8); *þincþ* 47, 63, *þingþ* 70 represent *þyncþ*.

The representation of *ā* wavers between *a* and *o*, the former predominating, lare 20 (3), lore 57 (3), swa 5, swo 12, wat 136, wot 137; before two consonants, annesse 115, onnesse 148, tacneð 79, tocnæð 130. *æ*₁ is regularly *a*, ani 35 (5), sade 75 (8); before two consonants, alche 139, aure 125 (3), but *æ* in ær 4, 47, bræde 44, mæst 29, næure 31, tæche 54, *ea* in sea 22; ilke 130 descends from *yle*. *æ*₂ is also *a*, dade 92, 98, rad 19, 42, ware 129; before two consonants, blastes 27, latst 48, but *æ* in ræd 44, wære 60, and *e* in leten 56, nahwer 83. *ē* is *e*, bene 95, feden 116, before two consonants, dest 36, misferde 125, but *ie* in hie 36, hier 144, and more frequently in other places, bienes VV 65/3, diest id. 41/2; *o* in doð 33, 42 is from the plural. *ī* is *i*, liue 8, wisdom 32, but bleðeliche 66 beside bliðeliche 63. *ō* is *o*, don 123, godnesse 91. *ū* is *u*, trukede 120, dust 70. *ȳ* is *e* in screden 116, *ie* in inȳied 80, 91 (*ingehȳd*), *i* in litle 12, litel 42, 91, little 136.

ea before *r* + cons. is *a*, harm VV 29/10; before lengthening groups *a*, harde 31, warnin 27 (4), warð 87, but middeneard 6; the *i*-umlaut is *e*, wernde 83. *ea* before *l* + cons. is also *a*, all 6 (14), grundwall 53, halt 40, (heald), scalt 38, but *ea* survives in ealde 128, healden 57 (4), before a lengthening group; the *i*-umlaut is *e*, eldest 118. *eo* before *r* + cons. is *e*, berȳen 140, berȳin 138, ferr 45, herte 34, 82, but *ie* in hierte 31, 98, liernin

64, 138, *a* in *harkeð* 66 (**heorcian*); *eo* survives in *weorc* VV 95/3 &c.; the *i*-umlaut is *ie*, *hierdes* 1, but *worð* 133. *eo* before *l* + cons. is seen in *seluen* 20. *eo*, *u*-umlaut of *e*, is *e* in *heuene* 24, *heuneriches* 140; after *w*, *o* in *woreld* 2 (5). *eo*, *u*- and *ā*-umlaut of *i*, is *e*, *icleped* 58, *leðebeize* 15, *seððen* 5, the datives *ðese* 60, 143, 144, *ðesen* 119, 120, *ðese* 53, 140; *heora* is here 15, 30, and *hire* 14: *niðer* 30 is without umlaut. *ea* after palatals is *a*, *scal* 79: *ie* after *g* is *i*, *ʒif* 90, 101, *ʒiuen* 40, *ʒiue* 74, *e* in *beʒete* 125, *forʒete* 60, *eī* (for *ie*) in *forʒeit* 149. *ʒef* is *ʒif* 32, *gif* 102. *eo* after *sc* is *u*, *scule* 8, *sculen* 1, 74, but *scolde* 129. *eom* is *am* 59, *heom*, *hem* 112.

ēa is *ea*, *breade* 100, *dead* 87, *forleas* 7, *teares* 73 (8), but *bred* 77, *ec* 2: *aʒean* 93 is *ongēan*: the *i*-umlaut has *e*, *ʒemeleastes* 13, *hersum* 15, *her-sumnesse* 115 (2), *iherde* 95 (5), *netene* 130, but *unbiliefde* 33. *ēo* is mostly *ie*, *bien* 12 &c., *dier* 129, *dieuliche* 11, *lief* 3, *ouerʒiede* 6, *ðies* 79, 91, but *e* in *be* 39, *between* 112, *deules* 26, *lef* 88, *twene* 139; *eo* is rare, *beon* VV 121/10. The *i*-umlaut is *e*, *fiftene* 95, *inede* 74, *steren* 9, and *ie*, *niede* 92 (4), *niedfulle* 74, *stieren* 1, *stierde* 5. Palatal *ēa* after *g* is seen in *ʒear* 95, *bīʒeates* 14 (*begēat*, Napier, OE. Glosses 2698); after *sc* in *scadwisnesse* 121. *ʒiet* is *ʒiet* 90, 95.

a + *g* is *aʒ*, *laʒe* 128, 131, *forðdragen* 97. *æ* + *g* is *aī*, *faire* 11, *mai* 34, *sai* 94 (*sæge*), *tail* 129, but *daiʒ* 77. *e* + *g* is *eī*, *aweīward* 48, *seið* 17 (*segeð*), but *iseʒen* 119 (*gesegen*). *o* + *g* is seen in *ibroiden* 28; *o* + *ht* in *pohtes* 25, 30. *u* + *g* is *uʒ*, *muʒe* 97, *muge* 125. *ā* + *g*, *h* are seen in *wauʒe* 89, *auh* 17; *ā*₁ + *ht* in *betaht* 7; *ā*₂ + *g* in *ʒeseize* 124; *ē* + *g* in *wreizede* 83; *ī* + *g* in *stieð* 24; *ō* + *g* in *bowes* 44, *ō* + *ht* in *besouhte* 84, *ʒepouht* 46, *pohten* 77; *ea* + *h* in *iseih* 94; *ie* + *ht* in *miht* 98, *mihte* 5 &c., *mihtes* 46, *niht* 77; *eo* + *ht* in *riht* 146; *ēa* + *h* in *peih* 105; *ie* + *ht* in *ieiht* 96; *ā* + *w* in *saule* 10 (6), *sawle* 80: *naht* 12, 87, 126 is *nāht*. *nielnesse* 30 represents *neowolnes*. *ēa* + *w* gives *earw*, *feawe* 40, *sceawin* 25 (3), *unðeawes* 55; *ēo* + *w*, *ew*, *ʒew* 20, *ʒewer* 19, *ʒewere* 20, *newe* 131, *īe* + *w*, *ew*, *trewe* 39.

a without stress is levelled to *e* in *andswereð* 51, *middeneard* 6; *o* to *e* in *forðer* 45, *niðer* 30, *sikere* 12, *sikerliker* 98, *sikerest* 113, *te* 28, 42; *u* to *e* in *leðebeize* 15. *e* is lost in *eule* 81, *heuneriches* 140, *o* in *nielnesse* 30, *e* is added in *ofte* 60. *on* is *a* 149.

For *w* the rune is used. *ll* is simplified in *dieuliche* 11. *n* is doubled in *pennken* 49: for *almihtin* 143, see 79/17 note. Initial *f* is *f*, *ferr* 45, *f* between vowels or vowel and liquid is *u*, *euele* 26, *aure* 125, otherwise *f*, *unbeliefde* 33. *d* is doubled in *godd* 7, *goddspell* 118, lost in *finst* 40; *dd* is simplified in *amidewarde* 70; for *d*, *t* appears in *halt* 40. Initial *p* becomes *t* after *t* in *tin* 40, *tu* 37, 47, 87; for *p*, *d* is written in *seid* 21, 67,

speked 73, tobrekd 35, wid 71. *s* is represented by *sc* in bledscin 147: *sc* is regularly *sc* [š], iscop 52, scal 79, sceawin 25, scipes 14, scolde 129, scule 8, wascen 82. The stop *c* is written *k* before *e*, *i*, lokin 1, munekes 38 and before another consonant, forsakþ 20, tobrekð 32, but tobrecþ 36, *c* in other positions, cumen 113, exceptionally *ch* in ilche 52 (*ilca*), arche 5, 9 (if not French), *g* in ðingþ 41 (4): *ic* is *ic* and *ich*. *č* is *ch*, alche 139, beseche 58, ilich 69, iswinch 48, michel 122 &c., tæche 54, þelliche 36, þench 89, þenchinde 59, but exceptionally *k* in beseke 106, beseken 97, ilke 130 (*yle* confused with *ilca*): *čč* is *cch*, wacchen 114, wrecche 60, 116. *cg* is *gg*, segge 99, 109; *cs*, *x*, rixin, rixið 110; *cw*, *cw*, becweð 86, cwað 94, cwide 86. Palatal *g* is *ɟ*, initially, biʒeates 14, ʒemeleastes 13, but Gif 102 (with capital letter); medially, maniʒe 4 (4), heriʒen 147 (3), wuniʒeð 15, 18, muʒe 97, VV 3/18, 73/17 &c., but muge 125. The prefix *ge-* is often retained, ʒewriten 23, ʒeþanc 57, ʒeswinkes 145, beside iþanke 66, iswinch 48, and *ɟ* is added in ʒew 20, ʒewer 19, ʒewere 20, ouerʒiede 6. For the stop, *g* is used initially, grundwall 53, agunnen 123, ʒegunnen 53, but iʒunnen 47, medially, bringen 8, but the palatal symbol is used for the spirant after *l*, *r*, berʒin 138 &c., folʒin 44 (3), foriswelʒen 39: *myr(i)gþ* is represented by merhče 25, merchþe 140. *g* is lost in heuiliche 48. For *h*, *ɟ* is written in þurʒwunie 131, ʒurʒwuneð 133; *h* is added in Hvte 143, lost in þurwuneð 128, inʒied 80, 91 (inʒehied VV 141/1): initial *hl* is preserved in hlesteð 17 (3), but lhesten 50, lesten 44.

Accidence: Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. *Sing. g.* -es, priestes 43, kennes 13, scipes 14: *d.* -e, hlauerde 143, netene 130, but daiʒ 151 (comp. OE. on *dæg*), hlauerd 52, ræd 44, sal 111 (OE. *æt sumum sǣle*, on *sumne sǣl*) are without inflection. *Pl. n. a.* of masculines, -es, hierdes 1, bowes 44, but wintre 4 (*wintru*); neuters are *n.* dier 129, *a.* ʒear 95, þing 137, bede 114 (*gebēdu*): *pl. g.* ʒinge 71; *d.* -es, blastes 27, biʒeates 14, ʒeswinkes 145, wordes 66. Of the *fem.* nouns of the strong declension, forbisne 66, mihte 126, niede 151, sawle 51 (3), scadwisnesse 121 have added *e* in the *s. n.* and bene 95, mihte 106, niede 92, 150 in the *s. a.* *Gen.* -c, herte 34: *d.* -e, bræde 44, cherche 9, but sea 22, worlde 2 (4). *Pl. g.* saule 13; *d.* ʒemeleastes 13, mihtes 46 (5); *a.* dade 92, 98, mihtes 69. Nouns of the weak declension are *s. d.* hope 28, ileaue 28; *a.* lichame 10; *pl. n.* dropes 12; *d.* wisen 117; *a.* wacchen 114. The minor declensions are represented by mann *s. n.* 33, mannes *s. g.* 145, manne *s. d.* 33, stieresmanne 15, man *s. a.* 127, stieresmann 3, manne 124, stieresmenn *pl. n.* 8, mannen *pl. d.* 38, stieresmannen 18, 21, stieresman[nen] 23; moder *s. n.* 109; faderes *pl. n.* 109, 111.

Remnants of the strong declension of adjectives in the sing. are halizes

g. m. 145, *faste d. m.*, *rihte* 28, *dieuliche d. f.* 11, *mannliche* 10, *michele* 21, 96, *faire d. neut.* 11. The weak declension in the sing. has -e throughout, *unware n. m.* 41, *unwise* 33, *eule n. f.* 81, *gode* 80, *lieue* 136, *muchele d. m.* 5, *wilde* 6, *bitere d. f.* 22, *ealde* 128, *soðe* 29, &c., *gode a. m.* 3, 35, *michele a. f.* 25, *little a. neut.* 136; exceptions are *hali* 64, 117, 124, *muchel* 48. The *pl.* strong and weak has -e in all cases, *sikere n.* 12, *halie d.* 140, *euele a.* 26, but *hali n.* 108, 111, *hersum* 15, *hali d.* 46, 53 are uninflected; comparatives and superlatives are *gladdere s. n. f.* 98, *eldes[t] pl. d.*, *wisest* 118, *ān* is a *n. m.* 91, *on* 118, *an f.* 66, 126, *one a. f.* 106, *nān*, *non n. f.* 71, *neut.* 103, *none d. m.* 10, 11, *f.* 72, *neut.* 32, 134. Adjectives used as nouns are *gode s. d. neut.* 72, 134, *arst s. a. neut.* 71, *betste* 89, *god* 38, 40, *lasse* 43, *litel* 42, *gode pl. d.* 150.

The personal pronouns are *ic* 45 (8), *ich* 46 (8), *me*, *we*, *us*, *þu*, (ðat) *tu* 37, 58, (scalt) *tu* 87, ðe, *þew* 20. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n.* *he m.* 4, 7, ? *hie* 45, *hie f.* 108, 109, *he* 110, *hit neut.* 29; *d. him m.* 7, *hire f.* 110; *a. hie m.* 36, *f.* 5, *his* 127; *pl. n.* *hie* 2; *d. hem* 56; *a. hes* 50, 54, 56. Reflexives are *me seluen* 19, *hem pl. d.* 112: possessives, *min* 57, 79, *mine pl.* 76, 79, *þin* 98, ðine *s. d. f.* 57, 90, 91, *s. a. m.* 95, *s. a. f.* 95, *tin s. a. neut.* 40, *þi* 96, *ure* 23, *þewer* 19, *þewere* 20, *his* 82, *is* 93, *hire* 81, *here pl.* 30, *hire* 14. The definite article is *s. n.* ðe *m.* 17, *f.* 79, 80, *se* 81, *þat neut.* 80, 117; *d. ðan m.* 33, 52, ðe 5 (6), ðo 69, ðare *f.* 29 (8), ðe 9, 31, ða 147, ðe *neut.* 64, ðo 100; *a. ðane m.* 3, 53, ðanne 127, ðe *f.* 25, 39, ða 4, 9, *þat neut.* 89, ðe *instr.* 98: *pl. n.* ða 8, ðe 1; *d. ðan* 74, ða 21 (3), ðe 46 (4); *a. ðe* 26, ðo 31. The article is used as pronoun antecedent to relatives, *se ðe*, *he who* 19, 65, ðo ðe, *those who* 1, 2: ðat is demonstrative 17, 33, 64, 80, 102, 121. The compound demonstrative is *s. n.* *þies f.* 91, 79 (with *neut.* *bedd*); *d. ðese m.* 60, 144, ðessere *f.* 22, 71, 131, ðese *neut.* 143; *a. ðese f.* 58, 124, *þis neut.* 20, 136: *pl. n.* *þese* 73; *d. ðesen* 119, 120, *þese* 38, 53, 140; *a. ðese* 103. The relatives are ðe 1, ðat 37, 60, *what*, *se ðe* 148, *who*; ðe 4 means with which. Interrogatives are *hwam s. d. f.* 71, *hwat* 17, 36, *hwilliche* 112: *ilca* is *ilche s. d. m.* 52, *pyllie*, *þelliche pl. d.* 36. Indefinites are *se ðe* 125, *whoso*; *se . . . he* 132; *hwat hwat* 134, *whatever*, *me* 113, *man* 104, 110; *feawe pl.* 40; *sum s. n.* 113, *sume s. d. m.* 111, *pl. a.* 97; *opres s. g. neut.* 77, *oðer s. d. f.* 61, *oðre pl. d.* 108; *ilke s. n. m.* 130, *alche s. d. m.* 139; *auriche s. d. neut.* 130; *ani* 35 &c.; *manizes s. g. m.* 145, *neut.* 12, *manies* 117, *maniþe pl. n.* 12, *manie* 119, *maniþe pl. d.* 55, *pl. a.* 4, 119; *all s. a. m.* 6, *f.* 39, *al s. a. neut.* 37, *alle pl. n.* 14, 129, *alre pl. g.* 71, *alle pl. d.* 14 (7), *pl. a.* 137.

Infinitives of the second weak conjugation, except *watrien* 79, end in -in, *andin* 122, *folþin* 44 (3), *rixin* 110, all others in -en, -ien, *berþen* 140,

beseken 97, herien 143, except berzin 138, herborzin 115. The *dat. inf.* is not inflected; to laten, to libben 88, to speken, to þennken 49 are virtually nominatives. Presents are *s. 1.* beseche 58, habbe 56; 2. hauest 53, lokest 47, syncopated are dalst 37, finst 40, hafst 37, latst 48; 3. answerēð 51, haueð 45, rixeð 148, tocneð 130, rixið 110, and twelve others, but syncopated forms predominate, hafð 35, sant 127, and nineteen others; *pl. 1.* fareð 21, habbeð 119 (3), speked 73, finde we 83; 3. cumeð 26, stieð 24, wunižeð 15, 18, exceptionally folgið 3, seggeð 109, stikð 30; *subjunctive s. 2.* beseke 106, forðbringe 54, heriže 149, sette 59, tæche 54, þanke 150; 3. bezete 125, þurzwunie 131; *pl. 1.* bledscin, herižen 147, hvte we 143, segge we 99, speken 71, þankin 147; 3. forliesen 9, lokien 14, tobreken 27: *imperative s. 2.* becweð 86, sai 94, wand 93; halt 40 for hald; *pl. 2.* hlesteð 17. Past of Strong Verbs: *Ia. s. 3.* cwað 94, iseih 94; *pl. 1.* ȝeseiže we 124: *Ic. s. 3.* swanc 4, warð 87, worð 133; *pl. 3.* agunnen 123, swunken 146: *III. s. 3.* forleas 7: *IV. s. 3.* iscop 52: *V. s. 3.* hatte 106, 126. Participles present: *Ia.* spekinde 112; past: *Ia.* iseȝen 119: *Ic.* agunnen 133, ȝegunnen 53, iȝunnen 47, beswonken 136, ȝeborȝen 119, iborȝen 133, ibroiden 28: *II.* ȝeswiken 57, ȝewriten 23: *V.* ihoten 29, 128. Past of Weak Verbs: *s. 1.* hadde 46, 47; 3. besouhte 84, ȝeherde 93, hadde 7, sade 75 &c.; *pl. 3.* andeden 123, namden 117. Participles present: liuiende 16, þenchinde 59, wuniende 60; past: betaht 7, ȝeluuēd 90, icleped 58, ihafd 56, ieiht 96 (*geīecan*), unbiliefde *adj. s. d.* 33. Minor Groups: wat *pr. s.* 136, wot 137, witen *pr. pl.* 41, wite 2. *pr. imp.* 73; auh *pr. s.* 17; scal 1. *pr. s.* 79, scalt 2. *pr. s.* 38 (3), sculen *pr. pl.* 1, 74, scule 8, scolde *pt. s.* 129; miht 2. *pr. s.* 98, 139, mai *pr. s.* 34 (3), muȝe 2. *pr. s. subj.* 97, muȝe *pr. s. subj.* 125, mihte *pt. s.* 5 (3), mihten *pt. pl.* 13 (3), mihtin 122; bien *inf.* 72, 87, am 1. *pr. s.* 59, is *pr. s.* 23, nis 103, bieð *pr. pl.* 2 (4), bien *pr. pl. subj.* 12, 15, 105, be 2. *imp. s.* 39, was *pt. s.* 3, waren *pt. pl.* 77, wære *pt. s. subj.* 60, ware 129; wile 1. *pr. s.* 46 (3), wilt 2. *pr. s.* 63 (3), wile 37 (*subj. form*), wile *pr. s.* 31 (4), willeð *pr. pl.* 16, wile 40 (*for willen, subj. form*), woldest 2. *pt. s.* 49, wolde *pt. s.* 82, wolden *pt. pl.* 39; don *inf.* 123, dest 2. *pr. s.* 36, doð *pr. s.* 33, dede *pt. s.* 42, deden *pt. pl.* 121, idon *pp.* 45, 90, don 134.

Dialect: Here, as in the Trinity College manuscript of the Poema Morale, a scribe of the northern border of the South-Eastern area has turned a composition in the dialect of the Middle or Western South into his own, with occasional retention of Southern forms. After a considerable interval his version was copied with little alteration by the three scribes of the Stowe manuscript, for the differences between the sections are mainly graphic and only in a minor degree dialectal. As a consequence, the language of VV is older than that current at the time when the

copy was made; in some respects older than that of MS. T of the PM., as in its representation of *ā*, *ā + g*, *ā + w*. Occasional lapses into OE. forms at the beginning of the manuscript, such as *acwellan inf.* VV 9/19, *daȝas* 27/22 (which would have been in OE. *dagum*), have been thought to point to an OE. original, but they are more probably due to a scribe acquainted with the older native literature.

Vocabulary: Scandinavian are *hahte* 21, *skele* 121, *skelewisnesse* 107; an OE. borrowing is *stieresmann* 3: French are *carite* 29, *cariteð* 58, *hert* 35, *prophete* 75, *richeise* 88, (*stan*) *roches* 31, *seruise* 130, and probably *arche* 5: *offrin* 129 is a pre-Conquest Latin borrowing.

Introduction: The book is imperfect at the beginning, but probably little has been lost. It opens in the middle of a confession by a sinful soul of a formidable array of sins, to which Reason ('Scadwisnesse,' 90/62, 'Ratio,' 92/135) replies by a series of discourses on the virtues which will help the soul against its vices. The first extract, written by the first scribe, is part of this. The second piece, written by the third hand, concludes the book.

The writer speaks of his work as a compilation from many authors (93/144). The framework of it may have been suggested by S. Isidore's *Synonyma de Lamentatione Animae Peccatricis*, wherein *Homo* and *Ratio* hold similar alternate discourse (*Opera* vi. 472), but nothing else. The author appears to have been acquainted with the writings of Hugh of St. Victor (*d.* 1140); he may have borrowed from him (*Opera* i. 69) the idea of the contest between Mercy and Truth (VV 113), but the influence of the older English literature dominates his style, vocabulary, and mode of thought.

1. *hierdes*, pastors: comp. 'þe selue herdes beð þe lorþewes of holi chiriche,' OEH ii. 39/12; 'se cyning ȝ se biscop sceoldan beon Cristenra folca hyrdas,' BH 45/25. *lokin*, to take care of, preserve: comp. 4/20; 'ðe sceaweres ðe lokeden ðe hali burh,' VV 103/13, 121/11; generally with *acc.*, but 'to lokin of mine wrecche lichame,' VV 17/3. ȝ = and, 89/28.

2. *ute*, in the cloister.

3. *noe*: a type of Christ; the Ark is the Church, a common idea, Ælf. Hom. Cath., ii. 60; OEH ii. 43/4; AR 142/12, but especially beloved of Hugh of St. Victor, 'Noe significat Christum sive quemlibet praelatum qui in quantum potest facit arcam, id est, aedificat Ecclesiam,' i. 226.

4. *þe*, with which: see 46/292 note.

5. *mihte* . . . *ȝemaked*, was able to complete: the last word is more adjective than participle and its syntax is primitive, comp. 'hie alle on þone

Cyning wærun feohtende oþ þæt hie hine ofslægenne hæfdon,' AS. Chron. 755 A.D.

8. **to liue 7 to londe**; a zeugma, **bringen** has its ordinary meaning with **to londe**, but **bringen to liue** means, preserve alive, without any sense of motion; comp. 'To lyue God him wolde bringe,' Gregorius, 269; similarly 'to liue go,' escape death, KH 97, where see note for other uses of the same kind.' Note the variant in 88/16.

10. **For none winde**, because of any wind.

11. **on**, in: comp. 90/66, 93/147; 'forsakene on godes awene muðe,' VV 3/2; 'wakien on godes seruise,' id. 3/27, and often in this text. See 83/15 note.

13. **kennes**: see 81/80 note.

15. **leðebeize**, pliant, ready to obey: OE. **leoðu-biege**, supple-jointed; the figurative use is noteworthy: comp. 'leðebeih 7 hersum gode,' VV 109/3: 'Soð was leðebeih,' id. 113/26.

16. **liuiende lande**, land of the living: glossed 'terra uiuentium,' VV 41/11.

18. 'Qui vos audit, me audit: et qui vos spernit, me spernit,' S. Luke x. 16.

20. **full3ewiss**: see 32/40.

21. **hahte**, danger: OWScand. **hætta**; see Björkman, 99.

22. **hoc mare magnum**: Ps. ciii. 25. **bitere**: probably from 'Porro iuxta allegoriam, mare sive stagnum quod cum suis transire desiderat [Dominus], tenebrosus amarusque seculi praesentis accipitur aestus,' Bede, ed. Giles, xi. 70 (comment on S. Luke viii. 22).

23. **Ascendunt &c.**: Ps. cvi. 26.

26. **deules blastes**: comp. 'Al so al holi chirche, þet is schip icleoped, schal ancren . . . so holde þet tes deofles puffes, þet beoð temptaciuns, hit ne ouerworþe,' AR 142/12: 'flante vento diabolicarum suggestionum,' Hugh of S. Victor, ii. 483.

28. **strænges**, strands. The expressions 'rihte ileaue,' 'soðe luue' are of common occurrence; comp. 113/49, 189/435; OEH ii. 47/25, 103/28; Orm 46/1407, and for the latter, Ælf. Lives, i. 354/247. But 'faste hope' is unusual; comp. VV 15/27, 39/1. For **hope te**, see 178/89.

31. **nexin**, soften: OE. **hnexian**: beside the ordinary **neschen**, OE. **hnescian**. This text has 'nexxin,' 145/33, 'nexce herte,' 63/26: these forms do not apparently occur anywhere else.

32. **watere of wisdom**: suggested by 'Sitierunt, et invocauerunt te (sapientiam), et data est illis aqua de petra altissima, et requies sitis de lapide duro,' Wisdom xi. 4. Comp. 'flowinde wettres of wittie wordes,' SK 687. **ðar . . . to**: see 1/3.

33. **unbiliefde**, unbelieving, as though not possessed of belief: OE. **geliefed**, believing, a believer. With 33-44, comp. OEH ii. 29/33-36.

35. The unwise man, if he have any generous purpose, makes shipwreck (on the stone-rock of the unbeliever), because the latter collides with his good will and wrecks it by using such words as these. The figure of the ship and the rock is continued in this sentence; the change of subject in 'he hert' is not uncommon.

37. **spelleres**, talkers, preachers. For **hadede**, see 4/20.

38. Holthausen puts a comma after **mannen**, making **Wile** *ðu* subjunctive, if thou wilt, which was no doubt the intention of the author.

39. **be trewe mann**: equivalent to our, Be a man!

42. **te gode**: comp. 30/21.

45. **Hie** &c. Charity has led me into talking about it at greater length than I had intended. Comp. 'Ich hadde iþoht *ðat* ic naht ne scolde writen bute of *ðese* haliþe mihtes . . . *ðanne* am ic iladd ut oðerhwile, ær ic hit ouht wite, to oðer þinge,' VV 53/15.

47. **lokest aweiward**, avertest thy face: comp. 'a-weiward his heued heold.' [&] **no**lde hit ihere,' L, MS. O 8878.

48. **heuiliche latst**, appearest to be wearied; in common phrase, look bored.

51. **me to helpe**, for my help: comp. 85/107; 176/24 note.

53. **grundwall**, foundation: comp. 'Ne mai no mann leiþen oðer grund-wall' (= fundamentum), VV 93/30.

54. **forðbringe**, bring forward, utter; perhaps here, build up on the foundation already laid.

58. **halwende**, sanctifying, purifying: OE. **hālgian**, comp. 130/78.

59. **for ðan** &c., because I am very pensive as long as I dwell in this wretched body: comp. 'Ðarhwile *ðe* *ðu* art,' VV 75/9, translating 'Dum es.' This archaic use of the particle *þe* is characteristic of the writer: so 'ðar *ðe*,' 91/109, VV 69/25; 'ðarof *ðe*,' id. 69/26; 'ðar to *ðe*,' id. 73/15; 'ðo *ðe*,' id. 49/15; 'ðat, what, in l. 60 is elsewhere 'þat *ðe*,' VV 65/16: **ðas þe** in l. 63 is for **ðas**.

61. Comp. 'for ðan 3if hit ne helpð one, hit helpð an oðer,' VV 53/18.

63. **ðas þe**, according to that, according to what you say, so then: adverbial use descended from OE. **þæs**, *gen. sing. neut.* of the article **se**, with *þe* annexed, as sometimes in OE.; so too in 'Harke nu *ðe* formeste forþysne *ðe* he mankenn sceawede *ðas þe* we cunnen understonden,' VV 49/12, where the meaning is, so far as we can understand. Otherwise **þas þe**, **þes þe** is regularly associated in ME. with a comparative adverb, as 'ðu scalt hauen *ðas te* more iswink,' VV 75/4.

65. **Qui** &c. : S. John viii. 47.

66. **on ipanke**: comp. 12/4.

67. 'Qui enim sine humilitate virtutes congregat, in ventum pulverem portat,' S. Greg. Op. i. 1461. Alcuin quotes with substitution of 'bona opera agit' for 'virtutes congregat,' Op. ii. 132.

72. **wið healden**, restrained; which gives an inadequate sense: omit wið, which is due to the preceding wið, the meaning then is, without which (humility) no other virtue can be possessed to any advantage or use. Comp. 'for ðan hie (humility) is þe swa swiðe nedfull ðat tu ne miht none oðre mihte habben ne healden . . . bute þu ðese habbe,' VV 53/21. wið-healden has the meaning, keep company with, associate with, in 'he is to luuizen ȝ to wiðhealden,' VV 101/5, 101/10.

73. **Wite ðu to soðe**, know thou for a truth; a favourite expression of the writer, but with te, not to, as at VV 41/32, 55/23, 59/11, 69/28, 'wite ðu te fulle soðe,' 65/22: comp. the variants at 70/158, 76/7, 142/73, 143/75, 91, and, 'wite ȝe hit to wisse,' SJ 27/16. ðe . . . **spekeð**: comp. 81/77.

74. **inede**, needy persons: comp. the ME. verbs ineden, neden; OE. **geniedan**.

75. **Fuerunt** &c. : Ps. xli. 4.

77. **Of — teares**, of tears of another kind; so 91/101.

78. **Lacrimis** &c. : Ps. vi. 7.

79. Comp. 'Sit animae beatae culcitra conscientiae suae puritas: sit cervical aut capitale tranquillitas: coopertorium securitas: et in hoc strato delectabiliter dormiat et feliciter requiescat,' Hugh of St. Victor, iii. 236.

82. **þar of ðe**, whereof, of what: comp. 'Ðar is ðin herte ðarof ðe ðu mæst þenkst,' VV 69/26.

85. **Dispone** &c. : Isa. xxxviii. 1. Omit ȝ before tu.

86. **cwide**, legacy.

88. **lað**: comp. 189/412: **richeise** is accusative.

89. **dede þat betste**, took the best course.

90. **for — idon**, exerted myself cheerfully for love of thee.

91. **god inzied**: referring to Hezekiah's words, 'Memento quaeso quomodo ambulaverim coram te in veritate et in corde perfecto.'

93. **hamward**, on his way home; 'antequam egrederetur Isaias mediam partem atri, factus est sermo Domini ad eum, dicens: Revertere,' 4 Kings xx. 4. Comp. 'þa ða he hamwerd wæs,' Ælf. Lives, i. 318/181, ii. 150/110; 'eoten wæs ut-weard,' Beowulf, 761; 'þiderward,' 83/18; 'þa wes it cud ouer al þe burh þet þe helind wes þiderward,' OEH i. 3/15; 'is towerd on worulde,' Ælf. Lives, ii. 170/28. These expressions are elliptical; farende or the like is to be understood.

94. Vidi &c.: Isa xxxviii. 5. *lacrimum tuum*: so Codex Amiatinus. The Vulgate has '*lacrymas tuas*'.

97. *mūze* forððrazen, art able to produce from thy store; L. *depromere*.

98. forð mid: see 1/19. Ciba &c.: Ps. lxxix. 6 (adapted).

104. *alawa alawa . . . alawa*, even as . . . even so.

107. *sekelewisnesso*, skillwiseness, discretion: OWS cand. *skilviss*.

108. *beheue*: comp. 74/225, 127/340: a favourite word of this writer, see VV 98/25, 107/28, 169/8: comp. '*Gefyld is micel mægen · and mannum nyð behefe*,' *Ælf. Lives*, ii. 166, 142; '*hemseluē to unbihefe*,' *OEHL* ii. 121/24.

109. *moder*: '*Hæc dico ut discretionem, quae omnium virtutum et mater et nutrix est, detegam*,' *Ælredi Regula*; '*imetnesse is alre mihta moder*,' *OEHL* i. 101/24; '*Witerlice meteþung is alre mæzene moder*,' *Twelfth Cent. Hom.* 90/29.

110. *rixin* is a mistake due to the preceding *rixīð*: the text, as it stands, must mean, who wills to rule and follow her. *hlesten* is the word associated with *folgin* in VV, comp. '*for ðan ðe hie nolden godes lare hlesten ne folgin*,' 61/16, '*Hlest 7 folþih se ðe wile*,' 77/9.

111. *uitas patrum*: see pp. 351, 2, ed. Roswey, Antwerp, 1628. *sume sal*, at a time when a number of the hermits of the Thebaid came to visit S. Antony, '*perfectionis inquisitione et collationis gratia*.'

112. *on — cunnen*: '*quaenam virtus . . . certe ad Deum recto tramite firmoque gressu perduceret*.'

113. *annesse*: '*remotiorem vitam et eremi secreta*.' Comp. '*Munec ma et laten mid ðe lare in to hermitorie, oðer in to onnesse te wunien*,' VV 73/24. The same word means unity at 93/148.

116. *to lokin* is syntactically on a level with *herborþin*, but has to, because it is separated from *ðurh*: comp. '*Hit biðð sume þat non imeðe ne cunnen of hem seluen to feden*,' VV 139/23.

117. *on manieskennes wisen*: see 81/80 and 132/9.

118. *on*: S. Antony. *Þurh* &c. Holthausen translates, 'Through all these we have seen and heard a great many saved, and many by all these named virtues perished, because *discretio* failed them,' which gives an unsatisfactory sense for the second clause and involves a forced meaning for '*or*' as equivalent to *ðurh* (for which the only near parallels in VV are 97/19, 103/3), and a meaning in which it would hardly be used immediately after '*manic*': '*mande*' (elsewhere '*forenannunde*,' VV 15/29) is superfluous. The original is, '*Omnia quidem hæc quae dixisti, necessaria sunt et utilis patientibus Deum: sed his principalem tribuere gratiam nequaquam nos tantum notabiles multorum fratrum casus et experimenta per-*

mittunt. Nam saepe vidimus fratres has observationes tenentes repentino casu deceptos, eo quod in bono quod coeperant discretionem minime tenuerunt.' The English appears to be corrupt: *mihten* belongs to the former *ðesen*; the second *alle* is repeated from the first; under the superfluous *inamde* lurks the equivalent for *repentino casu*, which would hardly be overlooked by the translator; perhaps in a *munde*, in a handwhile, in a moment. The sense would then be, We have seen and heard of very many persons protected (comp. VV 73/7) by all these virtues, and (we have seen) many of these lapse in a moment, because discretion failed them. This meaning of *mund* is not in the dictionaries, and the evidence for it is slight, but comp. Varnhagen's note on 'boten a mounde' in Anglia, iii. 283. More usual, but less appropriate, would be, in a *niede*.

125. *muge* is subjunctive after *se ðe*, indefinite, whosoever, as is *wile* in 'Werize se ðe wile,' VV 89/33, but *se ðe*, he who, is followed by the indicative, 'se ðe luueð,' VV 41/7 (= qui diligit), 'se ðe swereð,' id. 79/3 (= qui iurat). There seems to be no distinction in meaning between 'Bie war, 3if ðu wilt,' VV 59/2, and 'Bie war, 3if ðu wile,' id. 61/8, but the forms of this verb are confused, see 89/37. Note also the indicative after 'hwat hwat,' 92/134.

126. *to laten*, to be passed over without mention, to be omitted.

127. *ðe* — *to sant*, to whom God sends it.

128. This is from S. Gregory, 'Quia nimirum virtus boni operis perseverantia est; et voce Veritatis dicitur: Qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit. Et praecepto legis cauda hostiae in sacrificio iubetur offerri. In cauda quippe finis est corporis; et ille bene immolat qui sacrificium boni operis usque ad finem debitae perducit actionis,' In Evang. Homiliae, ii. 25, § I. Similarly S. Isidore, v. 427; Alanus, 78. See Lev. iii. 9.

129. *alle dier*, a subject without a verb; the construction is altered.

132. S. Matt. x. 22, xxiv. 13.

136. *beswonken*, worked at; like L. *elaborare*, with acc. as in OE. *he it wat* &c.: a favourite expression of the author, as VV 21/3, 95/26; 'He it wot ðe all wot,' id. 75/2.

137. *wissin . . . warnin*: so 'wisedest ȝ warnedest,' VV 21/27.

139. *twene*, doubt: OE. *twȳn*.

143. *Hvte we*, let us: comp. 175/422; 'Wuten we fare,' VV 23/22.

147. *on, in*: see 83/15.

149. *ne herize*: see 25/241 note.

151. *ofte ȝ zelome*: see 32/47.

153. *implet*: a variant, without authority, for *imple*.

XIV. LAȜAMON

Manuscripts: i. Cotton Caligula A 9, British Museum (C); on vellum, 216 × 153 mm.; 192 folios in double columns of 32 to 34 lines, written by two scribes in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It is bound up with another manuscript containing the Owl and the Nightingale and other pieces.

ii. Cotton Otho C 13, British Museum (O); injured in the fire of 1731; on vellum; 145 folios in double columns of 38 lines; written in one hand, of the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

C is by far the better representative of the original, yet O alone not infrequently preserves it in details; though fifty years later than C, it has probably been transmitted through fewer copies than the latter. Mistakes common to both versions have been derived from an intermediate manuscript X. O represents a recension of X, made by a man who was mainly interested in the chronicle of events, a matter-of-fact person who stood in a critical attitude to his exemplar and took no pleasure in simile, epic repetition or descriptive touch. Under his handling, much that is characteristic of the author disappears.

Facsimiles: Of C. Madden, i. p. xxxv, and New Palaeographical Society, plate 86. Of O. Madden, i. p. xxxviii.

Editions: Madden, Sir Frederic, *LaȜamons Brut*, London, 1847. Of the present extract: Mätzner, E., *Altenglische Sprachproben*, i. 19-39; Morris, R., *Specimens*, 64-86.

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Halle, 1909, completed in Morsbachs Studien, xxxvi; Lange, H., Das Zeitwort in . . . LaȜamon's Brut, Strassburg, 1906; Lichtsinn, P., Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs in LaȜamon's Brut, Kiel, 1913. Vocabulary. Monroe, B. S., French Words in LaȜamon, Modern Philology, iv. 559. Metre. Brandstädter, K., Stabreim und Endreim in Layamons Brut, Kirchhain, 1912; Luick, K., Anglia, Beiblatt, xii. 37, 8; Trautmann, M., Anglia, ii. 153-73; Bartels, as above. Style. Regel, K., Spruch und Bild im Layamon, Anglia, i. 197-251; *Seyger, as above. Antiquarian. Kolbe, M., Schild, Helm und Panzer zur Zeit LaȜamons, Breslau, 1891; Krautwald, as above. B. S. Monroe, in Modern Philology, iv. 559-67, gives a detailed bibliography.

Phonology: (1) of C. Oral **a** is *a*, fare 176, habben 189, but *færeð* 43, *færen* 45, *hæfuest* 50; *uerden* 48 is from *fēran*. **a** before nasals is normally *o*, comp 120, moni 93 (5 times), but *whanene* 31, *whænnenen* 27, *þenne* 182, *muni* 113; **a** before lengthening groups is *o*, *hond* 201, *imong* 141, but *and* 9 &c., *andswerden* 11 (6), *answarede* 51 (4), *angles* 34. **æ** is *a* (48), *e* (20), *æ* (16), after 179, *æfter* 186, *bad* 241, *bed* 298, *hafde* 212 (7), *hæfde* 233 (3), *hehde* (for *hefde*) 69, *wes* 8 (5), *wæs* 78, *nes* 104 (3), *heleðes* 248, *sætterdæi* 75. **e** is normally *e*, *bereð* 44, *sellic* 267 (often elsewhere *seollic*), *speken* 12; before lengthening groups, *ende*, *uelde* 211, *hende* 273; but *æ* is common, *spækeð* 159, *ænde* 34, 109, *fæld* 209, *hændest* 95, *hændeliche* 99; *Hængest* 89 (8) is the common form; *a* occurs in *fareð* 276 (*ferian*), *ualde* 203, *þa* 15, 39, 68, *u* in *sugge* 52, *suggeð* 167; *eo* in *heoreð* 58 (if from *herian*: *bærnan* gives *berneð* 108, *forbærnan*, *forbærnen* 165, *ærnan*, *ærneð* 108, *mengan*, *mæingde* 292, beside *mengde* C 15530 (Morsbach, § 107, anm. 3). **i** is *i*, *blisse* 146, *wille* 25, but *u* in *nulle* 191, *nuste* 264, *us* 62, *wulle* 25, and the pres. forms of *willan*; before lengthening groups *i*, *child* 44, *þinge* 61. **o** is *o*, *folc* 36, *hope* 58, but *durste* 137, *dursten* 158; **on** is mostly *an* or *o*, once *æn* 211; before lengthening groups *o*, *bord* 215, *wolde* 20 (4), *wolden* 19, 192, but *walden* 12, 42. **u** is *u*, *burh* 173, *cumen* 137, *iwune* 117, but *ilomp* 122, *sonedæi* 75; before lengthening groups *u*, *funde* 298, *murnede* 293. **y** is normally *u*, *cume* 118, *wunne* 188, but *kime* 263, *kineborne* 168, *kineliche* 173, *kinelond* 56, 192; before lengthening groups *u*, *guldene* 257, *vmbe* 36: *king* 139 is the regular form, but *kenge* 94.

ā is regularly *a*, *hali* 66, *ihaten* 34, but *æ* in *bræd* 218, *bræ[d]ne* 209, *mære* 42, *særi* 103; before two consonants *a*, *hatte* 32, *ladlic* 294, *madmes* 134, but *hæhte* 59 (7). **ǣ** is *æ*, *bilæfuen* 24, *hæðene* 8 (3), *sæ* 2, *spræde* 210, or *e*, *bitechen* 191, *breden* 250, *stenene* 222, but *a* in *bitache* 173, *hæðene* 295 (possibly Scandinavian), *ea* in *leare* 150; before two consonants *æ*, *æ'che* 129, *æuer* 44, *læfdi* 74, *lædden* 259, *næuere* 176, or *a*, *alc* 51,

alchen 280, auere 7, nauere 23, vnwraste 80, wraððe 150, but *e* in arerde 223, elchen 21. $\bar{æ}_2$ is $\bar{æ}$, æten 251, dæde 197, þræd 218, or *e*, deden 96, vnimete 254, but *eo* in weore 8, weoren 2 (9), neoren 138, and *a* in mare 223; before two consonants, þærfore 175, setten 250. $\bar{e}$ is *e*, greten 144, ueden 190, but heo 73, þæ 63, 231; before two consonants, imetten 18, lette 283, but igrætten 18 (*r. w.* imetten), iuædde 100. $\bar{i}$ is *i*, bliðe 24, 116, swiðe 2, fiftene 36, but bluðeliche 282, swuðe 129. $\bar{o}$ is *o*, com 113, godne 49, most 110, but neoðeles 83. $\bar{u}$ is *u*, bute 176, runen 148, 159, but ronenen 156. $\bar{y}$ is *u*, biclud 177, cudðe 98, iscrudde 100, but forþi 48, 66, þa 8, 184.

ea before *r* + cons. is *a*, 3are 224, i3arked 238, 240, and $\bar{æ}$, hærm 8, 295, kærþ 217; the *i*-umlaut is seen in awariede 81, and, before a lengthening group, in ferde 85. *ea* before *l* + cons. is regularly *a*, al 37, and the numerous forms of *eall*, scat 189, but hælf 117, helue 129; before lengthening groups, *a*, alde 28, anwalde 83, athalden 20, halden 150 &c., walden 71, but athælde 83, hælden 13, holden 143, olden 187: the *i*-umlaut is *a* before lengthening groups, aldeste 29, halde 290, iuald 109, but $\bar{æ}$ in ælderen 193, ælderne 69. *eo* before *r* + cons. is *eo*, feor 160, heorte 288, but hærene 147, werpeð 37; before lengthening groups, 3eorne 288: the *wur* group has *u*, iwurðe 90, wurðeliche 190, wurðscipe 71. The *i*-umlaut before lengthening groups is seen in 3irnde 206, sturne 120, but deorne 148: *wiersa* is *wurse* 81, 291. *eo* before *l* + cons. is *eo* in seolf 81 &c. *eo*, the $\bar{a}$ -umlaut of *e*, is seen in feole 119, weoli 60; *eo*, *u*- and $\bar{a}$ -umlaut of *i*, in cleopien 249 and its forms, heore 37 &c., seoluer 88, seoððen 96, 97, seoueðe 64, but hennen 160, iluued 22, and without umlaut, niðer 82. *ea* after palatals is *a*, scal 38, $\bar{æ}$, 3æf 134, *e*, 3ef 133, 299, and before nasal *o*, scome 86. *ie* after $\bar{g}$ is *e*, bi3eten 87, 3euen 88, and *i*, bi3ite 172, 3if 201, 3iuen 297: after *sc*, $\bar{æ}$ in schæren 216. 3ef, *conj.*, is 3if 10 &c. *eo* after $\bar{g}$ is *u*, 3unge 160, 3ungen 187: *geond* is 3eond 209. *eo* after *sc* is seen in scolde 241, scolden 45, scullen 24, 39, 68. *heom* is *heom* 9; *eom*, am 175, æm 24, 263, næm 176.

ēa is usually $\bar{æ}$, æc 28, hæne 204, særes 216, slæn 165, but *e* in 3ette 242, 3ettest 184, i3ette 206, hehne 102, ileuen 53, 80, *a* in bad (influenced by *bæd*) 239; before two consonants $\bar{æ}$, hæfden 87: the *i*-umlaut is *e*, bemen 249, dremden 146, heren 13 and its forms, ileueð 53, but $\bar{æ}$ in hæren 19, 68, ihærde 264, ihærd 156, *i* in hiren 184, biliueð 91, *eo* in heoreð 58 (if from *hieran*), ileoueð 80, 81. $\bar{eo}$ is regularly *eo*, beon 175 &c., biheold 288, feollen 127, freond 273, leoden 165, þreo 4; the *i*-umlaut is mostly wanting, deore 68 (4), freonde, *dat.* 273, neode 171, 212, but (fif)tene 36, 233. OE. *sien* is *seon* 27. *ēa* after a palatal is seen in 3er 36, 3ere 44, 3euen 76, 3iuen 73 (4), 3ifuen 72, 76. *giet* is 3et 65.

a + g is *aȝ*, laȝe 69 (6), ofslaȝen 163, but dæȝen 69, ofslæȝen 138. **æ + g** is mostly *æi*, dæie 23, fæire 18 (9), fræinede 265, mæi 73, mæidene 290, sæide 152, uæin 263, but *ai* in dai 130, fain 286, mai 174, 204, main 290, maide 266, 283, maiden 282, *ei* in feire 210, feirest 89, seide 240 (3), seið 270, *æ* in færeste 7, *æȝ* in dæȝe 193, 194. **e + g** is generally *ei*, leide 215, toȝeines 240, þeines 101, weies 202, but awæi 129, bilæde 220: **e + h** is seen in hæhte 225, hæhten 230: **i + g** in þrien 284, þreoien 277 (influenced by *þrēo*): **i + h** in dihteð 67, dihte 135, isihðe 103: **o + g, h** in hohfulle 156, dohter 181: **u + g, h** in duȝeðe 141 (6), fluȝen 129, 130, but floȝen 129, fuhten 127. **ā + g** is *aȝ*, aȝene 208, 296, aȝere 201; **ā + h** is *oh*, oht 113, ohte 84 (3). **æ₁ + g, h** is seen in fæie 127, bitæht 205, bitæhten 284; **æ₂ + g** in maies 182; **ē + g** in beyne 168, twene 168 (with loss of *g*); **ī + g** in fridæi 74; **ō + g** in droȝen 93, inoȝe 134, sloȝen 126, ofsloȝen 119, vnni-foȝe 130; **ō + h** in biþohte 111, 142, noht 80, rohten, sohten 10, þohten 122, exceptionally afeoh 188. **ea + h, ht** is seen in æhtene 234, isæh 116, mæhti 65, sæh 23, sæxisce 97, sæxelonde 271, but saxelonde 124, 278, saxisce 114, sexisc 180; the *i*-umlaut in mihte 46, mihte 58, nihtes 23. **eo + h, ht** is mostly *i*, cnihtes 17, fihte 115, 172, rihten 20, but feht 120, 126, sexte 39, fæhte 155, sæhte 63, Peohtes 84, 107. **ēa + h** is *eh*, heh 66, neh 291, *æh*, hæh 64, 65, hæhliche 16, 190, hæhne 205; **ēa + g** gives hæȝe 141, 259: the umlaut is wanting in hæhste 62 (3), hæerre 13, ihæȝed 153. **ēo + g, h** is seen in driȝen 25, 196, iuaid 175, ræh 291. **ā + w** appears in nawiht 104; **ī + w** in tisdæi 76; **ēo + w** in acneowe 261, bleowen 249, neowe 28, 106, treowe 28, eouwer 24 (4), eoure 54, æoure 53, eou 26: *feorðe* 61, 72 is *fēorþa*.

The prefix *æt* is *at*, atstonde 183, atwite 204; **on** is *a* in afon 178, afeoh 188, among 146, but imong 157 is *gemang*. **op** is *a* in aȝet 229: **o** is levelled to *e* in whanene 31, whænnenen 27, wunder 213: *eo* is written for *e* in cusseð 277; *i* for *e* in cristine 294. The glide *e* is inserted in æuere 132, nauere 23, læuedi 65, næueden 228; *i* is prefixed in iliue 22, probably by anticipation of *iluued*.

w is lost in þong 219, beside þwong 217, 218; for **w, u** is written in Cantuarieburi 15, **l** is lost in scat 189. **m** is doubled in icummen 3, **n** in hennen 160, iborenne 259, whænnenen 27. **n** is lost in gome 228, and often in *i* 137 for *in*, iȝan 126, iȝere 72, a 81 for **on**: in 240 represents *inn*. **f** is kept in the combinations *fd*, *fn*, hafde 212, læfdi 74, æfne 70, 296, and as a final, hælf 117, initially after a word ending in a voiceless sound, færeð 43, fain 286, feorr 160, folc 36. Otherwise it is *u*, initially, as classified at 365/3-6, uorð 41, ualde 203, uerden 48, uast 132, uæin 263, ueden 190, uiue 105, uul 276, 277, medially, bilæuen 39 biuoren 95, uuele 280, deluen

221, helue 129; it is written *fu* in hæfuest 50, bilæfuen 24, ʒifuen 72, 76, leofue 54, 79. But exceptions are numerous, fare 176, færen 45, feole 119, fiue 39, forð 39, fforð 14, fuliwi 225, biforen 17, toforen 144, ifaren 105, vfel 78. *of* is shortened to *o* 213. For *t*, *d* is written in bed 100, *th* in bithecheð 276: in bezste 200 (4), *z* = *ts*; *t* is doubled in bett 100, lost in henges 32, 151, Hænges 55; for *tt*, *ht* is written in hæhte 59 &c., if it represents *hatte*. *d* is lost in lon 64, selcuðe 2, 35, walden 71. For *p*, *d* appears in cudðe 98, dod 86, falled 38, iuald 109, ladlic 294, luted 54, madmes 134, odere 228, 276, swide 120, 236; whar 28 represents *hwæðer*. *só* is regularly *sc*, scal 38, scenden 192, monscipe 153, bruttisc 281, but særes, schæren 216. The stop *c* is written *k* before *e*, *i*, also in kærð 217, in other positions *c*, castel 173, dronc 283; ah 8 (6) is Anglian *ah*, WS. *ac*. *č* is *ch*, ælchen 78, elchen 21, bitechen 191, drenche 272, muchel 42, richen 154, sechen 49, swulche 23, wulche 53, but alc 51, swulc 218. *ic* is *ich* 22, *ic* 175; *cæster*, Chastre 226. *čč* is *cch* in ræcchen 148; *cw* is *qu*, queð 147. Palatal *g* is written *ʒ*, ʒare 224, ʒirnde 206, hærgieð 108: a parasitic *ʒ* appears in ʒeten 252. *g* is lost finally in weoli 60, moni 93; it exchanges with *w* in herberwe 131. *čg* is *gg* in sugge 52, 167, ligge 174 &c. Initial *h* is lost in lauere 49, læuedi 65, loten 37, iloten 252, lust 30, lusten 149, nap 275, ræh 291, and added in hi[s] 36; also medially in hehne 102 (*hēanne*), whar 61. *hw* is regularly *wh*, whæt 27 &c., whar 28, while 237, but wulche 53. In burhʒe 205, burhʒen 251, the scribe wavers between *h* and *ʒ*; elsewhere he writes burhe, burʒen, burje, buruwe.

(2) Of *O*. Oral *a* is *a*, ac 8, faren 45; *a* before nasals is regularly *a*, fram 203, gan 92, 207, nam 92, wan 183, wane 189, wanene 27, þanne 204, 282, but drong 283, isomned 36; *a* before lengthening groups is *o*, among 156, londe 19 (16 times), longe 104, but amang 251, answered 21, 78, lang 217, þwang 217, 218, onderfang 188: *and* is *and* 18, *an* 133, *man*, *pron.*, me 276. *æ* is *a*, after 186, bar 257, sat 261, 287, spac 195, 262, nas 104, but þes 292. *e* is normally *e*, beste 238, Dence 229, selliche 2 (*seollich* O 14409); before lengthening groups *e*, ende 109, Englene 262, Englis 226, felde 203, but *Ænglis* 34 (comp. 266/15), (*Englis* 281: *forbærnan* is *forbearne* 165, *bearneþ* 108; *ærnan*, *erneþ* 108; *mengde*, *meynde* 292. *i* is *i*, amide 203, ligge 177, wille 196; before lengthening groups *i*, children 187, þing 60, but cheldren 159, þenges 35. The present forms of *willan* have *o*, wolle 20, wolleþ 87, wolt 184, a French writing for *u*, but nelle 191: *gift* is *ʒeftes* 88, 133. *o* is *o*, bolle 257, dorste 137; before lengthening groups *o*, borde 215, wolde 19: *on* is *a* 117, 261, *an* 53; *pane* 74 (7) descends from LWS. *pane*. *u* is regularly *o*, borh 191 (4), come 137 (3), drongken 251, foliwi 225, gomes 2, loue 69, þos 183, wonie 173,

but þus 48, 77. vp 38; before lengthening groups it is *u*, funde 298, grunde 109, hundred 5, 233, but mornede 293, wonder 35. *y* is *u*, Bruttesse 225, cunne 181, custe, clupte 289, dude 117, fulþ 276, lust 269, nuste 264, vuele 21; for *u*, *o* is written in come 118, comes 263, mochel 123 (6), soche 23, 291, woche 53 (**hwyle**), and before a lengthening group, goldene 257; but *y* is *i* in win 63, winne 188, kinelonde 192, and as usual in king 50, and *e* in dedest 162, wercheþ 68.

ā is regularly *o*, brod 218, ihote 34, 67, non 258, no 23, 204, (nā), on 59 &c., but a 60, 63, an 64, 65; before two consonants *o*, loplich 294, one 214 (āne), but ane 217, 223, 257, nanne 191, hatte 32 (8), haxede 265: **pā** is þe 7 &c., **pās**, þeos 18, 69, 215; **pām**, þan 1 &c.; **hwām**, wan 38. *æ*₁ is *e*, bilefue 24, 46, erest 262, heþene 8 (3), sprede 210, but bitak 173, bitake 191, bitakest 205 (confusion with **tacan**), deal 220, heaþene 295, leore 150, rounded before *r*, stonene 222 (***stānen**); before two consonants *e*, arerde 223, ech 185, euere 7, wendesdei 72, but leafdi 65, ladde 259, wrappe 150. *æ*₂ is *e*, dedes 87, onimete 254, sete 250, þere 44, 48, weren 2 (10), but *ea* in beade 298, reade 110, 171, 298, *a* in þar 119, þarin 283, þaron 5, þare 37 (4), ware 176, 210, *eo* in beore 93, eoten 251 (elsewhere **ge-eten**, **þþ**., is represented by **ilheote** O 6691, **iȝeote** O 14952); before two consonants it is *a* in þarfore 48, 86, adradde O 7575, *ea* in sealpe O 25574, and *e* in wepne O 14838. *ē* is *e*, cweme 184, seche 41, wene 175; before two consonants, cwemde 139, grette 18, 144, lette 221 (4), OE. **lēt**: aȝen 131, toȝenes 240 represent **ongēn**, **togēnes**; **gē**, pron., is ȝeo, 27, 53, 79; **dop** 292, **þr. s.**, hað *o* from plural. *ī* is *i*, blipe 24, swiþe 2, 51, wif 178 &c., written always *ii* in hii 8 (20), and *y* in tydinge 1 (3); but **blopeliche** 282 (**blȳpe**), heredmen 67 (? influenced by **heord**); before two consonants *i*, fifþe 62, wisne 214, but womman 299. *ō* is *o*, com 1, soþ 50; before two consonants, most 110, moste 46. *ū* is *ou*, French writing for *u*, aboute 220, couþe 214, nou 48, þou 20, but *u* in dun 246, vre 35, 64, vs 20, 45, and *o* in bote 177, 218. *ȳ* is regularly *u*, biclused 177, cuðen 269, hude 202, lutel 206, prude 254, scrude 190: **þȳ** is þe 8, 184.

ea before *r* + cons. is regularly *a*, harm 8, iȝarked 238, ȝarue 224. The *i*-umlaut is represented by **deorne** 148, which points to Anglian *e*. *ea* before *l* + cons. is regularly *a*, al 22 &c., falleþ 38, halt 275, halle 99, half 117, salt 189, wal 222; before lengthening groups *o*, anwolde 83, atholde 20, 83, biholde 209, 223, holde 143, 150: the *i*-umlaut is seen in elder 29, heoldre 187, falleþ 109 (Ang. **fællan**). *eo* before *r* + cons. is *eo* in heorte 288, *e* in hercne 147, werpeð 37, *o* in for 203; before a lengthening group *eo* in ȝeorne 288: words of the **wur** group have *o*, worsipe 26, 68, worpliche 190, iworpe 91; the *i*-umlaut is *o*, forst 26, ȝornde 206: **wyr** is represented

in worse 291, 292. *eo* before *l* + cons. is *eo* in *seolue* 113, *scolf* 209. The *u*-umlaut of *a* is wanting in *care* 123, 176. *eo*, *u*- and *â*-umlaut of *i*, gives *cleope* 230, *souepe* 64, and analogically *ileued* 22, but *heora* is *hire* 69 &c. *ea* after palatals is *a*, *sal* 89, *e*, *ʒef* 133 (3), before nasal, *a*, same 86. *ie* after *g* is *e*, *biʒete* 172, *ʒeue* 88, *ʒefue* 69, *ʒef* 201. *ʒef*, *conj.*, is *ʒif* 20. *eo* after *g* is *o*, *ʒonge* 159, 187; after *sc*, *o*, *solde* 45, 178. *eom* is *ham* 24, 175, *nam* 176; *heom*, *heom* 69 (4).

ēa is divided between *ea*, dead 175, *deape* 46, *slean* 165, and *e*, *bileue* 53, 79, *gret* 63, *lefue* 92, *lesing* 50: the *i*-umlaut is represented by *bilefep* 53, *ihure* 149; before two consonants by *ihord* 50 (4). *ēo* is regularly *eo*, *beo* 27 &c., *deor* 43; before two consonants, *biheold* 246, 288, *freond* 273, 274; but *biful* 122, 140, *ful* 45: *bitwine* 167 descends from *betwinum*: *deore* 88, 236, *freond*, *dat.*, 273, *neod* 38, 171 are without umlaut. OE. *giēt* is *ʒet* 65. *ēa* after *g* is *e*, *ʒer* 36, *ʒere* 44.

a + *g* is *aʒ*, *daʒes* 69, *ofslaʒe* 138 (*ofslagen*), and *aw*, *lawe* 285. *æ* + *g* is mostly *ai*, *dai* 23, *faire* 18 (7), *mai* 173, *saip* 273, *saide* 51 (5), or *ay*, *mayde* 282, *moneday* 70, but *ei* in *seide* 19, 240, *seip* 270, *tisdei* 70, *wendesdei* 72. *æ* + *h* occurs in *iveipēd* 175. *e* + *g* is *ei*, *leide* 220, *oʒerweies* 122, or *ey*, *away* 129, but *aī* in *laide* 215. *e* + *h* occurs in *hehte* 162, 225; *i* + *h* in *sihte* 103; *o* + *h* in *dohter* 181; *u* + *g* in *floʒe* 129. *ā* + *g* is *ow*, *owe* 201, *owene* 208. *ā* + *h* is seen in *ohte* 84; *ǣ*, + *h* in *bitahte* 284; *ī* + *g* in *friday* 74; *ō* + *g* in *sloʒen* 126, *ofsloʒen* 119; *ō* + *h* in *ipohten* 122, *noht* 41, 218. *ea* + *h* is *eh*, *seh* 23; the *i*-umlaut of *ea* + *ht* is *i*, *mihte* 210, *mihti* 60, 65. *eo* + *ht* is *i*, *cnihtes* 5, *fihte* 126, *rihte* 20, *sixte* 63, but *Peutes* 84, 107; the *i*-umlaut is represented by *nihte* 23. *ēa* + *g* occurs in *hehʒe* 259; *ēa* + *h* in *heh* 64, *neh* 291: the *i*-umlaut in *hehest* 62. *ēo* + *w* is *ou*, *ʒoure* 53 &c., *ʒou* 24, 88, *ou* 83, but *cnouwe* 261.

e is added in here 7, ofte 86. *on* is reduced to *an* 53, a 117, and in the prefix of *aboute* 220, *amidde* 203; *o* becomes *e* in *forte* 229. For *u*, *o* occurs in *onderfang* 188, *onimete* 254. The suffix *-ung* is *ing* in *rouning* 143, *tydinge* 147.

Initial *f* is once *v*, *vare* 176, elsewhere *f*, *faren* 45, *farep* 48; between vowels or vowel and liquid it is *u*, *v*, *delue* 221, *ived* 100, *iveipēd* 175, *vuele* 21, but *bilefep* 53, *life* 46, and before *u* *f* is retained, *biful* 122: *fu* is written in *bilefue* 24, 46, *lefue* 92, 207, *leofue* 79, 274, *lifue* 22, *lofuiēp* 286, *wifues* 43 (5). For *t*, *d* is written in *bed* 100; *fiʒpe* 62 (*fifta*) is an early instance of the modern form. *d* is lost in *an* 133, *answere* 21. For *p*, *th* appears in *deathe* 157; *ʒ* occurs only in *louieʒ* 57. *se* is regularly *s*, *sal* 89, *same* 86, *sende* 192, *solle* 24, *worsipe* 26, *Ænglis* 34, but *ss* in *Bruttesse* 225, 281, *Englisse* 226, *Ænglisse* 281, and *c* in *Dence* 229 (*Denise*), which appears to indicate a

pronunciation for *se* of [s]. The stop *c* is written *k* before *e*, *i*, ilke 34, kinelonde 192, and finally bitak 173, folk 36; *ne* is *ng*, dring 282, dringe 273, 275, dringþ 275, drong 283, drongken 251. *ǣ* is *ch*, childe 43, ech 185, ich 22 (ihc 177), mochel 123, soche 23, 291, speche 266. Palatal *g* is regularly written *ȝ*, aȝen 131, ȝarue 224, sloȝen 126: hehȝe 259 represents hēage, meynde 292 mengde. *h* is added initially in ham 24 &c., haxede 265, heoldre 187, hifulled 258, himakede 240, hin 131. Initial *hl* is reduced to *l*, lotes 37, lust 269, nap 275, *hw* to *w*, wan 38, wanene 27, ware 176, wat 27, wile 237, woche 53. *heo*, *pron.*, she, is regularly ȝeo 67 &c., comp. Orm's ȝho, 112/2.

Accidence: (1) of C. A peculiar feature of these texts is the occasional addition of *n* after a final vowel. This 'nunnation,' fairly common in C, rare in O, is marked here by round brackets. Its use makes it doubtful at times whether a noun or adjective ending in *n* is a weak form or a strong form with added *n*. Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. In the *s. n. a.* maide 266, 283, 295 has lost final *n*. *Gen.* -es, þunres 73, twines 218: *dat.* -e, ræde 197, gomene 291, londe 3, vfele 51, crafte(n) 214, cume(n) 24, cunne(n) 188, inne(n) 112, liue(n) 25, rihte(n) 20, wurðscipe(n) 26; without inflection are ræd 298, gomen 231, kinelond 56, lond 162, vfel 78, gome (gamene) 228, lon 64, and the proper name Saturnus 75. The *pl. n. a.* of masculines ends in -es, cnihtes 17 (6), madmes 134, but cnihten 5, 27, ridern 233, sunen 105 are weak forms: neuters are ȝer 36, þing 50, wif 43, but hæfden 87, loten 37, scipen 4 (3) are weak. Genitives are londe 33, þinge 260, weak forms are ænglene 262, cnihtene 55, 89, and, before a vowel, cnihten 77, 152, 195: datives have mostly -en, cnihten 155, dæȝen 69, goden 68, scipen 92, 232, but londes 137, þinge 61. The *fem.* nouns of the strong declension have -e in the *s. n. a.*, duȝeðe 170, 252, 272, hude 202, 210, dæde 197, ferde 85, duȝeðe(n) 166, but sæ 2. *Gen.* -e, duȝeðe 141; humbre 117 is an indeclinable form: *dat.* -e, halle 99, helue 129, honde 257, halle(n) 259, but hælf 117, hond 201. *Pl. n.* are laȝe(n) 278, 285, probably weak; *d.* deden 96, laȝen 163, leoden 295 (from pl. noun lēode), runen 159, nihtes 23; *a.* leode(n) 165, 285, rune(n) 148, 156, probably weak. Nouns of the weak declension have mostly -e in all cases of the singular, but iueren 276, monen 76, læfdi 74 are dative, læuedi 65 acc.: the plural has -en throughout, *n.* gumen 2, ileuen 53, 80; *d.* iueren 233; *a.* bemen 249, nomen 231. The minor declensions are represented by mon *s. n.* 41, wimmon 180, monne *s. d.* 205, mon *s. a.* 214, wimmon 299, men *pl. n.* 7 &c., wimmonne(n) *pl. g.* 270, monnen *pl. d.* 112 (5), hiredmonnen 157, scipenmonnen 6 (for scipmonnen), cunnesmen *pl. a.* 98; burh *s. n.* 228, *s. a.* 173, 191, 223, burhȝe 205 (? confusion with pl. *burga*), burhȝe(n)

s. d. 251; *broðer s. n.* 29; *dohter s. d.* 181; *freond s. n.*, *freonde s. d.* 273; *walden s. n.* 71; *childe s. d.* 43, *child s. a.* 44, *children pl. d.* 187.

Adjectives, which in OE. end in a vowel, have *e* in all cases, *bliðe* 116, *deore* 181, *zare* 224, *hende* 287, *mare* 223, *sturne* 120, *vnimete* 254, *wilde* 43; those in *-ig* lose *g*, *hali* 66, *mæhti* 65, *weoli* 60. Of the weak declension are *s. n. cristine* 294, *holde* 154, *leofue* 274, *d. bare* 158, *quicke* 25, *a. feire* 210, *hæðene* 193, *haðene* 295. Strong inflections are *s. d. m. richen* 154, *soðen* 26, *fæire* 211, *hæze* 141, *hæðene* 205, *s. d. neut. uncuðe* 40, *s. a. m. brædne* 209, *hæhne* 205 (with *burg f.*), *hehne* 102, *godne* 49, *guldene* 257, *stenene* 222, *wisne* 214, but *long*, *smal* 217 are not inflected, *s. a. f. gode* 136, *kineliche* 173, *stronge* 85. *mycel* is *s. n. muchel* 42, *d. muchele f.* 171, *a. muchele m.* 221 (but *dic* is usually *f.* in *L.*), *muche* 220, *muchele f.* 223, *muchel neut.* 201, *pl. n. muchele* 234: *āgen* gives *ažene s. n. neut. wk.* 296, *ažere s. d. f.* 201, *ažene s. d. neut.* 208. The plural of all adjectives ends in *-e*, except *særi pl. n.* 103 (*sārig*), *dæde(n)* 110, *zungen d.*, *olden* 187. OE. *ān* is *s. n. an* 59, 64, 161, *a* 218, 267, *g. anes m.* 202, *d. ane m.* 140, 141, 203, 213, *an neut.* 51, *a. ænne m.* 173, 209, 214, *enne(ende)* 211, with *d. uelde* 211, 217, *ane* 257, *a* 153, *anne f.* 65, *ane* 173, 212, 223, *an neut.* 240, *a* 215: *nān* is *s. n. na* 41, *d. nane neut.* 47, *nan* 228, *a. nane f.* 191, *nan neut.* 281: *bēgen* is *beyne* 168. Adjectives used as nouns with inflection are *hæne s. n. m.* 204, *hæhste* 62, *bezste s. d.* 238, *fæie pl. n.* 127, *ælderren pl. g.* 193, *ælderne* 69. Comparatives end in *-e*, *mære* 42, *mare* 8; the superlative has weak inflection in *aldeste s. n. m.* 29, *bezste* 268, *hæhste s. a. f.* 69, but strong in *aðelest* 33, *fæirest* 55, 89, 152, 270, *hæhst* 155, *hendest* 77, 95, 195; plurals are *særeste n.* 7, *bezste* 200, 256, *deoreste* 244.

The personal pronouns are *ich* 22, *ic* 175, *me*, *we*, *us*, *þu*, *þe*, *ze*, *eou*. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n. he m.* 16, *heo* 73, *heo f.* 66, *hit neut.* 5; *d. him m.* 72, *heom* 71, *hire f.* 74, 224; *a. hine m.* 13, 230 (with *burg f.*), 275, *heo f.* 66, 225; *pl. n. heo* 3 &c., *d. heom* 9, *a.* 67. Reflexives are *þe seoluen* 166, *hine* 111, *him seoluen* 145: definitive, *seolf* 81, 209: possessives, *s. mi n. m.* 32; *mine d. m.* 83, *mire f.* 181, 199, 201, *mine neut.* 22(7); *mine a. f.* 149, 197, *mi neut.* 182; *pl. a. mine* 182; *s. þin n. m.* 154, *þine* 170, *þine d. m.* 154, 197, 263, *þire f.* 171, *þine neut.* 183, 186, *a. m.* 153 (possibly *f.*, the nouns in *-scipe* are mostly *f.* in *L.*), *f.* 166, *þi neut.* 108, 165, *þin* 196; *pl. þine n.* 167, *d.* 155, *a.* 165; *his* 10, *hire* 232; *ure* 35; *eoure* 54, *eouwer* 24 (4), *æoure* 53, *heore* 37. The definite article is *s. þe n. m.* 29, 218, *þæ* 63, 231, *þa* 15, 39, *þe f.* 224, *þæ* 228, *þa* 238, *þat neut.* 36, *þe* 43, *þas g. m.* 292, *þere f.* 117, *þan d. m.* 4, 40 (with *leode f.*), *þa* 73 (miswritten for *þan*), *þere f.* 3, 72, 217, *þene* 75 (miswritten for *þere*),

þan neut. 1, 126, 136, 253, 290, *þene a. m.* 72 (7), *þane* 139, *þa f.* 174, 193, *þat neut.* 283, (for) *þi instr.* 48, 66, *þa* 8, 184, 252; *þl. þa n.* 7 &c., *þan d.* 6, 137, 187, *þa a.* 229, 285. *Þat* is used demonstratively, 8, 277, 283, 266 (with *speche f.*), 34 (with *ænde d. m.*); the article is also used pronominally in *vppen þan þe*, upon whom 38. The compound demonstrative is *s. þes n. m.* 162, *þis neut.* 7, 278, *þas d. f.* 117, *þisse neut.* 19, 162, *þissen* 285, *þis* 56, *þas a. f.* 215, *þis neut.* 116, 178, 209, 280; *þl. þas n.* 17, 79, 169, *a.* 231. The relatives are *þe*, *þat* 7, 150 (=that which), *þa* 58, 68, 96, 105, 172, 174; *þer . . on*, on which, 210. Interrogatives are *whæt* 27 (3), *what* 31 (4), *wulche þl. n.* 53, the correlative is *swulchere s. d. f.* 103, *swulche s. d. neut.* 231, *þl. n.* 23: *ilca* is *ilke s. n. m.* 237, 275, *ilken s. d. m.* 34, *ilke þl. a.* 285. Indefinites are *me* 276; *oðer s. n. m.* 29, *odere d. neut.* 228, *oder a. m.* 276, *oðer a. neut.* 283, *oðere þl. n.* 164; *anoðer s. n. neut.* 122; *ælches s. g. m.* 202, *ælche d. m.* 203, *f.* 129, *neut.* 155, 291, *ælchen* 78, 185, *alchen* 280, *elchen* 21, *alc* 51; *æueralche s. d. neut.* 44; *æi s. n. f.* 272, *a. f.* 205; *nohtes g. s.* 82; *moni* 93, 153, 286, *muni* 113, *þl. monie* 126, 130; *feole* 119; *al s. n. neut.* 37, *alle d. f.* 244, *neut.* 22, *al* 56, *alle a. m.* 130, *al* 109, *f.* 197, *þl. alle n.* 99, *all* 110, *alre g.* 33 (8), *alle d.* 61, 68, *al* 112, *alle a.* 50, 135.

Four-fifths of the infinitives end in -en; *cleopien* 249 is the only infinitive of the second weak conjugation; there are no examples in -in or -i; those in -e are *athælde* 83, *bilæue* 46, *cuðe* 158, *ligge* 174, *liðe* 39, 92, 207, 243, *ræde* 171, *spræde* 210, all at the end of line or half-line, *cume* 164, *iwurðe* 90: contract verbs are *afon* 178, *slæn* 165. The *dat. inf.* is not inflected. Presents are *s. I. habbe* 22, *libbe* 174; 2. *ȝettest* 184, *hæfuest* 50; 3. *bereð* 44, *bitecheð* 276, *dihteð* 67, *drinkeð* 275, *fareð* 276, *fallæd* 38, *fordemed* 170, exceptionally *gladieð* 272; contracted are *halt* 275, *seið* 270, *sæið* 274, *sæiðe* 273 (miswritten for *sæið*); *þl. I. biliueð* 91, *luuieð* 57; 2. *haldeð* 193, *luted* 54; 3. *ærneð* 108, *cusseoð* 277, *liggeð* 82, *hærȝieð* 108, *hatieð* 157, *luuieð* 66, *spilieð* 159, *wunieð* 160, *iuald* 109 (*gefiellap*): *subjunctive s. I. fare* 176, *habbe* 182; 2. *biȝite* 172, *bitache* 173, *habbe* 205, *sugge* 52: *imperative s. 2. afeoh* 188, *drinc* 282, *hærcne* 147, *lust* 30, 269. Past of Strong Verbs: *I a. s. I. sæh* 23; 3. *bad* 241, 297, *bed* 298, *ȝæf* 134, *ȝef* 133, 299, *isæh* 116, *queð* 147, *sæt* 261, *sat* 287, *spæc* 195; *þl. 3. æten* 251, *setten* 250: *I b. s. 3. bar* 257, *com* 113(4), *nom* 92, 207, 215; *þl. 3. comen* 1, 235 (11), *come* 229; *subj. s. 3. come* 241: *I c. s. 3. bigon* 221; *dronc* 283, *funde* 298 (weak form), *gon* 92 (3), *ilomp* 122, 140, *kærf* 217; *þl. 3. drunken* 146, 251, *fuhten* 127, *gunnen* 14, 249: *II. þl. 3. driuen* 229: *III. s. 3. bad* 239; *þl. 3. fluȝen* 129, 130, *floȝen* 129: *IV. s. 3. scop* 224, *stod* 136 (3); *þl. I. uerden* 48 (weak form from

fēran); 3. drožen 93, složen 126, ofsložen 119: V. s. 3. biheold 246, 288, hæhte 225 (weak form), lette (weak form), 283; passive, s. i. hatte 32; 3. hatte 64, hæhte (**hatte**) 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 161, 162, if it be not the active form with passive meaning; *pl.* 3. bleowen 249, feollen 127, hæhten 230, hetten 250. Participles past: I a. bižite 212, ižeten 252: I. b. iborrenne *adj. pl.* 259, (kine) borne *pl.* 168, icumen 2 (6), icummen 3, icume 117, ouercumen 128: III. iloten 252: IV. ifaren 105, ofslæžen 138, ofslazen 163, atstonde 183: V. ihaten 34, ihate 67, ihalden 102, 279, underfon 241. Past of Weak Verbs: s. 3. andswerede 21, arerde 223, bilæde 220, fræinede 265 (**gefrægnan**), zette 242, hafde 212 (5), hæfde 233, hehde (for hefde) 69, bitæhte(n) 284, hæfde(n), 214, næuede(n) 228; *pl.* 3. andswerden 11, cleopeden 226, halde 290. Participles past: biclused 177, bitæht 205, ibrusted 256, ižarked 238, 240, ihæged 153 (*hēagian), islit 219, iuaid 175; inflected are iscrudde, iuædde 100. Minor Groups: nuste *pt. s.* 264; cuče *pt. s.* 214, 281, cučen *pt. pl.* 11; dursten *pt. pl.* 158, durste 137; scat 2 *pr. s.* 189, scal *pr. s.* 38, scullen 1 *pr. pl.* 68, 2 *pr. pl.* 24, *pr. pl.* 39, scolde *pt. s.* 241, scolden 1 *pt. pl.* 45; mai 1 *pr. s.* 174, *pr. s.* 204, mæi 73, mihte *pt. s.* 111, 210, mihte we 1 *pt. pl.* 46; most 2 *pr. s.* 110; beon *inf.* 28, am 1 *pr. s.* 175, æm 24, 263, næm 176, is *pr. s.* 32, js 67, us 62, nis 56, beoð 45, 1 *pr. pl.* 31, 33, 48, 110, seoð 31 (with s for b from **sind**, **sīen**), beoð 2 *pr. pl.* 79, *pr. pl.* 35, 271, 278, beo 1 *pr. s. subj.* 183, *pr. s. subj.* 41, beon 2 *pr. pl. subj.* 27, seon 27 (**sīen**), wes *pt. s.* 8 (6), wæs 78, nes 104, 218, weoren *pt. pl.* 2 (8), weore 8, neoren 138, weore(n) *pt. s. subj.* 266, ibeon *pp.* 154; wulle 1 *pr. s.* 25 (7), wulle(n) 30, 88, 184, nulle 191, wult 2 *pr. s.* 149, 178, wule *pr. s.* 202, wulleð 1 *pr. pl.* 194, 2 *pr. pl.* 87, *pr. pl.* 164, wulle *pr. s. subj.* 90, wullen 2 *pr. pl. subj.* 28, wolde *pt. s.* 20 (4), wolden *pt. pl.* 19, 192, walden 12, 42; don *inf.* 111, to don *dat. inf.* 298, dod *pr. pl.* 86, dude *pt. s.* 292, duden *pt. pl.* 71, 117, idon *pp.* 9, 63, 180; eode *pt. s.* 144, 253.

Noteworthy are the adverbs forðrihtes 107, at this very moment, stilledliche 159, probably miswritten for stilliche of the exemplar, rather than for stilleliche, which is unmetrical wherever it occurs, and whænnene(n) 27, representing hwanone. OE. **nā conj.** is once na, nor 191, but no 23, no . . . no, neither . . . nor 138.

(2) Of O. Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. In the *s. n. a.* maide 266 (3) has lost final n. *Gen.* -es, kinges 292: *dat.* -e, crafte 214, lifdaze 138, zere 44, inne 253, londe 19 (9), but dai 23, and the neuters folk 295, zer 36, hin 131, lond 64, 262 are uninflected; game 285, 291 represents **gamene**: borde *s. a.* 215 has added e. The *pl. n. d. a.* ends in -es, *n. m.* comes 263, kempes 5, *neut.* sipes 4, þenges 35, wifues

43, *d. m.* cnihtes 133, godes 68, *neut.* sipes 232, þinges, 61, *a. m.* cnihtes 23, *neut.* bordes 250, godes 93, londes 37, 193, lotes 37 : *gen.* are cnihtes 112, Englene 262 (weak form), þing 260 (miswritten for þinge). The *fem.* nouns of the strong declension have -e in the *s. n. a.*, blisse 251, hude 202, speche 266, tydinge 1, care 123, see 2, but leafdi 65, lesing 50, rouning 143 : *dat.* -e, halue 221, winne 188, but half 117, hond 201, 257, win 63. *Pl. n.* are lawe 285, tydinge 104, lawes 278, *d.* rouninges 148, wiþeredes 87, *a.* leode 165, tydinge 147, ȝeftes 88, 133. Nouns of the weak declension have -e in all cases of the singular, *n.* wone 271, *d.* iverē 276, *a.* bolle 257 ; *pl. n.* are bileue 53, bilefues 79, gomes 2, *d.* iverē 233, *a.* rideres 233. The minor declensions are represented by man *s. d.* 205. *s. a.* 214, womman 299, men *pl. n.* 7, heredmen 67, wommanne *pl. g.* 270, men *pl. d.* 193 ; borh *s. n.* 224, *s. a.* 191 ; nihte *s. d.* 23 ; broþer *s. n.* 29, *s. a.* 164 ; dohter *s. n.* 181 ; childe *s. d.* 43, 44, cheldren *pl. d.* 159, children 187 ; freond *s. n.* 273, *s. d.* 273.

Adjectives, which in OE. end in a vowel, have -e throughout, bliþe 24, deore 236, deorne 148, ȝarue 224, hende 299, onimete 254, riche 33, 133, wilde 43 ; those in -ig lose g, mihti 60, sori 103. Of the weak declension are *s. n. m.* cristene 294, leofue 274, but heh 64, 205 is not inflected, *s. n. f.* faire 287, *s. d. f.* bare 157 (deathe is treated as *f.*), *s. a. neut.* heaþene 295. Strong inflections are *s. d. m.* heþene 205, *s. a. m.* goldene 257, stonene 222, wisne 214, but lang, smal 217, strong 222 are uninflected. mycel is moche *s. n. neut.* 181, mochele *s. d. m.* 26, *f.* 171, moche *s. a. m.* 220, moche *f.* 123, *neut.* 201 : āgen, owe *s. d. f.* 201, owene *s. d. neut.* 208. All adjectives have -e in all cases of the plural, except wonder 35, noun used as adj., and ȝong 187, miswritten for ȝonge. ān is *s. n.* an 64, on 59, 161, a 60, 63, *d.* one *m.* 203, on 140, 177, *f.* 237, one *neut.* 33, *a.* ane *m.* 217, 223, 257, one 173, 214, an *f.* 65, on *neut.* 240 ; nān is *s. n.* non 258, *a.* nanne *m.* 191, no *f.* 50. Adjectives used as nouns with inflection are Bruttesse *s. d. neut.* 225, 281, beste 238, (Englisse 281. Of comparatives heoldre 187 is *pl. d.* ; the superlatives beste *s. n. m. wk.* 268 and faireste *pl. n.* 7 are alone inflected.

The personal pronouns are ich, ihc 177, me, we, vs, þou, þe, ȝe, ȝeo 27, 53, 79, ȝou, ou 83. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n.* he *m.* 21, ȝeo *f.* 67 (6), hit *neut.* 5, *d.* him *m.* 19, *a.* hine *m.* 18 (5), hire *f.* 67, 225, *pl. n.* hii 8 (21), *d.* heom 69, *a.* 188 : reflexive is him seolue 113 ; definitive, him seolf 209. Possessives are *s. n.* min *m.* 32, mi 269, *f.* 181, *neut.* 178, *d.* min *m.* 83, *f.* 201, mine *neut.* 22 (4), *a.* mine *f.* 149 ; *s. d.* þine *f.* 171, *neut.* 186, *a.* þine *m.* 196, þin *neut.* 108, þi 165, *pl. n.* þine 167, 263, *d.* 156, *a.* 165 ; his 19, 99, 101 ; hire 224 ; v. c 35 ; ȝoure 26 ; hire 37 (6). The

definite article is *s. n.* þe *m.* 29, *f.* 224, þat *neut.* 36, 38, 128, *g.* þes *m.* 292, *d.* þan *m.* 1 (11), þane 72, 144, þare *f.* 157 (with *deathe*, usually *m.*), þan 103 (*m.* form with *sihte f.*), *neut.* 1, 126, 238, *a.* þane *m.* 74 (7), þat *neut.* 206, þe *instr.* 8, 184, *pl. n.* þe 7 &c.: þat is used demonstratively 8, 45, 283. The compound demonstrative is *s. n.* þis *neut.* 278, *d.* þis *f.* 117, þisse *neut.* 137, þisne 285 (miswritten for þisse), *a.* þeos *f.* 215, þis *neut.* 178, 280, *pl. n.* þeos 18, þes 7, *g.* þeos 112, *d.* 68, *a.* 69. The relatives are þat 7 &c., þe 57, þat . . . he, who, 21, wan *s. d.*, whom 38. Interrogatives are wat 27, 264, 266, 270, woche *pl.* 53, with correlative soche 23, 291: ilca is ilke *s. n. m.* 237, 275 *s. d. m.* 34, *f.* 103, *neut.* 285. Indefinites are me 276; oþer *s. n. m.* 29, *a. neut.* 283, *pl. n.* 164; anoþer 114; eche *s. d. m.* 203, *neut.* 21, 36, 280, ech 185; euereche *s. d. f.* 129, euerech 221, euereche *neut.* 44; eni *s. a. f.* 205; mani *s. n.* 114, *pl. n.* 286, manie *pl. a.* 119, 126; al *s. n. neut.* 89, alle *d. m.* 78, al *neut.* 22, alle *a. m.* 109, al 195, alle *pl. n.* 99, alre *g.* 77 (3), alle 260, alle *d.* 61, 68, al 270, al. *a.* 93.

Nineteen-twentieths of the infinitives end in *e*; wonie 173 is the only infinitive of the second weak conjugation; those in *-en* are cuðen 269, faren 45, slean 165, wreken 164; in *i-*, granti 184, sarui 19, both French. The *dat. inf.* is not inflected, to biholde 209, 223, for habbe 293, for to . . . seche 37. Presents are *s. I.* habbe 22, wene 175; 2. bitakest 205, hauest 50; 3. falleþ 38, fareþ 48, takeþ 276, stondeþ 227; contracted, dringþ 275, fulþ 276, halt 275, saiþ 273, 274, seiþ 270; *pl.* 1. habbeþ, louieð 57, but þefue 69 (5); 2. bilefeþ 53; 3. bearneþ, erneþ 108, falleþ 109, hatieþ 157, louieþ 67, 286, sleaþ 108: *subjunctive s.* 2. biþete 172; 3. þefue 297: *imperative s.* 2. bitak 173, dring 282, þef 201, hercne 147, lust 269, nim 186, onderfang 188, send 186. Past of Strong Verbs: *I a.* *s. I.* seh 23; 3. bad 239, 297, þaf 206, þef 133, 299, sat 261, 287, spac 195, 262; *pl.* 3. eoten 251, sete 250; *subj. s.* 3. beade 298, speke 266: *I b.* *s. 3.* bar 257, com 1 (3), come 144, nam 92 (3), *pl.* 3. beore 93, come 7, 104, 285, comen 18, 119; *subj. pl.* 3. come 113, 245: *I c. s. 3.* drong 283, funde 298 (weak form), gan 92, 207; *pl.* 3. drongken 251, gonne 245: *II. pl.* 3. driuen 229: *III. pl.* 3. floze 129: *IV. pl.* 3. slozen 126, ofslozen 119; *subj. s. I.* bitoke 193: *V. s. 3.* biful 122, 140, biheold 246, 288, ful 45, hehte 225 (weak form active), 162 (in meaning passive), lette (weak form) 221, 250, 254, 283; passive *s. I.* hatte 32; 3. 32 (8). Participles past: *I b.* ibore 259, icoome 2 (4), icomen 27, 107, ouercome 128: *IV.* atstonde 183, ofslaze 138: *V.* ihote 34, 67. Past of Weak Verbs: *s. 3.* answerede 21, arerde 223, bitahte 284, grette 144, hadde 214, mornede 293 (*murnde*), swipte 284; *pl.* 3. cleopede 230, grette 18, hadde 123, ladde 259, seide 19, sette 230, wende 99, ipohten 122. Participles past: biclused 177, hifulled

258, iȝarked 238, ihord 50, 156, ileued 22, iscrud 100, isomned 36, ived 100, iveiȝed 175, iwoned 121, himakede 240. Minor Groups : nuste *pt. s.* 264; couȝe *pt. s.* 214, 281; dorste *pt. pl.* 137; salt 2 *pr. s.* 189, sal *pr. s.* 89, solle 2 *pr. pl.* 24, solde *pt. s.* 178, 1 *pt. pl.* 45; mai 1 *pr. s.* 173, *pr. s.* 204, mihte *pt. s.* 210, 258; most 2 *pr. s.* 110, mot *pr. s.* 38, 41, moste we 1 *pt. pl.* 46; beo *inf.* 175, ham 1 *pr. s.* 24, 175, nam 176, his *pr. s.* 34 (9), beoȝ 1 *pr. pl.* 33 (4), 2 *pr. pl.* 79, *pr. pl.* 35 (5), beo *pr. s. subj.* 41, 2 *pr. pl. subj.* 27, beon *pr. pl. subj.* 172, was *pt. s.* 8 (10), nas 104, 218, weren *pt. pl.* 2 (5), were 4 (5), nere 138, were *pt. s. subj.* 218, 266; wolle 1 *pr. s.* 26 (8), nelle 191, wolt 2 *pr. s.* 149, 184, wole *pr. s.* 202, wolleȝ 1 *pr. pl.* 184, 2 *pr. pl.* 87, *pr. pl.* 164, wolle 2 *pr. s. subj.* 20, woldes 2 *pt. s.* 178, wolde *pt. s.* 143, *pt. pl.* 19, 192; don *inf.* 178 (4), doȝ *pr. s.* 292, *pr. pl.* 86, dedest 2 *pt. s.* 162, dude *pt. pl.* 117, idon *pp.* 138; goȝ *pr. pl.* 43, 44.

Dialect: The speech of North Worcestershire, where the Brut was written, descended from a Saxon patois which was substantially South-Western, but with an Anglian element derived from the neighbouring Mercia. Occasional forms in the texts, which are foreign to this dialect, may be due, as Luhmann thinks, to the poet himself, who, as he tells us, had travelled 'wide ȝond þas leode,' or to some intermediate copyist, but otherwise the manuscripts present, on the whole, the natural development of the dialect of the original. What the professional scribes who copied them contributed to the divergences from the original text was mainly graphic and in a great measure due to the clash of native spelling with the French scribal methods to which they were accustomed.

Vocabulary: Scandinavian words in C O are bule bole, gærsume garisome, gistninge gystninge, hæil hail, laȝe lawe, swaines sweines, wæshail wassayl; in C only, ibon, dring, griȝ, loten, tiȝende, utlaȝen; in O only, sleh, þoris dai: French in C O, castel, latimer; in O only, granti, pore, sarui.

Metre: (1) Of C. Like the Worcester Fragment, p. 232, and the Proverbs of Alfred, pp. 292-4, Layamon's verse presents an intermediate stage in the transition from the OE. alliterative long line to the rhyming couplet as exemplified in King Horn (KH p. xlv). Our text has i. lines which continue the OE. practice of binding together the two halves of the line by alliteration only, as Ah héo weore hæðene.' þat wes hǣrm þa máre, 8; of þat ilken ænde.' þe ángles is iháten, 34; these have four stresses separated by light syllables varying in number: ii. lines which add rhyme as an ornament to alliteration, as heo cómen into hálle.' hændeliche álle 99; út of þan léode.' to úncuȝe lónde, 40; swiȝe monie péohtes.' heo slóȝen iþan féhte, 126, and with similar imperfect rhymes

79, 92, 174, &c.; the rhythm of these also is alliterative: iii. lines like those of the second class in structure, but already showing in various degrees the disintegrating effects of rhyme in their wavering rhythm, as *þat ouer sæ weorē icūmen.* *swiðe | sēlcuðe | gūmen*, 2, or with a regular syllabic rhythm, as *ne mīhte wé | bilæ|uè.* *for lí|ue né | for dæ|ðe*, 46: iv. lines with rhyme only, as *þe féor|ðe hæh|te Júp|itér.* *of ál|le þín|ge hé | is whár*, 61; and *æf|ter óh|te món|nèn.* *þa béz|stę* of *mí|ne cún|nè*, 200; these can be scanned as syllabic verse without assuming any licence which is not to be found in the *Pocma Morale*: v. lines without alliteration or rhyme, as 67, 242, 286, 297; these may be regarded as corrupt. The alliteration is varied, rarely 2 + 2, as 75, 127, 161; 2 + 1, normal in OE., as 17, 29, 32 &c.; 1 + 1, by far the commonest, as 30, 36, 38, 42, &c.; 1 + 2, as 2, 13, 33: the last stress sometimes falls at the end of the second half-line, contrary to OE. usage, as 17. Crossed alliteration occurs at 31, 39, 40, 91, 124; distinct alliteration in each half-line at 76, 249. Perfect rhymes like *sohten : rohten* 10, *imetten : igrætten* 18 are comparatively few, imperfect ones frequent, as *vnwaste : criste* 80, *ænde : grunde* 109, *dæðe : cuðe* 158, *monnen : hennen* 160, *ræde : neode* 171, *spræde : hude* 210, *hude : neode* 212, *inne : cunne* 235, *nap : up* 275, *wīn : īn* 283; a final consonant is negligible, to: *idon* 9, *wolde : athalden* 20, *laȝe : dæȝen* 69, *peohtes : fehte* 126, *fluzen : vnnifoȝe* 130, *fæhte : cnihten* 155, *cumeð : gærsume* 189, *monnen : cunne* 200, *hude : ouerspræden* 202, *sætte : hæhten* 230, *scruden : prude* 254, even a final syllable, *scenden : lond* 192; assonances are frequent, as *driȝen : liuen* 25, *lond : strong* 56, *londe : stronge* 85, 124, *ligge : libbe* 174, *faste : castle* 177, *atwite : riche* 204, *ende : uelde* 211, *while : time* 237, *time : liðe* 243; inflectional rhymes are admissible, as *andswerden : cuðen* 11, *peohtes : londes* 137, *andswarede : wolde* 151, *children : olden* 187, *ihærde : seide* 264; partial correspondences of sound suffice, as *tiðende : kinge* 1, *wenden : kinge* 14, *leofue : laðe* 79, *læue : liðe* 92, *arerde : mare* 223 (Bartels, 61), *tiðende : londe* 271, *hende : kinge* 287; proper names have special freedom, as *Jupiter : whar* 61, *appollin : idon* 63, *Teruagant : lon[d]* 64, *alemanisce : horse* 125, *vortigerne : sone* 265. The text has suffered much less from a metrical point of view than the *Proverbs of Alfred*, the interval of time between the original and the extant copy being shorter, but the changes are the same in kind. i. Words altered: for *þa king* 15 read *muri*; comp. 'Swa he uorð to Cantuare-buri.' *þer him þuhte swiðe muri*, L 29519, 20: l. 37, see note: l. 63, MS. O has possibly preserved the original: l. 85, read *leod-ferde ful stronge*: l. 146, for *blisse—heom*, read *dune wes heom among*; comp. 'Þer wes swiðe

muchel dune ⁊ þeines þer dremden,' L 11574, 5 : l. 242, for wolde read ȝirnde (Bartels 55); comp. 106/206 : l. 268, for ær read euerē : l. 286, for fain read sæl : l. 288, read þe leuedi he ȝeorne biheold ⁊ and comp. 'He clepede to þere leuedi ⁊ heo wes him on heorten leof,' L 1190, 1 : l. 297, read dringe : ȝunge (for child). ii. Words omitted : l. 67, read dihteð als wa (Bartels 69) : l. 107, read Lauerd king ! nu forðrihtes ; comp. 94/30, 96/50, 108/263 : l. 131, read Vortigerne þe king ⁊ to herberwe wende on hizing ; comp. 'Þa sæide þe king ⁊ Nu to scipe an hizing,' L 32040, 1 : l. 134, read hehȝe maðmes inoȝe ; comp. 'þa hæuekes ȝ þa hundes ⁊ hehȝe mine maðmes,' L 22397, 8 : l. 148, read runen swiðe deorne ; comp. 'and Hengest spæc wið Vortigerne ⁊ of rune swiðe derne,' L 14768, 9 : l. 209, where two lines have been compressed into one, read 'ȝ he seolf wende ⁊ wide ȝeond þissen londe | To sechen on folde ⁊ ænne brædne fæld ; comp. 'Ah anan heo wende ⁊ toward þissen londe,' L 11634, 5 ; 'Leir king wende on ænne feld ⁊ ȝ reste hine on folden,' L 3510, 11 : l. 215, read bule hude : l. 224, read nome þare ; comp. 'þa andswarede eorles þare ⁊ Alle we beoð ȝarewe,' L 27332, 3. iii. Substitution of forms : read l. 5, cnihtes ; l. 110 alle ; ll. 149, 178, wule ; comp. 'ȝif ȝe hit lusten wlle,' L 919 : read l. 159, stilliche ; l. 196, iwille : alle ; l. 233, rideren. iv. Words rearranged mostly in a prose order : read l. 3, icumen weoren to londe ; l. 14, wenden gunne ; l. 82, nohtes ne beoþ ; l. 83, ich eou wulle ; l. 129, ȝ awæi floȝen swuðe ⁊ forð an ælche helue ; l. 214, ænne wisne mon he hæfden ; l. 232, hider liðen ; l. 250, Bord heo bređen hetten ⁊ cnihtes þer to setten (Bartels 35). v. Padding : omit l. 9, and ; l. 23, ær ; l. 31, we ; l. 86, muchele ; l. 88, lond ; l. 93, heore scipen ; l. 97, heore ; l. 113, read mani oht mon : omit l. 121, ofte ; l. 128, þa ; l. 218, noht ; l. 248, mid him ; l. 252 þa (wes) ; l. 285, þissen ; l. 293 read hire for þat mæiden.

Elision takes place under the usual conditions, auere 7, 132, cnihtene 55, 89, sende 198, bezste 200, hude 217, but hiatus is not infrequent, þinge 61, swiðe 84, alle 135, fæire 144, fulliche 183, hafde 212. In trisyllabic words the vowel of the middle syllable sometimes suffers syncope, as neoðeles 83, hengestes 232, nauere 23, læuēdi 65, næuēden 228, similarly answerede 21, 29, 55 and generally biiliue, weoren. The added n has small share in the metrical scheme ; of the twenty-six certain instances of its use, three, rihten 20, cumen 24, comen 235, prevent hiatus, to which, however, the poet seems indifferent ; once it makes a rhyme, hallen : men 259 ; twice it is in excess cunnen : wunne 188, Rouwenne : wimmonnen 270 ; once it rhymes with itself, hæfden : craften 214 (as emended above) ; four times it completes a rhyme, driȝen : liuen 25, iwiten : wurðscipen 26, ræden : dæden 110, innen : monnen 112 ; the remaining instances are

whænnenen 27, wullen 30, 88, 184, duȝeðen 166, næueden 228, burhȝen 251, weoren 266, bitæhten 284. Doubtful are runen 148, ronon 156, leoden 165, 285, laȝen 278, 285; but they are most probably weak forms, and it may well be that the use of n spread from such cases to other forms. It is noteworthy that, out of these twenty-seven instances, the added n appears sixteen times at the end of line or half-line.

(2) Of O. The author of this recension had little regard for the metre of his original; ll. 68, 93, 112, 193, 226, 265, 297 are quite formless. Two lines are compressed into one, mostly unmetrical, at 67, 90, 157, 159, 173. Rhyme is substituted for alliteration at 114, 123, 131, 133, 149, 178, 221, 245; occasionally attempts are made to improve the rhyme, as at 35, 63, 253. At l. 7 a prose order is adopted; archaic words and phrases are rejected at 92, 108, 138, 139, 184, 207, 230, 251, 258, 267, 273, 278 &c.

Introduction: The priest Layamon, son of Leovenath, served the church at Ernley (Arley Regis) on the Severn near Radestone, 'sel þar him þuhte.' There it came into his mind that he would tell of the noble deeds of the English, and journeying wide over the land he got the noble books, Bede's History in English, the Latin text of the same, which he ascribes to S. Austin and S. Albin, and the history which a French clerk made. Such is the poet's account of his authorities, but of the two first he made no use, Wace's metrical version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum* was his main source. This he greatly amplified out of his legendary store and from other sources, writing in epic style and a somewhat archaic diction derived from the older English literature, and investing the whole with the charm of his imaginative and descriptive powers. But Imelmann maintains that, apart from some insignificant details, Wace was his only source, not indeed the text as we have it in Le Roux de Lincy's edition, but a later lost redaction enlarged from an intermediate version which blended the original Wace with the first part of Gaimar's Chronicle.

Layamon wrote in the early years of the thirteenth century, and finished his book before 1205 A.D.

This extract gives ll. 13785-14382 in Madden ii. pp. 152-177: it corresponds to Wace (W) 6860-7168. The references are to the older text of L, unless O is prefixed.

1. **Vnder ðan**, meanwhile; OE. **under þām**, where the prep. means among: 'Entretant,' W. Comp. 'Under þis,' SK 1858; 'vnder þat,' R. of Gloucester 116/11. L has also 'Vnder þan ilke þinge,' 29849, 'Wnder þon,' 6433. **tiðende** is OWScand. **tíðindi**: **tydinge** in O is OE. **tidung**: see Björkman, 167. **vortiger** is from W: the OE. form is **Wyrtegeorn**.

5. **Alse hit weoren**, to all appearance: usually with **swulc** in L, 'heo

leopen ut of þan wuden.' swulc hit deor weoren,' 12828, 3070, 11571. For hit comp. 1/10. Kempes, champions, in O is a characteristic toning down of Kinges in C, but comp. L 25301.

6. wiðuten, not counting. *scipen monnen* is probably a scribal mistake for *scipmonnen*. *þer wiðinnen*, in the ships.

7. *þis*: *sing.* like *þet* 1/10 'note: so too at 110/278, and with Hit, 110/271. *færeste*: 'Od biax viaires et'biax cors,' W 6863.

8. *þ*—*mare*: a typical comment, comp. 'hire cheap wes *þe* wrse,' L 385; 'his hap wes *þe* betere,' id. 4894, 816, 3857, &c.

9. *hu*—*idon*: Madden translates, 'how they were disposed (their business)': Mätzner, Sprachproben, says it corresponds exactly to OHG. *wio getân*, how conditioned, circumstanced; but his dictionary does not notice this use, which appears to be without support, for 'þine ræddes ne beod noht idon,' L 24956, where Madden translates, vaguely, 'good,' seems to mean, your counsels are not completed, i.e. ripe, perfect. On the other hand, *wel idon* occurs in L at least twenty-three times; with it Madden compares MHG. *wol getan*, translating good, excellent, brave; but it means more specifically, well equipped, (1) mentally, comp. 104/180; 'þa wifmen *wel idone*.' and 'þa betere biwitene,' L 24677: (2) physically, 96/63; 'ah he ne blakede no.' for he wes *cniht wel idon*,' L 7524; well fitted out, 'scipen he hæfde sone.' monie *ȝ wel idone*,' L 28234; well provided with money, 'þe riche burh *wel idone*,' L 5923; 'Du ert *wel don man*,' OEH ii. 29/15, the latter answering to the colloquial 'well-to-do.' Similar expressions are seen in 'cnihtes *wel bihedde*,' L 18010; 'Jurdan is his bur-cniht.' he is *swiðe wel idiht*,' id. 18960; 'twa hundred *scipene*.' *þer weoren wel biwitene*,' id. 20505; 'wel *bifunden*,' Orm 73/2176. The meaning here is accordingly, how they were provided for; a polite way of asking what they wanted.

11. *cuðen*, knew how, were able.

13. *heren*, obey: comp. 94/19; 'nulle we him nauere hæren.' ne hælede for ure hære,' L 7671, 4887, 8483.

15. *Cantuarie*: see 1/14.

16. *Hæhliche spilede*: Madden translates 'nobly diverted themselves,' with the usual meaning of OE. *spilian*, to play; and his interpretation is supported by, 'mid haucken *ȝ mid hunden*.' hired-plæie luuien,' L 14480. Luhmann, p. 91, regards this place as the only instance of that meaning in Layamon; he points out that everywhere else (as at 110/266) *spilien* has, from expressions like 'spilede mid worden,' L 17269, 'plazede mid worden,' L 17335, developed the meaning, to discourse, proper to OE. *spellian*. It seems unnecessary to make an exception here; the expla-

nation, held high counsel, gives a good sense, and one more suitable for 'hæhliche' than the other.

17. **folc kinge** : comp. 96/47 : variants are, 'biforen þen folke kinge,' L 9107 ; 'þeos folkes king,' id. 4872 ; 'leod king,' id. 6797 ; 'leode king,' id. 3691 ; 'leodene king,' id. 5394 ; 'leodisc king,' id. 2144. As here, O avoids the archaic expression in each case except the last, where it has, 'on leodene king.' Comp. OE. **folc-cyning**, **lēod-cyning**.

18. **Sone swa** : see 130/51.

20. **mid rihten at halden**, retain them and treat them fairly.

21. **of—war** : this phrase, which is repeated after the epic manner with the king's name, as 96/51, 98/78 &c. appears for the first time at 13254, 'of ufele he wes wel iwar,' where the context requires the meaning, he was well versed, practised in evil-doing. (OE. **wær**, having knowledge of.) His character is bad, 'Fax fu et faussement parla,' W 6796 ; 'þat iharde Uortigerne.' þe swike wes ful derne,' L13603. Less ambiguous is, 'Æfter Cap Oein.' for elchen vuele he wes fein,' L 6993. **þat . . . he** in O = who.

23. Comp. 'Ne seah ic el-þeodige | þus manige men mōdiglicran,' Beowulf, 336, 247-50. **bi nihtes** : comp. 'feorh færde bi nihtes,' L 4415.

24. **for—bliðe** : comp. 108/263 ; 'þe king wes gled for his kime,' L 3962 : with *of*, 128/9, 206/321 ; 'forr mani mann | Wass off hiss come blipe,' Orm, 24/795, as in OE., 'ealle wæron swiðe bliðe his ongeancymes,' Ælf. Lives, ii. 208/292.

26. **þurh—wurðscipen**, by your true worthiness, as truly as you are honourable. For the position of *eouwer* comp. 102/154, 104/171. With *for* in O comp. 78/66, 119/78.

28. **whar** : OE. **hwæðer**. *alde* &c., at all seasons, under all circumstances : comp. 25/226.

32. **hors** : so W ; in Hist. Britonum, *Horsus* : comp. such double forms as *Sceaf*, *Sceafa* ; *Geat*, *Geata*.

34. **ænde**, quarter : comp. 100/109, 127/344, 'heofon biþ open on sumum ende,' BH 93/1 ; 'þe alre leste ende,' SK 587 (= *de remotis partibus*) ; Minot, ix. 3. **angles**, *Ænglis* O : the OE. names are *Angel*, *Engel*, *Ongel* ; the final *s* here is probably due to *Englisc*. 'De Saison, dist-il, venon,' W 6889 ; but they were *Jutes*.

35. **tiðende**, lit. happenings, here, customs, ways : comp. 110/271 ; 'In France weore læwen.' *sulkuðe* a þan *dawen*. | *ȝ selcuðe tidende*, L 5137, where *læwen* and *tidende* are synonymous. **gonde** in O is regarded by Madden as a mistake for *goude*, a spelling found in C, but not, I think, in O : he translates 'many good things' ; Mätz. 'wondrously good things' ; but that gives a very unsuitable sense and spoils a rhyme. In *Specimens*

it is taken for goinde: O has goinde, 1582, but mostly goinge, which is hard to parallel at this date in the sense of taking place, progressing. Brotanek, in Zupitza-Schipper, 339 suggests that gonde is OE. *geondan*, yonder; but L otherwise has only *ȝeond*, *ȝond*, *pref.* as at 106/209. Possibly it is a mistake for wonde, accustomed, instead of the usual *iwoned* 101/121; 'To hire weren iwoned.' wonder 'craftie men,' O 1153: C has *iwunde*, wounded, 10420, and the prefix is occasionally dropped, as *somned*, 104/167.

36. *vmbe* is ambiguous: bi eche &c., O, means every fifteenth year: 'Li prince qui les teres ont Tos les jenes asamblé font | Qui de quinze ans sunt et de plus,' W 6909. *hi[s]* for *is*: him MS. cannot be reflexive here: comp. 'Pa ferde wes isumned,' L 1482, and so always in L. But Kock, Anglia, xxv. 318 takes *isomned* as *isomneȝ*, assembles, with *him* as reinforcing dative, like 13/34.

37. *iledene* is regarded by Mätzner as for *ledene*, with otiose *i* prefixed, as in 'iliue' 94/22; it would in that case be *pl. g.* of *leod* as in 'leodene king,' L 5394. But 'folk of the people,' 'nation-folk,' Madden, is a strange expression (though *leod-folk* is common enough), and it would be a meaningless repetition: besides *e* for OE. *eo* is rare in L. Kellner, Archiv cxiv. 164, proposes *ileuede* representing OE. *gelyfed*, advanced in age, and one MS. of W. has 'Tout li viellart et ii plus fort' as a variant of 'Tot li millor et li plus fort Sont mis fors del pais, par sort,' 6193. But *ileuede* is not used elsewhere in L, and would connote decrepitude. Geoffrey of Monmouth has 'totius regni iuvenes coram se venire praecipiunt (principes): deinde sorte proiecta potiores atque fortiores eligunt,' 82, 20; something corresponding to 'iuvenes' is required here, such as *iwepned*; comp. L 9942-6.

38. *of*: see 80/47.

45. *feole* is impossible: Mätzner suggests the substitution of *lot*, as in O, for *beoȝ*, but that would require *feol* instead of *feole*. More probably the scribe has been influenced by *beoȝ* into miswriting *feole* for *fallen*: *beoȝ* is singular.

46. *for liue* &c. apparently means, for any consideration, at any price, like 'for love or hire.'

47. *for þan*, because of the, for fear of the.

49. *vnder lufte*, under heaven: comp. 'nes þa na man vnder lufte: þe cuȝe betere cræftes,' L 10104: *lufte* is Madden's correction.

50. *þurh alle þing*, in every respect, qualifying *Soȝ*: comp. 'he wes god þurh alle þing,' L 6894: somewhat different is 'ȝ þar an hiȝinge: þurh ut alle þinges,' L 2358.

51 O. *wis . . . war*: comp. 18/16.

52. *sugge*: for the subj. comp. 'geliefeð ðæt he swelc sie swelce he gehierð,' Cura Past. 110/11. *soðriht*, *adv.* truly; comp. 'a þilke time soh riht,' L 9668, MS. O.

53. *pat* . . . *on*, and 54. *þe* . . . *to*: see 1/3.

55. *cnihtene* &c.: a recurring phrase, as 98/89, 102/152; 'cnihten alre hendest,' 104/195.

57. *mode*, feeling: comp. 'on his heorte he hauede grome.' on his mode muchele *scome*,' L 4847, and with O, 'þe leof hire weis on mode,' L 4489. See KH 281 note.

58. *hope to*: see 178/89 note. *heoreð* . . . *mid mihte*, strenuously exalt; from *herian*, to glorify: it might be from *hieran*, to obey, but the former meaning is more suitable here; comp. 102/139.

59-68. There is little doubt that Layamon found this strange jumble of the gods of the Romans, Teutons, and French Romance in his original, but appollin and teruagant are missing in the printed Wace. Identification of the Roman gods with those of the Teutons and Celts proceeded rapidly among the barbarians from the first century onward, so that the Spanish bishop, Martin of Bracara, denouncing in the sixth century the pagan practices of his flock, uses the Roman names of the gods (*De Correctione Rusticorum*, ed. Caspari, pp. xci, 7-11), in which he is followed by Ælfric in the homily *De Diis Falsis* (Kemble, Solomon and Saturn, 120; Wulfstan, ed. Napier, 104). L appears not to have known that under this system Mercurius is Woden; Jupiter, Thunor; Mars, Tiw; Venus, Frea; and Phoebus, perhaps the Sun, yet Wace says 'Mercurion | Qui en nostre langage a non | Woden.' In L 16790-4, there is a similar list of the Saxon gods with addition of Didon and Mamilon.

60. *weoli*, rich, powerful.

62. *hæhste*: comp. 'Nu hateð Aganippus.' þe is þe heȝest ouer us,' L 3648: 'Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt,' Tacitus, *Germania*, 9: see Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, iv. 212.

63. *appollin* is the god of Cassivellaunus, L 8081: one of the three idols of the Saracens in French romance, Mahomet and Tervagant being the others; 'Mahummet sert e Apollin recleimet,' *Chanson de Roland*, 8; 'La lei i fut Mahum e Tervagan,' id. 611. In L, Tervagant is the god of the Romans, 5353. *wel idon*: see 94/9 note. *of gret win* O, in whom we greatly delight: OE. *wynn*.

66. *hired men*, members of a household, courtiers. But Frea had nothing to do with these; she was the patroness and helper of lovers. Possibly L has misunderstood *cortoir* or *cortois* in his original.

67. *dihteð*, guides, directs.

69. Comp. 'and habben þa ilke læȝen.' þe stoden bi heore ældre dæwen,' L 5960. **hehde** is for hefde: comp. 'what he i Rome hæhde biwunnen,' L 10547; 'enne sune he hehde,' id. 6958, 30185: for other instances in L of h substituted for f, see Luhmann, 45: the expression, to hold the highest law, may well mean, to have the highest authority, for Layamon's use of læȝe is very wide and varied. But Brotanek treats **hehde** as *past* of heȝen, OE. **hēgan**, to put in force, to establish: this in L is hæhȝede, heȝede: Logeman suggests hehte (OE. **hatan**), promised.

71. **heom** is written for him, and they did worship to him: the subject heo is not expressed, because it is contained in heore preceding: see 6/18.

72-76. The Romans adopted the week of seven days, with their allotment to the heavenly bodies, from the Chaldaeans. They were already well acquainted with it in the first century A.D., and it was in regular use in the third. Owing to their many points of contact with the barbarians, it spread rapidly everywhere among the northern nations, each of which adapted it by substitution of their own equivalent deities in the names of the days, Saturn alone proving intractable (see Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, i. 122ff; Müllenhoff, iv. 644 ff.). The North German invaders were already in possession of the system when they settled in England: comp. Byrhtferth's Handboc, Anglia, viii. 321/4-17.

72. to **wurðseipe**, in his honour. **wendesdei** O, for Wednesdei, is representative of *Wēdnes-, Wædnes-dæg, out of Wōdines. (Holthausen, Anglia, Beiblatt, iii. 39.)

73. **þunres dæi**, day of Thunor: **þorisdei** O is Scandinavian: ODanish þūr (Björkman, 181): OE. **þūres dæg**. Comp. 85/99.

74. **fridæi**: OE. **frige-dæg**, the day of Freya, identified with Venus.

75. **sætterdæi** corresponds to OFrisian saterdei, OE. **Sæterdei**: sateresdei O to OE. **sæteresdæg**. The fullest form is **Sæternes dæg** = Sātūni dies (? Sæ; see Anglia, Beiblatt, xx. 194). **þene** should be **þere**. **sonedæi**: OE. **sunnan-dæg**; perhaps OWScand. sunnudagr has influenced the ME. form.

76. **monedæi**: OFrisian mōnedei. **tisdæi**: OWScand. týsdagr: OE. **tīwes-dæg**. Tidea is said in the glossary to Specimens to be a Latinized form of Tiw in the *dat.* case, without support from any parallel and without explanation of *d*: probably it is a mistake for Tiwe, and as O has Tydea, the mistake would be derived from an earlier MS. common to both.

81. **wurse**, the evil one, the devil; comp. 110/291; 'þat he wið þene wurse spæc,' L 2841 where O has 'feonde.'

82. **nohtes**, of a worthless kind: a descriptive genitive used predica-

tively : comp. 'eower godas ne synd nahtes,' *Ælf. Lives*, i. 182/205 ; 'ne beoð ha riht nohtes,' *SJ* 22/10 : it is in principle the same as 'ðæt fleax ðæt bið hwites hiewes,' *Cura Past.* 86/19.

83. 'Mult volanters vous retanrai,' *W* 6957.

84. *ohte*, doughty : OE. *āht*, shortened from *āwiht* : so the root sense is 'anything, good for anything, worth something.' Comp. 'ahte cniht wes Auelin,' *L* 8141.

86. *scome* . . . *grome* : see 96/57 note, and for the corresponding verbs comp. 'þe fore him ofte scomede.' *ʒ* his heorte gromede,' *L* 13763.

94. *dringches*, warriors : *OWScand.* *drengr*, young man : the change of *e* to *i* is normal ; see Björkman, 292.

95. *hændest* is taken by the editors generally as, nearest (to him), but everywhere else in *L* it means, courteous, or the like : comp. 98/77 : perhaps him should be omitted.

97. *him to*, to Vortigern, but *senden* is corrupt ; reading, *seoððen siȝen him to*, the meaning would be, next the Saxon knights followed after them ; comp. 'þe eorles heom siȝen to.' mid fele heore cnihtes,' *L* 9996.

98. *aldene* cannot be right, its final *e* does not belong to the dat. sing. : comp. 'in alden hire ðenne,' *L* 22027. Read *aldrene*, of the kin of his ancestors : comp. 98/69, 104/193 ; 'of his eoldrene istreon,' *L* 18609.

99. *hændeliche* is translated by Mätzner, courteously ; rather, making a brave show.

100. *iscrudde* . . . *iuædde* : comp. 'he us haueð wel iued.' he us haueð wel iscrud,' *L* 13573 ; 104/190.

101. *hængest* is the last word on the page, and the scribe has in consequence omitted *-es* : for *swaine* read *swaines*.

102. *hēhne*, 'hæhne,' *L* 11378, represents OE. *hēanne*, *acc.* of *hēan*, mean, humble, and 'hæne,' 106/204, its *nom.* *hēane* : but 'hæhne,' 106/205, represents the *acc.* of *hēah*, high (seldom *hēahne*, mostly *heanne*).

104. Comp. 'Nes hit noh[t] longe.' buten ane stunde,' *L* 14423. *ne* : see 25/241 note. *longe* is adverbial in form.

108. Comp. 'þ lond heo þurh arnden.' *ʒ* herȝeden *ʒ* barnden,' *L* 12129, 9934.

109. *ænde* : see 96/34. *iuald*, they fell ; comp. 'sixti þusende.' he leide to þen gronde,' *L* 4751.

111 is formal : see 102/142, *L* 1035, 3147 &c.

117. *duden*—*iwune*, behaved as usual : comp. 'hu Osric Edwines sune.' dude ut-lazen wune,' *L* 31270.

120. Comp. 'þat fæht wes swuðe strong.' *ʒ* swuðe stær *ʒ* swuðe longe,' *L* 4170.

121. 'Por ce que vaincre les soloient | Lor costume tenir voloient; | Mais lor usage i ont perdu,' W 6991.

122. an *oðer*, *nom. adj.* agreeing with hit: the construction is frequent in L; comp. 'ah al an oðer hit iwærd.' oðer he iwende,' L 17336: oðer, *adj.* is also found in the same construction; comp. 203/202; 'ah al hit iwrað (= iwarð) oðer.' þene heo iwenden,' L 19506, but it is mostly adverbial, as, 'ah al heo þohten oðer,' L 5429; 'al oþer hit schal go,' OEM 41/140.

123. If *hele* represents OE. *hælo*, safety, *heom* means, to the Britons, but the transition is abrupt, and Logeman suggests that *hele* may mean, thing hidden, secret; its known meanings being, concealment, hiding-place; it might be better to substitute *iheled* for *al hele*.

127. *feondliche*, furiously; comp. 'Dunwal i þan fæhte.' wes feondliche kene,' L 4168, where O substitutes 'swipe.' *feollen þa fæie*: an oft-repeated formula in L.

130. *vnnifoȝe*: OE. *ungefōg*, immense; here, countless. Comp. 'muchel ȝ unifoh,' L 8674, 'monie ȝ vniuoȝe,' id. 13187; 'For noldest þu nefre [hab]ben inouh, buten þu hefdest unifouh,' Worcester Frag. D 39.

132. *on uast*, close to, fast by him; OE. *on* + *fæst*: comp. 'He makede an temple onfest þe baðe,' L 2852: but Luhmann, p. 95, deduces it from *on cefeste*, influenced by the *prep.* *fæst bi*.

133. The subject of *ȝef* is he, contained in *kinge*: see 6/18. 'Et Linde-sée et bons manoirs,' W.

134. 'unc sceal worn fela | māþma gemænra,' Beowulf, 1783, 4.

136. a *þan ilke*, on the same footing, thus: comp. 'ȝ þus ane stonde.' hit stod æ ȝon ilka,' L 3117, 3716, 14890 &c. 'Ensi ont longement esté | Et lor amor a mult dure,' W 7001.

137. For *londes* read *londe*, or for *þan*, *þas*.

139 O. *hendeliche*, cleverly.

141. *hæȝe dæie*, festival; mostly associated with religious observance; comp. 'Hit wes an anne hæhȝe dæie.' halȝeden leoden,' L 10708. 'Un jor trova le roi haitié | Si l'a à conseil afaitié,' W 7009. *duȝeðe monnen*, the men of his nobility, the retainers of his court; the first element answers to OE. *duguðe*, *s.g.* of *duguð*.

148. *ræcchen* . . . *runen*, expound, disclose secret counsels; comp. 'sunne heo muche runen.' ræhten heom bitweonen,' L 25123; 'þe sunne reccheð hire rune euch buten reste,' SM 9/30. ('Sol in aspectu annuncians in exitu, vas admirabile opus excelsi,' Ecclus. xliii. 2.)

150. *halden to wraððe* apparently means, consider it a ground for anger: perhaps *wenden* should be read for *halden*.

153. **pine monscipe** *ihæzed*, advanced thy dignity; comp. 'ȝ mine monscipe hæien,' 5451; 'þurh þe haueð Morgan mi mæi.' is *monscipe afallet*, id. 3838.

154. **pine**: see 92/26.

157. 'Ai jo assés aparçeu | . . . | Que tu n'en as baron qui t'aint; | Cascuns te het, cascuns te plaint,' W 7017.

158. **bare**, actual, absolute; comp. 'his leode hine hateden | in to þan bare dæðe,' L 7034; 'bi þine bare life,' id. 25800. **pare** O is a scribal error.

159. **stilleliche**, secretly; so too *stille* 104/170; comp. 'mid stilliche runen,' L 355; 'mid heore stil rune,' id. 3249: with *spilieð* comp. 110/266; 'þus speken þeos swiken.' and *spileden* mid worde,' L 3816.

161. **ambrosie**: Aurelius Ambrosius: O has the former name.

163. **lazen**, ways, practices, a sense developed out of that of custom, but Mätzner translates, in a treasonable manner. His death was compassed by Vortigern, as O says.

169. **androeinnes**: L has elsewhere only Androgeus, and Androgeum as in W, with once Androchies *gen.* 8194. The present form corresponds to Androgen, Andragen, Andragenus of the prose Brut, ed. Brie, p. 33.

173. **kineliche**, royal, and therefore in the king's gift.

175. Comp. 'þin hired þe hateð for me | ȝ ich æm iuæid for þe,' L 14458. *iuæid* is *pp.* of *zeþeogen*, OE. **gefēogan*: see NED v. 525, *s. v.* *ivee*. *iveiped* is *pp.* of a derivative verb from OE. *fæhð*, *feud*: it occurs four times in O. *uor þe*, because of your unpopularity. *ic wene* &c., I expect to be killed.

176. **fare** &c.: see 34/86.

177. **biclused**: comp. 'ȝ hæuede Valentin wel uaste | biclused in ane castle,' L 12191: elsewhere O substitutes 'bituned.' 'Si ai por toi maint anemi; | Ne puis par nuit estre aséur | Fors de castel et fors de mur,' W 7040.

180. **of—idon**: see 94/9 note.

182. **wine maies**: OE. **wine mæg**, a loving kinsman: L has also *vniwinen*, *onwines*, *enemies*, 14466.

184. **hiren**: comp. 94/19, 98/68. 'Plus séurs en sera de moi | Et jo en servirai mius toi,' W 7035.

188. **afeoh**: 'Et bien les recoif et conroie,' W 7052.

190. **ueden . . . scruden**: see 100/100.

195. **þa ȝet**, still: OE. **þā git**. Comp. 'hafðe þa ȝet an honde,' L 8540; 'þe ȝet þe he wes i Rome' (= while he was still in Rome), id. 9733.

196. **driȝen**, submit to. **her** &c., in this and in all things.

201. **stonden—hond**, to be in my possession permanently: comp. 'Nu

stond al þis muchele lond : a Bailenes aȝere hond,' L 4330. Stonden in L often means little more than beon. a, unemphatic on : comp. ll. 215, 210.

202. **anes bule hude** : Madden suggests an or bules, but in the glossary treats bule as genitive : Mätzner thinks bule may represent a Scand. gen. bola ; but bule-hude is a compound of which the first element is uninflected, yet genitive in essence, and so capable of association with an adjective in that case : the principle is the same as in ahnes, 74/207 note ; the meaning is, the hide of one bull. **Ælches weies**, in every direction, but Mätzner explains, in any wise, any way, quoting 'Ælches weies him wes wa,' 18703, where the meaning appears to be, in both directions, on either side. in **grene O**, on a green, is a curious variant, and an early use of the noun in this sense.

204. **hæne . . . riche** ; a frequent combination in L : it means the lowly . . . the exalted, the commons . . . the nobles, rather than, the poor . . . the rich.

210. **þer . . . on**, on which : see 1/3.

213. **þe** refers to hude. **wunder ane strong** : this combination of wunder ane with an adjective as here and at 106/219, 108/258, is frequent in the older text of L. So we find wunder ane brad, bliȝe, cræftie, deop, fæir, laȝe, lihte, monie, wod. It is also found with adverbs, as 'þa weop Vȝer : wunder ane swiȝe,' L 18140, and once 'bitter ane swiȝe' occurs, L 30302, where O has 'biterliche swiȝe.' For wunder ane, O usually substitutes swiȝe or wunderliche or rewrites or omits, but once for 'wunder ane kene,' 19935, it has kept 'wonder one kene.' **Wunder** is an adverb, as in 'þat feht wes wnder strong,' L 1744 ; 'mid wunder muchele strengȝe,' id. 25078, and **ane** is OE. **āne**, **āne**, adverbial derivative of **ān**, in an extended use, uniquely, exceptionally, so that the combination means, wonderfully strong beyond all comparison. The translation in Specimens, 'a wonderfully strong one,' does not take into account the form of ane, and anticipates the pronominal use of an. In 'summe heo sæten stille' mucle ane stunde,' L 25121, ane is the acc. of the article, the meaning being, for a long time.

214. **cuȝe a** : on and of interchange with this verb elsewhere in L : so 'And alle þe cuȝe a boken,' C 14431, 'Ac al þat coupe of boke,' O.

218. **swule**, as it were : OE. **swylce** : O regularly substitutes ase.

220. 'Une corioie en estendi | De coi grant tère avirona,' W 7072. Similar tales are found in Virgil, Aeneid, i. 371 ; Saxo Grammaticus, ed. Holder, p. 143, of Ivar's foundation of London : comp. Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. San Marte, p. 313.

223. **muche**le ȝ **mare**, great and glorious : B-T. quotes 'Mære ȝ miclu weorc drihtnes,' Ps. Lamb., cx. 2.

224. **scop** . . . **hire**, shaped for it : OE. **naman**, or to **naman sciepan**, with dat. of person or thing named, as 'scōp him Heor[o]t naman,' Beowulf, 78; 179/107 note. L has a weak past also, 'ah scupte him nome,' 1951. 'Cest non Vancastre li a mis, | El langage de son païs. | Vancastre cest nom del quir prent, | Sel puet l'on nomer autrement | Chastel de corioie en romans, | Kaer Kaerai en bretans. | Or l'apèlent pluisor Lancastre | Qui ne savoient l'aqoison | Dont Vancastre ot premier cest non,' W 7075-84. The traditional site is Tong in Kent: 'Tong Castle or rather Thong Castle, in Saxon ȝwangceastre, in British Caer Kerry . . . both whiche woordes signifie a Thong of leather,' Lambarde, A Perambulation of Kent, ed. 1576, p. 195. But Camden in his Britannia, published in 1586, p. 306, places it in Lincolnshire, at Caster, six miles from Grimsby. L specializes in place-names; see his account of London, 7099, Hampton, 9376, Caen, 27923, Cernel, 29674. The formula in l. 227 occurs at 6062, 9380 &c.

228. **gome** is translated 'adventure' by Madden, rather, proceeding, tricky device.

230. **lane castel** and Wace's 'Lancastre' can hardly be meant for Lancaster; they are possibly due to the Lincolnshire tradition.

232. **com** is practically an auxiliary verb: comp. 'Leir wes cumen liðen,' Lear had arrived, L 3626, 5379; 'ȝenne ȝu cumes faren ham,' when thou dost fare home, id. 4398: similarly 'gon forð liðe,' 108/243, 245.

233. Read **rideren**: used vaguely for knights.

234. **comen** is probably an interpolation. **to iwiten**, that is to say: comp. 'and forð he gon liðen.' mid his Brutleoden. | ȝat is to iwitene.' mid twa hundred scipene,' L 30914. **æhtene**, 'good,' Madden; but the meaning wanted is, eighteen large ships; 'Vinrent dix huit nés cargies | De chevaliers et de maisnies,' W 7087; and so Madden corrects, iii. 487. Mätzner reads æhtetene, OE. **eahta tyne**, but **ahtene** occurs again C 18015, where O has **ehtetene**.

237. **umbe while**, after a (short) time: so 'umbe stunde,' L 26505; 'umben ane stunde,' id. 15924; 'umben longne first,' id. 287: O has usually the same variant as here, but 'bi on lutel stunde,' O 11969: see KH 333 note.

238. **mid**, among, ranking with: comp. 'cniht mid ȝane beste,' L 707, 'swike mid ȝan meste,' id. 2547; 'hærm mid ȝon meste,' id. 9806.

239. **bad** in C is OE. **bēad**, offered him hospitality; in O, OE. **bæd**,

invited him to a banquet, as also in C 241. *gistninge*, entertainment; ME. *gistnen*, derivative of OE. *giest*, influenced by OWScand. *gista*: see Björkman, 152.

240. to ȝeines him, against his coming, to receive him: comp. 'scipen he ȝer funde. | ȝat to-ȝenes him weoren ibonned,' L 9731. Elsewhere in L the preposition is joined with a verb of motion.

241. *fæire underfon*: see 5/11 note.

245. ȝ, until: see 72/179.

246. 'Le castel et l'œuvre agarda, | Mult fu bien fais, mult le loa,' W 7103.

249. Layamon's delight in descriptions of feasts and music is in strong contrast to Wace's prosaic manner. The present passage may be compared with L 3634, 5107, 14946. Mätzner would read *gomen-men*, musicians, or *gleomen*, with change of *cleopien* into *gleowien*, but *gomen* means games, a regular accompaniment of the feast (see KH 478 note), and *cleopien* proclaim, as in 'Lette ȝe king gan awal.' ȝ lude clepien ouer al,' L 3644.

250. *heten*, ordered; perhaps a mistake for *letten*, as L has generally *hehten* in this sense. With *breden* comp. 'bordes heo brædden,' L 18523, where O has 'bordes hii leiden': it means, to cover with cloth and viands.

251. *dræm* &c.: comp. 102/146; 'blisse wes on folke,' L 5108, 'blisse wes on hirede,' id. 14947.

252. ȝa—iloten, then had the better fallen to their lot; lucky men were they! OE. *gehlēotan*, to share by lot.

253—268. In L 14956—81 Ronwen again appears as cupbearer.

254. *vnimete* *prude*, boundless splendour: OE. *prȳto*, influenced in this meaning by OWScand. *prýpi*, ornament.

255. al ȝ *scrud*, all the clothing; *sing.*, the *pl.* is 'alle ȝa scrud,' L 10180: the number changes in *heo weoren*. *ibon*, prepared, adorned: comp. 'wel wes he ibon,' L 12805, in O *alle wel idiht*; 'ȝas scipen ibone,' id. 32037. It is an East Scand. *pp.* *bōin*, as *buen* is West Scand. *búinn*: 'iboned,' L 8086, with same meaning is *pp.* of the derivative **ibonen* parallel with *bounen*, derivative of *buen*. See Björkman, 206.

256. *ibrusted*, made bristly, rough: comp. 'alle ȝai mete-burdes.' *ibrusted* (*ibrustled* O) *mid golde*, L 24667; 'vestes auroque ostroque rigentes,' Virg. *Æn.*, xi. 72.

261. *sæt*, went down on: comp. 'ȝa hie for ȝam cumble on cneowum sæton,' Grein, ii. 484/180: see KH 781 note.

263. *wæs hæil* is OWScand. *væs heill*, be well, good health to you! In 'Lavert King wes hel tant li dist,' W 7115, the forms are English: comp.

'Wes þu, Hroðgar, hal!' Beowulf, 407. for — *uæin*: see 94/24: O means, for thy coming is wholesome to me; for *comes*, plural with meaning of singular, comp. 'hwanan eowre cyme syndon,' Beowulf 257; 'hwonan his cyme sindon,' Grein, iii. 89/1196; and for the usual expression, 94/24 note.

266. See 102/159. *weoren*, might be.

267. *Keredic*: 'Redic li respondi premiers, | Brez ert, si fu bons latini-ers; | Ce fu li premiers des Bretons | Qui sot le langaige as Sessions,' W 7119. The name, *Cerdic*, *Ceredic*, *Cerdicelmet*, is in Nennius, ed. Petrie, ch. xxxvii. *sellic*, marvellous, gifted.

268. *ær* is probably a scribe's mistake for *æuer*, due to *her* following.

271. *tiðende*, *þl.* practice: see 96/35; and for Hit with *beoð þl.* 1/10, 94/7. 'Costume est, sire, en son país,' W 7127.

272. *gladieð of drenche*, find enjoyment in drinking: of with the adj. is common, with the verb rare: comp. 126/310.

273. *Mid—hende*, with pleasant courteous looks, or manner, generally including gesture: ME. lat, lot is OWScand. *lát*, Björkman, 91. Comp. 'mid leofliche læten,' L 19396; 'mid swiðe uære læten,' id. 15661; 'mid wunsumme lades,' id. 12278. In Havelok 1246, 'Wesseyll þe[i] ledden fele siþe,' read *seyden* for *ledden*.

274. 'Quant ami boivent entre amis, | Que cil dist wes hel qui doit boire | Et cil drinkel qui doit recevoir,' W 7128. *drinc hail*, drink health, the latter word being a noun, OWScand. *heill*.

276. *oðer—fareð*, one brings another full one there. Different in W, 'Dont boit cil tote la moitié,' but afterwards he has 'Et de boire plain ou demi,' 7143.

277. *þreoien*: nothing corresponding in W, only 'entrebaisier.'

278. *sele lazen*, pleasing customs: see KH 1110 note.

284 O. *swipte*, tossed it off: OE. *swipian*, to lash; comp. OWScand. *svipa*, to move quickly.

286. *fain*: the English had a bad reputation for their drinking habits among their French neighbours. Wace describes their revels on the night before the battle of Hastings, 'Bublie crient e weisseil | E laticome e drincheheil, | Drinc hindrewart e drintome, | Drenc folf, drinc half e drinc tode,' Roman de Rou, ed. Andresen, 7377, that is, They cry, be blithe and wassail, and let it (the cup) come and drinchail, drink after and drink to me, drink full, drink half and drink to thee. 'Fercula multiplicat et sine lege bibunt. Wessail et dringail,' says Burnellus of the English students at Paris at the end of the twelfth century, Nigelli Speculum, 63/19. The parallel place in the prose Brut is, 'þat was þe ferst tyme þat "whatsaile"

and "drynkehaile" come vp into þis lande; and fram þat tyme into this tyme it Haþ bene wel vsede,' 52/13.

290. **mod...** **main**, mind and might: an OE. combination; comp. 'ȝa ongunnon heo sticcemælum mod ȝ mægen monian,' Bede, 54/8, = 'vires animosque resumere.' **halde to**, inclined to: OE. **hieldan**: its use elsewhere in L is quite different; 'þa hæðene hundes' hælden to grunde,' L 19558, is typical.

291. Comp. 'þe wurse him wes ful neh,' L 13284, 16636; 'þe wurs him wes on heorte,' id. 9215; 'þe scucke wes bi-tweonen,' id. 276; 'Tant l'a diables cimoné | Qui maint homme a à mal tourné,' W 7159. For **ælche**, **swilce** should perhaps be read.

292. **mæingde**, troubled, lit. mingled: the verb is mostly passive in L, as 'his mod him gon mengen' he morȝnede swiðe,' 3407; comp. 'Almast menged him his mode,' CM 8804.

293. **murnede**, said of painful longing.

295. **leoden to hærmē**, to his people's hurt: comp. 'Twenti ȝer he heold þis lond' þa leoden al to hærmē,' L 2580; 176/24 note: folk in O is dative.

298. **fundē—ræd**, thought it advisable: comp. 'he uunde on his ræde' to don þat heo hine beden,' L 21933; 'Hit is on mine rede' to don þat þu bede,' id. 31106; 12/5 in piece v. But W says he took the advice of his brother and friends, 'Loë li ont et consillié | Que il li doint délivrement,' W 7172.

XV. ORM

Manuscript: Junius 1, Bodleian Library, Oxford: an oblong folio, written in double columns on 118 leaves of parchment varying considerably in size, the largest being 508 × 200 mm.; about 1210 A.D., and an autograph, but corrected by a second and third hand. See further Holt, i. p. lxxvi.

Facsimiles: Skeat, W.W., Twelve Facsimiles, plate iv. Palaeographical Society; Second Series, plate 133. Napier, A. S., Notes on the Orthography of the Ormulum, Oxford, 1893, also in History of the Holy Rood-tree, E. E. T. S., O. S. 103.

Editions: White, R. M., Oxford, 1852. Holt, R., 2 vols., Oxford, 1878. Extracts in Mätzner, Sweet's First Middle English Primer, 48-81, Emerson and other Readers.

Literature: The Author: Logeman, H., Archiv, cxvii. 29; Björkman, E., Archiv, cxix. 33, cxxiii. 23; Bradley, H., Athenaeum, May 19,

1906; Wilson, J., *ibid.*, July 28, 1906; Phonology: Blackburn, F. A., The Change of *p* to *t* in the Ormulum, *American Journal of Philology*, iii. 46; Bülbring, K. D., Die Schreibung *eo* im Ormulum, *Bonner Beiträge*, xvii. 51; Callenberg, C., Layamon und Orm nach ihren Lautverhältnissen verglichen, Jena, 1876; Hale, E. E., Open and Close *e* in the Ormulum, *Modern Language Notes*, viii. 37; Kaphengst, C., An Essay on the Ormulum, Elberfeld, *n. d.*; *Lambertz, P., Die Sprache des Ormmulums, Marburg, 1904; Menze, G., Der Ostmittelländische Dialekt, Strassburg. diss., Cöthen, 1889; *Napier, A. S., as above; Grammar: Funke, O., see p. 450; Sachse, R., Das unorganische *e* im Ormulum, Halle, 1881; Thuns, B., Das Verbum bei Orm, *Leipziger Diss.*, Weida, 1909; Weyel, F., Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Ormulum, Meiderich, 1896; Zenke, W., Synthesis und Analysis im Ormulum, Götting. Diss., Halle, 1910, completed in Morsbachs Studien, no. xl; Consonant Doubling: Björkman, E., Ormms Doppelkonsonanten, *Anglia*, xxxvii. 351 (good summary of previous literature); Effer, H., Einfache und doppelte Konsonanten im Ormulum, *Anglia*, vii, *Anzeiger*, 166; Holthausen, F., Wel und well im Ormulum, *Anglia*, Beiblatt, xiii. 16; Trautmann, M., Orm's Doppelkonsonanten, *Anglia*, vii, *Anzeiger*, 94, 208, *Anglia*, xviii. 371; General: Brate, E., Nordische Lehnwörter im Ormulum, Paul-Braune, *Beiträge*, x. 1, 580; Deutschbein, M., Die Bedeutung der Quantitätszeichen bei Orm, *Archiv*, cxxvi. 49, cxxvii. 308; Kluge, F., Das französische Element im Ormulum, *ES* xxii. 179; Kölbing, E., Zur Textkritik des Ormulum, *ES* i. 1, ii. 494; Monicke, C. H., Notes and Queries on the Ormulum, Leipzig, 1853; Reichmann, H., Die Eigennamen im Ormulum, Göttingen, 1905, and as no. xxv of Morsbachs Studien; Sarrazin, G., Über die Quellen des Ormmulums, *ES* vi. 1.

Phonology: Orm supplemented the current graphic methods by devices of his own. Thus he systematically doubled a consonant after a short vowel in a closed syllable, so *tunnderrstanndenn* 109. Whether he meant thereby to indicate shortness of the vowel or length of the consonant is disputed. The latter view seems the more probable; the difficulty which is presented by the occurrence of the doubled consonant in unstressed syllables, where it is short in ordinary speech, is removed if, with Björkman, we suppose that the phonetist isolated his syllables in testing their value. Where the consonant after an open syllable is in fact short, Orm often places a breve over the preceding short vowel, as *wītenn* 3, *tākenn* 40, *wāke* 76, 82, 105, *hēte* 87, *hēre* 123, but fails at times, as in *sune* 20, *wake* 56, *here* 114, 143. Likewise he uses very seldom an almost horizontal accent to indicate vowel length, as *ā* 174, but more frequently, as if to

emphasize his warning against possible error, doubles it, as *lêt*, *fêt* 10, *hât* 37, *ût* 53, &c., or even for greater insistence trebles it, as *clût* 2, *zêt* 39, mostly before final *t*. Here, too, he is not systematic, thus time 115 has a single mark of length twenty times elsewhere, and words like *ut* have sometimes two, sometimes three accents.

Furthermore, Orm invented a special symbol *ȝ* with a flat top projecting on both sides for the guttural stop *g*, reserving the continental *g* for the *dʒh* sound in such words as *egge* (edge), *leggen*, *seggen*: the latter occurs in this extract only in *gluternesse* 167, and that by mistake. In his representation of late OE. *eo*, *ēo*, the author hesitated between *eo* and *e*, preferring the former at the beginning, but gradually increasing the use of the latter, so that it becomes normal in the last third of the work and invariable in the Dedication and Preface, which were, no doubt, written last of all. He then appears to have aimed at uniformity by scraping out, not always effectually, the *o* wherever he had written *eo*, which was restored in many instances (but apparently not in this extract) by a later scribe in a fainter ink and thinner letter. Holt, by printing *eo* wherever it once existed, fails to represent the actual state of the manuscript: in this extract *o* is still visible, though partly erased, in *heore* 56, *heoffness*, *leome* 57, *ȝeossternesse* 65, *deoffless* 67, *heoffness*, *leome* 70, *heoffness* 77, *mild-heorrtnesse* 78, *heoffness* 107, 113, *deoffless* 126; everywhere else it is completely erased. Finally, *heffness* 174 is so written without erasure in a line added lengthwise on the margin, perhaps from the following leaf, which is now missing and may have been withdrawn by the author. It is generally held that Orm employed *eo* and *e* to represent the same sound, the former being a traditional spelling. This is unlikely on the part of a determined phonetician like Orm, who would naturally be impatient of traditional spellings. Much more probable is Bülbring's view that Orm spoke a mixed dialect, in which an [ö] sound existed beside the [e] sound, and that he finally decided for the latter.

Oral *a* is *α*, acc 3, *habbenn* 51; *a* before nasals *α*, *grammcunndnesse* 86, 'nāme' i. 9717; *a* before lengthening groups *α*, *faldess* 56 (*fal(o)d*), *hande* 10, *sang* 131, but short in *annd* 114, unstressed, *stanndenn* 67, 117: the indefinite pronoun is *mann* 36. *æ* is *α*, *affterr* 21, *fasste* 59, *wāke* 76; *þat* 46 was probably meant for *þatt*: *wrecche* 4 (4 times), *wrecchlike* 24 is OE. *wrecca*. *e* is *e*, *cwellen* 38, *hēre* 123, *hēte* 87, *sett* 146, but *seġt* 68 (probably miswritten), stressed *wel* 34 (13), qualifying a verb, and in most cases at the end of the first half-line, beside *well* 29 (4), qualifying adjective or adverb; *e* before lengthening groups is *e*, *ende* 113, *genge* 129, but short are *senndeþþ* 62 and *enngle* 15 (10), with a consonant after the

lengthening group: *whille* 152, *iwhille* 134, 161 represent **hwile**, **gehwiſc**, **swillke** 69, **swilc**. *i* is *z*, *cribbe* 2, *friþþ* 133, *inn* 2 &c., *mikell* 93, *witenn* 3 (*Orm* divided *wiþþ* *utenn* 113), but in 170: *i* before lengthening groups is *z*, *bindenn* 10, *child* 4, *shildenn* 67, 126, but *brinngenn* 18, *sinndenn* 74, 169, *winnde* *clūt* 2, 7. *o* is *o*, *folc* 30, *biforenn* 16; before lengthening groups *o*, *unorneliþ* 45, *worde* 60, but short are *wolde* 5, *forþpriht* 1 (usually *forþ* uncompounded): *o* is *u* in *wurþenn* 33, 48 (**worden**) by analogy of the infinitive. *u* is *u*, *stunnt* 27, *vnnorne* 4; before lengthening groups *u*, *sunngenn* 131, *tunge* 119, *wundenn* 7, but short are *hunngerr* 37, *unnderrstann-denn* 109, *wullderr* 132, *wunnderrliþ* 35. *y* is *z*, *dill* 27 (***dyll**), *gillteþþ* 155, *ifell* 64, *þrist* 37, *wrihte* 151; before lengthening groups, *kinde* 108, but *birrþ* 3, 44.

ā is *a*, *ā* 174, *lare* 79, *whas* 90; before two consonants *a*, *bitacneþþ* 100, *gast* 73: shortening in *hallþhe* 69: **swā** is usually *swa* 17, but *se* 1 (**swā**). *æ*₁ is *æ*, *hæþenn* 161, *læreþþ* 73, *sæ* 12; before two consonants *æ*, *næfre* 41, *unnc lænnesse* 161, but *a* in *aniþ* 157 (**ānig**), *lasse* 39, *mast* 169 (*North. māst*). *æ*₂ is mostly *æ*, *færedd* 84, 91, *lætenn* 45, 54, *þær* 19 (4), *wæde* 8, *wære* 17 (3), *wærenn* 58 (3), but *e* in *greditlæþc* 167, and with shortening, *sellþe* 95. *ē* is *e*, *betenn* 158, *eche* 19, *fēt* 10, *lēt* 10, but *o* in *dop* 29 &c., from the plural. *ī* is *z*, *bliþe* 85, *pinenn* 36, *riche* 5 (4); before two consonants *z*, *crist* 1, 90, *cristenn* 49, but elsewhere usually *crissten*-*dom*. *ō* is *o*, *dom* 75, *god* 71; before two consonants *o*, *frofrenn* 60, 66: shortened in *comm* 26, 30, 55, *soffte* 85. *ū* is *u*, *brukenn* 174, - *clūt* 2, *ūt* (*numen*) 53; shortened in *vpp* 18, 142, *uss* 3, 62. *ȳ* is *z*, *bisne* 43 (**bȳsne**), *grisliþ* 91 (***grȳsliþ**), *kiþenn* 92, *litell* 21 (3), *shrideþþ* 6.

ea before *r* + cons. is *a*, *naru* 13, *starrke* 75; before lengthening groups *æ*, *ærd* 5, *middelærd* 6, but *harrd* 37, *towarrd* 87, *warrþ* 3 (3). The *i*-umlaut is not represented in this extract, it is *e* in 'errfe' i. 1068, beside 'dærne' i. 2004, where *æ* represents **ea** before a lengthening group. **ea** before *l* + cons. is *a* (*Anglian*), all 3 &c., *halff* 36, 93; before lengthening groups *a*, *haldenn* 22, *kald* 37, *walde* 124; the *i*-umlaut is *e*, *beldeþþ* 79, corrected out of miswritten *beoldeþþ*; see 359/5. **eo** before *r* + cons. is *e*, *herre* 89, 119, but misspelt *herte* 134; before lengthening groups *e*, *erless* 164, *erþe* 20 (4). To the **wur** group belong *forwerrpenn* 149, *wurþenn* 17 (3), *wurþshipe* 132: *þernenn* 21 is without umlaut, but *hirde* 53, *hirdess* 46, *irre* 75, 167. **eo** before *l* + cons. is seen in *self* 53, *sellfenn* 19 (4). **eo**, *u*-umlaut of *e* is *eo*, *heoffness* 57 (5), but *e* in *heffness* 5 (11), *hefennlike* 8, *werelld* 9: the *ā*-umlaut of *e* is wanting in *berenn* 29; the umlaut of *i* is *eo* in *heore* 56, but here 50, 'fele' i. 7640. **ea** after palatals is *a*, shall

134, shaffte 9, unnschapiznesse 50 (**scæppig**). **ie** after **g** is *i*, ʒifenn 14 (5), ʒifeþþ 72, gife 174: ʒef is ʒiff 80. **eo** after **g** is *u*, ʒung 108; after **sc**, *o*, sholde 47, 94, sholldenn 50, 96.

ēa is *æ*, læfe 49, ræfenn 89, sæm 29, but *e* in *ec* 53 &c.; its *i*-umlaut is *e*, ekedd 129, lefenn 96. **ēo** is *e*, ben 7, bitwenenn 141, defell 86 (3), lefe 34, lem 77 (4), sen 40, þed 15, and *eo*, deofless 67, leome 57, seo 91; ʒho 2 (**hēo**) shows shifted accent: the *i*-umlaut of **ēo** is wanting in lesenn 102, nede 33, stereþþ 9, þessternesne 63, 160, þeossternesne 65. **gīet** is ʒēt 39. **ēa** after palatals is *e*, shep 50, 54, **iē** after **g**, *e*, ʒemenn 52, 125.

a + g is *aʒh*, laʒhess 22. **æ + g** is *aʒʒ*, daʒʒ 99 (= *daī*), daʒʒess s.g. 100 (= *dai-ess*), laʒʒ 16, maʒʒ 40 (3), but seʒʒde 92 (as if from **sægde*). **e + g** is *eʒʒ*, leʒʒd 13 (= *leīd*). Final **-ig** is *iʒ* (= *ī*), aniʒ 157, bodiʒ 173, grisliʒ 91, modiʒnesse 87; greditleʒʒc 167 is probably miswritten. **i + h** is *ihh*, sihhþe 58, 77. **o + g** is *oʒh*, forrhoʒhenn 149. **u + g** is *uʒh*, muʒhenn 80, 142. **ā + g** is *aʒh*, aʒhenn 3, 54. **ō + g** is *oh*, inoh 31. **ea + h** is seen in waxenn 137; the *i*-umlaut in mihhte 36, 137, nihht 55, 57, but mahht 72, allmahhtiʒ 108, nahht 46 (4) descend from Anglian forms in **æ**. **eo + ht** is *ihht* in brihhte 77, rihhte 49, 89, 91, fihhten 123; the *i*-umlaut is wanting in seþ 84 (corr. out of seop). **ēa + h** is *ehh*, þehh 74 (**ðēh** shortened by loss of stress), neh 30. **ēo + ht** is seen in lihht 57 (as if from *leoht*). **ā + w** gives *aw*, sawless 69, 129, wawenn 151. hewe 70 is from Anglian **hēow**: ohht 145 represents **oht**, similarly nohht 40, 91. **ēa + w** appears in awwnedd 105 (***ēawnian**); **ēo + w** in reweþþ 158 (corr. out of reoweþþ), trowwþe 90 (**treowþ** without umlaut and with shifted accent), þeww 72 (= *þeū*: from **þeow**), so, too, þewwten 31.

Ealswā is alls 172: for *e*, *i* appears in drihhtin 42 (6); it is lost in wiþpren 150, added in swikedomesse 67, 168, onne 29, 'offe' i. 4097 by analogy of *inne*, *uppe*: *o* is *a* in *anan* 1. The prefix **ge** is *i*, iwhillec 134, 161.

Metathesis of *r* is seen in þrisst 37, wrihhte 151. *n* is lost in *i* 2, *o* 36; by inadvertence it is not doubled in unorneliʒ 45, comp. vnnorne 4. *f* is used in every position, faldess 56, hafeþþ 28, hallfe 93, but it was probably voiced between vowels and vowellikes, *v* as in 'serven' i. 506 is rare. For **d**, **þ** appears by analogy in wurþenn 33, 48. After **d**, **t**, certain pronominal words change initial **þ** to *t*, tær 13, tanne 94, tatt 13 &c., teʒʒ 128, te 25, 115, tu 34. **scé** is regularly *sh*, shrideþþ 6, shop 9, nesshe 37; in bisscopess 51, 'bisskopess' i. 7233 (but elsewhere bissshopess), and mennissnesse 38, *sc* is probably due to Scandinavian influence. The stop *c* is *k* before *e*, *i*, makenn 5, mannkin 21, *c* before *o*, *u*, other consonants and final, comin 26, clut 2, flocc 49, *ec* 53 (contrast ekedd 129), *k* or *c* in other positions, kald 37. **č** is *ch*, child 4, eche 19, but palatalization does not take place in

swillke 69, illke 13, illkess 161, iwhillec 134, whillec 152 and ekedd 129, mikell 93, miccle 33. *ö* is *cch* in wrecche 4: *ew* is regularly preserved, cwellenn 38, cwike 15; *qu* occurs in the Latin words quarrrerne, quapbrigan. Palatal *g* is 3, 3æn 73, 3ernenn 21, 3ifenn 14 (6), but gife 174: the guttural spirant is 3*h*, foll3henn 79, 107, 165, hall3he 69, sinn3heþþ 155. The guttural stop *g* is distinguished from the *dzh* sound in edge, which is represented by *g*. *h* is lost initially in laferd 25, ðesshe 37, reweþþ 158: *hēo* is 3*ho* 2: *hw* is *w*h**, whas 90, whatt 137.

Accidence: Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. In the *s. n.* sune 20, 106 represents *sunu*. *Gen.* -ess, da33ess 100, deofless 67, heffness 14, lifess 100, but, by a scribal error, da33es 75: *d.* -e, hewe 170, sune 96, worde 60, and six others, but the inflection is mostly wanting, as in bodi3 173, da33 99, dom 75, and thirty-two others. The *acc.* heffne 12 is due to the LWS. *fem.* **heofone**. The *pl. n. a.* of masculines ends in -ess, hirdess 46, bisscopess 51; neuters are shep 50, 54, ? willess 126: genitives are enngle (ped) 15, 122, kinne 64, 71, 157: datives have mostly -ess, bandess 11, clapess 24, but þinge 71, wrihhte 151. The *fem.* nouns of the strong declension end in *e* in the *s. n. a.*, blisse, sellȝc 95, are 80, bisne 43, except mahht 72, þed 15, werelld 9, and sæ 12. *Gen.* -e, helle 101, 151, possibly blisse 174: *dat.* -e, blisse 18, cribbe 2, hallfe 93, but hallf 36. *Pl. g.* is þede 122; *d.* sawless 129; *a.* hande 10, shaffte 9, sawless 69. Nouns of the weak declension have mostly -e in all cases of the singular, but demess 75 is genitive and, before the caesura, lem 77, dative, beside leome 57, lem 107, 163 accusative: a *pl. n.* is wawenn 151. The minor declensions are represented by fet *pl. a.* 10, mann *s. n.* 20, manness *s. g.* 172, manne *s. d.* 30, mann *s. a.* 134, menn *pl. n.* 76, *pl. d.* 49, 56; nahht *s. d.* 46, nihht *s. a.* 57; moderr *s. d.* 1; child *s. n.* 4.

Adjectives which in OE. end in *e* retain that termination throughout, as blipe 85, cweme 152, eche 19, 100, 103, milde 82, riche 5, 112, 165, soffte 85, vnnorne 4. Instances of weak inflections are *s. d. m.* lape 165, lefe 34, rihhte 49, starrke 75, *s. d. f.* brihhte 77, *s. a. m.* lape 32, 73, 123, *s. a. neut.* rihhte 89, rume 14: strong inflections are few, *s. d. f.* fulle 90, hefennlike 8, 173, *s. a. m.* gode 153: all others are uninflected in the singular. The plural ends in -e, glade 127, gode 147, hall3he 69, lape 31, 66, 126, cwike 15. Adjectives used as nouns are not inflected. *mycel* in the strong declension is mikell, *s. d. f.* 131, *s. a. f.* 93, *s. a. neut.* 61, in the weak, miccle *s. d. f.* 33 (*myelan*), *s. a. neut.* 120 (*mycle*). *āgen* gives a3henn 3, 54 without inflection. OE. *ān* is an *n. m.* 114, a 172, aness *g. m.* 170, an *d. f.* 2, *a. m.* 49, *a. f.* 3. Comparatives are bettre, mare 145, lasse 39; superlative, mast 169.

The personal pronouns are *uss*, *tu*, after *t*, 34, *þe*. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n.* *he m.* 3, *þho f.* 2, *itt neut.* 28 (with *asse mf.*); *d.* *himm m.* 17, 23; *a.* 2, *itt neut.* 29 (with *sæm m.*); *þl. n.* *þe33* 130, *te33*, after *t*, 52; *d. a.* *þe33m*. Reflexives are *himm* 10, 173, *þe sellfenn* 44, 45, *himm sellfen* 19, 35: definitive, *himm self* 53: possessives, *ure* 4; *hiss*, as general form for the singular, 1, 3, 16, 34, 47, 54, but *hise g. m.* 155; *þl. a.* *hise* 22; here 50, *heore* 56, *te33re*, after *t*, 32. The definite article is *þe*, *te*, after *t*, 25, 126: *þatt* (*þ*), *tatt*, after *t*, is demonstrative adjective 13 or demonstrative pronoun 26; its plural is *þa adj.* 56 and *þron.* 22. The compound demonstrative is *s.* *þiss* 6, *þl.* *þise*. The relative is *þatt*, *tatt*, after *t*, 13, 27; *þatt* 30, 36, = *in*, *on* which, *þurh whatt* 137, 144, *by that by which*. Interrogative is *whille* 152 (*hwelc*); its correlative is *swillke þl. a.* 69: *ilca* is *illke s. n.* 13, 152, *a.* 97, 118. Indefinites are *mann* 29, 36, 38, 169; *whase* 154, *whas* 90, *whoso*; *illkess* 161, *every*; *iwhille* 134, 161; *ani3 þl. g.* 157; all *s. n. neut.* 30, *d. neut.* 64, 94, *a. m.* 32, *f.* 9, *neut.* 14, but *alle s. d. f.* 6; *þl. alle n.* 128, *alre g.* 169, *alle* 64, 71, *all* 122, *alle d.* 172, *a.* 5, 9, 22: *all* 168 is apparently *s. n.* = *everyone*.

Infinitives end in *-enn*, except *sen* 40, *fon* 36: of the second weak conjugation are *foll3henn* 107, *forho3henn* 149, *lofenn* 110, *lokenn* 156, *makenn* 5, *pinenn* 36, *ræfenn* 89, *sammnenn* 48, *tacnenn* 47, *þankenn* 120. The *dat. inf.* is not inflected, to *berenn* 29, *tunnderrstanndenn* 109, to *sen* 116, *forr* to *kipenn* 92, for . . . to *makenn* 112. Presents are *s.* 3. *beldeþþ* 79, *bitacneþþ* 100, and nineteen others; contracted, *birrþ* 3, 44, *seþ* 84, *stannt* 158; *þl.* *cumenn* 70, *haldenn* 22, *lufenn* 23, *stanndenn* 117, *waken* 66, *wiþþrenn* 150: *subjunctive s.* 3. *gife* 174, *seo* 91. Past of Strong Verbs: I *a. s.* 3. *la33* 16: I *b. s.* 3. *comm* 26, 30, 55: I *c. s.* 3. *wand* 2, *warrþ* 3, 20, 42; *þl.* 3. *sungenn* 131: IV. *s.* 3. *shop* 9, *toc* 60, 82; *þl.* 3. *unnderrstodenn* 135, *wokenn* 46, 56 (form from *wacan*, meaning from *wacian*): V. *s.* 3. *let* 10. Participles past: I *a.* *3ifenn* 17: I *b.* *borenn* 1, 97, *cumenn* 92, *utnumen* 53: I *c.* *wundenn* 7, *wurrþenn* 33, 48: IV. V. *waxenn* 138: V. *forrdredd* 88, *forrdredde adj. þl.* 59, 83, *offdredde* 74. Past of Weak Verbs: *s.* 3. *le33de* 2, *se33de* 92. Participles past: *bitacnedd* 81, *ekedd* 129, *le33d* 13, *sett* 68, 146. Minor Groups: *witenn inf.* 3, *witt* 2 *s. imp.* 34, *wisste pt. s.* 83, *wisstenn pt. pl.* 128, 139; shall *pr. s.* 134, *sholld* *pt. s.* 47, 94, *shollden pt. pl.* 50, 96; *muzhenn inf.* 142, *ma33 pr. s.* 40, 152, 171, *muzhenn pr. pl. subj.* 80, *mihhte pt. s.* 36, 137; *ben inf.* 7, *iss pr. s.* 63, 151 (apparently with *þl. nominative*), *niss* 91, *sinndenn pr. pl.* 74, 169, *be pr. s. subj.* 28, *si* 3 *s. imp.* 132, *wass pt. s.* 1, *wærenn pt. pl.* 58, 76, 127, *wære pt. s. subj.* 17, 138, 172; *wile pr. s.* 88, *wolld* *pt. s.* 5; *to don dat. inf.* 32, *dop pr. s.* 29, 109, *missdop* 157, *don pp.* 61, 118.

Vocabulary: Scandinavian are afell 28, aʒʒ 44, baþe 10, fra 67, gætenn 52, griþþ 133, laʒhenn 44, lahʒhre 43, mec 85, occ 117, sahht(nesse) 140, skerrenn 88, skill (læs) 27, summ 27, takenn 40, till 49, (inn)till 18, þeʒʒ 74, þeʒʒre 32, þohh 28, usell 4, usell(dom) 24, and the suffix in (modiʒ)leʒʒc, (gredit)leʒʒc 167; possibly also bandess 10, come 148, deʒeþþ 41. French is gluter(nesse) 167; long i in Crist shows new borrowing from French.

Dialect: East Midland bordering on the North; a mixed dialect, which possibly accounts for the wavering in the representation of eo, ēo. The large Scandinavian element in the vocabulary and the absence of u in final syllables (372/34) point to the East; the representation of ā + w, the development of c, g, and perhaps the uniform appearance of ā as a in this thirteenth-century text, show Northern influence. Lambertz has noted so many correspondences between the phonology of Orm and that of the Rushworth gloss on the Gospel of S. Matthew as to make it probable that they belong to the same dialectal area. The Northern border of Lincolnshire was most probably the place where the Ormulum was written.

Metre: For the scheme of the Septenarius see p. 327. Orm's verse is monotonously regular; every line has its fifteen syllables exactly counted out and ends in x; the caesura comes after the eighth syllable; the rhythm is iambic without substitution. For the sake of this uniformity he does violence to the natural accent in Nipþrédd 35, Bisscópess 51, Enngléss 69, sahhtnéss 140, drihhtíness 171, though Schipper regards such cases as examples of 'hovering accent,' wherein the stress is distributed equally over the two syllables having the word-accent and the verse-accent,—a spondee rather than an iamb. Elision takes place regularly before an initial vowel or h, sonę, leʒʒde 2, vnnorę, wrecche 4, heffinę 12, mihhte 36, wollde 54, wile 88, seʒʒde 94, whasę 154, &c. Sometimes e is not written, as in whas 90; crasis is found elsewhere in hēt (= he itt), ʒhōt (= ʒho itt), þūtt (= þu itt), and similar combinations.

Introduction: The author of the Ormulum speaks of himself under two names in 'Þiss boc iss nemmnedd Ormulum Forrþi þatt Orm itt wrohhte,' Preface 1, 2, and 'Icc wass þær þær I crisstnedd wass Orrmin bi name nemmnedd,' Dedication 323, 4. The former was a fairly common name in the Scandinavian districts of the North; in the latter, not found elsewhere, he has probably added, as befitting the ritual occasion, the Latin termination in from inus, as in Awwstin (= Augustinus). In the same way, as Bradley suggests, he has taken the termination of Ormulum from Speculum, as often occurring in titles of devotional books, like Speculum Laicorum, Conscientiae, Sanctorale. He tells us that he wrote at the request of his brother Walter, who was, like himself, an Augustinian Canon;

his purpose was to paraphrase and expound, for the benefit of unlearned English folk, the Gospels of the Mass throughout the year. His exposition is drawn for the most part from S. Bede, and particularly from his sermons and commentaries, and to a small extent from S. Gregory the Great. Traces of his acquaintance with S. Isidore and Josephus, through Hege-sippus, have been found by Sarrazin.

Nothing further is known of Orm, but Bradley has made it probable that he was an inmate of Elsham Priory in North Lincolnshire (Dugdale, vi. 560). The contention of J. Wilson that he was identical with Orm, brother of Walter, Prior of Carlisle between 1150 and 1170, would be very attractive, if it were not for the philological difficulty, for the Ormulum is undoubtedly written in the Midland dialect, and must be dated about 1210.

This extract gives ll. 3662-4009, in Holt, i. pp. 126-38.

1. **Forrprihht anan se**, lit. Straightway forthwith as, i. e. as soon as. Orm has 'forrprihht se, anan se, sone swa, son se, forrprihht summ, anan summ,' all with this same meaning, and forrprihht summ, immediately, ii. 42/11404. Orm's expletives are a feature of his dreary style; in his dedication he says that he has set 'maniz word | þe rime swa to fillenn,' that is, to make up the number of syllables required for his metre; he makes extensive use of all, 112/3, 16 &c. Beside anan, Orm has the primitive onn an, continuously, without a break.

2-18. The original of this passage is, '*Et pannis eum involvit et reclina-vit eum in praesepio . . . parvulus natus est nobis*, ut nos viri possimus esse perfecti. Qui totum mundum vario vestit ornatu, pannis vilibus involvitur, ut nos stolam primam recipere valeamus. Per quem omnia facta sunt, manus pedesque cunis adstringitur, ut nostrae manus ad opus bonum exertae, nostri sint pedes in viam pacis directi. Cui coelum sedes est, duri praesepis angustia continetur, ut nos per coelestis regni gaudia dilatet. Qui panis est Angelorum, in praesepio reclinatur, ut nos quasi sancta animalia carnis suae frumento reficiat,' Bede, v. 234.

2. **ȝ** = annd; see 115/114.

3. **uss birrþ**, we ought: a favourite expression of Orm.

5. **heffness ærd**, heaven's region: a phrase suggested by middellærd.

9. **shaffte**, creatures: OE. *gesceafta*.

10. **baþe** belongs to fet **ȝ hande**.

12-14. This section diverges in form from those before and after it, as also from the original. The subject of **filleþþ** is **þatt illke child**. **heff-ness rume riche**, the wide kingdom of heaven: perhaps suggested by 'ut amplitudinem nobis supernarum sedium tribueret' of Bede's Sermon, vii. 300.

16. **all alls** = all else, alswa, quite as.

17. **Swa summ**, so as, just as if: **summ** is OEScand. **sum**: more usually the phrase means, just as, 112/27, 113/47, 55. Variants are 'all swa summ,' O. Introd. 43; 'all all swa summ,' 114/76; 'all all swa se,' O. Dedication, 281. **fode**: the ass represents the Gentiles, of whom Bede says, 'plurimi . . . coelestibus eius (= Christi) quaerebant alimoniis ad perpetuam crescere salutem,' vii. 300.

19. And give himself as everlasting food there to us with angels.

21. to **ʒernenn**, &c., to be content with a humble lot.

27. **stunnt ʒ dill**: comp. 'ʒ stunnt ʒ stidiʒ, dill ʒ slaw | to sekenn saw-less seollþe,' O. i. 344/9885.

28. **afell**, strength. O. has also a *pp.* **afedd**, endowed with strength, 'Forr cnapechild iss afedd wel,' O. i. 274/7903; opposed to 'unnstrang.'

30. **patt**, when: so þe 15/84, þa 15/93. **comm . . . to manne**, was incarnate: comp. 36/117, 114/97; 'þe becom to mannum mid iudeiscum folce,' Ælf. Lives, ii. 60/89; 'hu hi to mannum comon,' AS. Hom. ed. Assmann, 26/44; 'Hwarto was he aure iscapen te manne,' VV 113/14, regularly with *pl. dat.*; contrast 'ic ʒe to men gebær,' I bore thee as a man, Ælf. Lives, ii. 78/175.

31. **laþe gastess**, hateful spirits, i.e. false gods: 'in asino autem exprimit populum gentium, qui sordibus idololatriae semper manebat immundus,' Bede, vii. 300.

33, 34. **þurh þ . . . þurh þ**, inasmuch as, whereas . . . thereby, as a consequence; propter quod . . . propter id: so 115/114, 116. O. is fond of these formal correlatives: comp. 'forr þi . . . Forr þ,' 113/48.

35. **nippredd**, lowered, humbled: OE. **geniperod**, *pp.* of **niperian**. **wannsædd**, diminished: OE. **wansian**. Comp. 'ʒ ille an lawe ʒ ille an hill | Shall nippredd beon ʒ laʒhedd,' O. i. 321/9205; 'A33 nippreþþ Godess genge, | ʒ cwelleþþ hemm ʒ wannseþþ hemm,' id. 279/8032.

36. **o þ hallf þ**, in that part of his nature in which: see 46/292.

39. **ʒet lasse**, still lower: 'qui modico quam Angeli minoratus est,' Heb. ii. 9.

43. **lahʒhre inoh**, sufficiently lower, i.e. much lower.

45. **lætenn**, &c., think very meanly: comp. 44/260.

46-53: suggested by, 'Apte autem satis hoc superna est providentia dispositum, ut nascente Domino pastores in vicinia civitatis (eiusdem) vigilarent, suosque greges a timore nocturno vigilando protegerent. Oportebat namque, ut cum magnus pastor ovium, hoc est, animarum nutritor fidelium, in mundo natus est, testimonium eius nativitati vigilantes super gregem suum pastores darent. . . . Nam et futurum (iam) tunc erat, ut per

orbem universum electi pastores, id est, praedicatores sancti, mitterentur, qui ad ovile Dominicum, videlicet sanctam Ecclesiam, populos credentium cogèrent,' Bede, vii. 301.

46. **wokenn**, kept watch : comp. 113/56.

48. **forr þi . . . Forr þ**, for that reason . . . because : like 'eone es ferox, quia habes imperium in beluas?' Tefence, Eun. iii. 1. 25.

49. **rihhte læfe** : see 89/28.

52. **þemenn . . . gaetenn** : comp. 114/68, 115/125 : synonyms, the former English, the latter Scandinavian.

53. **utnumenn hirde** : 'princeps pastorum,' 1 Pet. v. 4.

56. **wakemenn**, watchers.

57. **lihht ȝ leome** : often in O. ; comp. 114/70, 77, 115/107 ; 'Ah swuch leome ȝ liht | leitede þrinne,' SK 1582. **leome** is flame, a bright and flashing light. With 57-70 comp. 'Bene autem vigilantibus pastoribus angelus apparet, eosque Dei claritas circumfulget. Quia illi prae ceteris videre sublimia merentur, qui fidelibus gregibus praeesse solliciti sciunt, dumque ipsi pie super gregem vigilant, divina super eos gratia largius coruscat,' Bede, v. 235.

63. **þessterrnesse** : comp. 'Þiss þessterrnesse iss hæþenndom | ȝ dwilðe inn hæfedd sinness,' O. ii. 303/18855.

64. **Inn—sinne**, in sin of all kinds ; comp. 114/71, 116/157, 'O fele kinne wise,' O. i. 123/3573, and see 132/9 note.

67. **stanndenn inn** : comp. 116/158 ; 'Affterr þatt he beoþ fullhtnedd, | Birrþ stanndenn inn to þeowwtenn Crist,' O. ii. 43/11434, where Mätzner says it = perseverare : in Specimens it is translated, continue. **Orm** is, in his literal way, translating L. *instare*, to press on, to be zealous, a meaning which suits well here and elsewhere : the phrase is peculiar to him.

71. **god innsihht**, 'recta sapere,' 'a right judgement in all things.'

72. **hiss þeww**, to his servant.

74. **þohh swa þehh**, notwithstanding : OE. **þeah**, yet, was reinforced by the addition of **swā**, **swā þeah** meaning even so yet : to this in **Orm** is prefixed the Scandinavian **þoh**, although. See Björkman, 73.

75. **starrke**, rigid, stern : 'se hearda dæg,' Christ, 1065.

76-91 : this passage is mainly a repetition of O. 20/657-80, which comments on the appearance of Gabriel to Zacharias, S. Luke i. 11 : it is drawn from Bede's Commentary : 'Trementem Zachariam confortat Angelus : quia sicut humanae fragilitatis est spiritalis creaturae visione turbari, ita et angelicae benignitatis est paventes de aspectu suo mortales mox blandiendo solari. At contra daemonicae est ferocitatis quos sui praesentia territos

senserit ampliori semper horrore concutere, quae nulla melius ratione quam fide superatur intrepida,' v. 220.

78. **hihht**, joyful expectation.

79. **frofreþþ . . . beldeþþ**, comforts . . . encourages, a favourite combination : comp. O. Dedication, 237 ; i. 20/662.

82. **Too**, betook himself, began.

89. **shetenn inn hiss herste**: Holt translates, 'shut up, harden,' wrongly connecting **shetenn** with OE. **scyttan**: it represents **scēotan**, meaning, to shoot into his heart, to inflict a deadly wound: the expression was suggested by such places as 'þæt hi magon sceotan þa unscyldigan heortan dygollice,' = 'ut sagittent in obscuro rectos corde,' Ps. x. 3 (Thorpe), and 'þine flana synt swyþe scharpe on þam heortum þinra feonda,' id. xlv. 7.

90. **whas** is for whase, whoso. **itt** is formal nominative; the whole expression is equivalent to, Whosoever is armed. Comp. 116/154; 'Whasumm itt iss þatt illke mann | Þatt hafeþþ twezzenn kirtless,' O. i. 324/9291; 'Whatt mann se itt iss þatt wepeþþ her,' id. 196/5666; 'þ iss þ,' 116/157.

91. **rihht**, *adv.*, utterly, at all: 'Rihht all swa summ,' O. i. 39/1188, means, precisely as.

93. **o godæss hallfe**, on God's behalf.

97. **borenn . . . to manne**: see 113/30 note.

98-102: 'notandum quod Angelus qui in noctis utique vigillis pastores affatur non ait, hac nocte, sed *hodie natus est vobis salvator*. Non aliam scilicet ob causam, nisi quia gaudium magnum evangelizare veniebat. Nam ubi tristia quaeque nocturnis temporibus gesta vel gerenda significantur, ibi saepe nox vel adiungitur, vel etiam sola nominatur,' Bede, v. 235.

100. **all**: see 112/3.

104-7: 'Neque enim frustra Angelus tanto lumine cinctus apparuit, ut claritas Dei pastores circumfussisse . . . dicatur . . . sed mystice praemonuit, quod aperte postea monuit apostolus dicens, *Nox praecessit, dies autem appropinquavit*,' Bede, v. 235.

107. **folle**, *dative*.

108-12: 'Hoc est non tantum humilitatis eum et mortalitatis, sed et paupertatis habitum suscepisse pro nobis. Quia *cum dives esset, pauper factus est pro nobis, ut nos illius inopia ditaremur*,' Bede, v. 235.

109. **wrecche**, poor, of lowly condition. **doþ uss**, causes, gives us to understand: comp. 209/405; 'us gedyde nu to witanne Alexander,' Orosius 126/31 (= 'nobis prodidit Alexander').

111. **Off** . . . **wolld**e, because of the fact that he was willing; **off** governs

the clause, **patt he wolde**: so, 'written uppo boc . . . off patt he wiss-like ras,' O. Dedication, 161, 167, written in book concerning the fact that &c.

114-20: 'mox multitudo militiae coelestis advolans, consono in laudem creatoris ore prorumpit, ut sui sicut semper obsequii devotionem Christo impendat, et nos suo pariter instituat exemplo . . . Deo statim laudes ore, corde et opere reddendas,' Bede, v. 235.

116. Thereby it was given us to see and understand full well in that incident.

119. **herrtess tunge**: see 56/51: apparently, with sincere and heart-felt praise.

120. **god** is *acc.* of the thing for which thanks are to be given. Comp. 132/11; 'þonkien hit ure drihten,' OEH. i. 5/29.

121-6. 'Et bene chorus adveniens Angelorum militiae coelestis vocabulum accipit, qui et duci illo potenti in praelio, qui ad debellandas aëreas potestates apparuit, humiliter obsecundat. Deus . . . ad tutelam nostram constituit exercitus Angelorum,' Bede, v. 235, 6.

123. **Alls** is shortened also, as. **3æn . . . gast**: see 114/66, 73.

127-9: 'Glorificant Angeli Deum pro nostro redemptione incarnatum, quia dum nos conspiciunt recipi, suum gaudent numerum impleri,' Bede, v. 236.

132-5: 'Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis,' S. Luke ii. 14.

133. **griþþ ȝ friþþ**: a frequent combination in O.; the words are synonyms, one Scandinavian, the other English: see 19/57 note.

136-8: that the angelic host was to be made up to its full number by the addition of holy souls, by which addition honour and glory in God's presence should be as though it were increased, if indeed it were capable of increase. The explanation of this passage is helped by the parallel place, ll. 143-5: '3iff—mihhte' corresponds to l. 145. 'quos infirmos prius abiectosque despexerant [Angeli], nascente in carne Domino iam socios venerantur,' Bede, v. 236.

140. **soþ sahhtnesse**: see 84/50.

146-51: 'qui cum pacem hominibus poscunt, exponunt et quibus, videlicet bonae voluntatis, hoc est eis qui suscipiunt natum Christum, non autem Herodi, pontificibus et Pharisaeis caeterisque antichristis, qui eius natiuitate audita turbati sunt, eumque quantum valere gladiis insecuti. *Non est enim pax impiis, dicit Dominus,*' Bede, v. 236.

149. **Forrho3henn** &c., despise and reject.

151. **wrihhte**, merit, lit. thing done: OE. **gewyrht**, from **wyrcean**:

a *dat. pl.*: comp. 'ȝ he wass flemmd ȝ drifenn ut | All affterr hise wrihte,' O. i. 286/8239, id. 147/4283.

154. *itt*: see 114/90.

155. *hise þannkess*, wilfully, of his own free will: see 10/167.

156. *himm lokenn*, keep watch over himself: see 4/20, 78/85.

158. *stannt . . . inn*: see 114/67 note.

165. *floce*, company: a favourite word of the author's: comp. 113/49, 'þe lape gastess flocc,' O. i. 226/6546; 'summ hæþene flocc,' id. 344/9875.

167. *modi3le33c*, with same meaning as *modi3nesse*, l. 165, but with Scand. suffix, *leikr*, *leiki* in Icel. forming abstracts. There are a good many instances in the MS. of *-nesse* corrected into *-le33c*. *greditle33c*: so MS., but the correct form is *gredi3le33c*, as elsewhere in *Orm*.

170. *hewe*, form, appearance.

173. *hefennlike*: 'Angeli corpora in quibus hominibus apparent, in superno aëre sumunt solidamque speciem ex coelesti elemento inducunt, per quam humanis obtutibus manifestius demonstrentur,' Bede, viii. 294. f. 95 v ends with *kinde*, l. 174 is added on the margin, and the two leaves following are missing.

XVI. SAWLES WARDE

Manuscripts: i. Bodleian 34, Oxford (B); on vellum, 165 × 120 mm.; written in one hand throughout about 1210 A.D. Its contents are S. Katherine f. 1 r; S. Margaret f. 18 r; S. Juliana f. 36 v (see p. 139); Hali Meidenhad f. 52 v; Sawles Warde f. 72 r (old foliation f. 76 r). It has lost two leaves after f. 80, which is very faint and defective. Entries in fourteenth-century hands connect it with Ledbury, Godstow, and Magna Coworne (Much Cowarne) in Herefordshire. The text is printed from this manuscript up to its end at 127/4.

The writing is sometimes difficult to decipher; the letters are often crowded and hesitating, a, e, o are sometimes hard to distinguish. Doubts are permissible in the following cases, *hwen* or *hwon* 118/24, *ihaten* or *ihoten* 37, *hondon* or *honden* 51; in sent 55, the last letter wavers between t and d; in 3emelese 56, 3 appears to have been corrected out of g; after mei 60, there is a half-formed c; under the second o of preoouin 72, there is what looks like a casual pen mark, not a dot of erasure; in seoueuald 287, d is corrected out of t, or the reverse.

ii. Royal 17 A 27, British Museum (R); on vellum, 160 × 117 mm.; early thirteenth century. Has all the pieces in B except Hali Meidenhad, with the addition of an incomplete copy of the Oreisun of Sainte Marie

(printed in OEH i., p. 305). This manuscript supplies the end here from 127/4.

iii. Cotton Titus D 18, British Museum (T). See p. 355.

Editions: Morris, R., OEH i. 244-267 (with translation); Specimens, 87-95 (part only); Kluge, F., ME. Lesebuch, 8-15; Wagner, W., Kritische Textausgabe . . . mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Glossar, Bonn, 1908.

Literature: Bartels, L. (see p. 450/23); Einenkel, E., Ueber die Verfasser einiger neuangelsächsischer Schriften, Leipzig, 1881, continued in Anglia, v. 91; Konrath, M., ES xii. 459; Stodte, H., Ueber die Sprache und Heimat der 'Katherine-Gruppe,' Göttingen, 1896; Vollhardt, W. (see p. 269/19); Williams, Irene F., Anglia, xxix. 413.

Sources: SW is a free expansion of chapters xiii, xiv and xv of the fourth book of the treatise, De Anima, ascribed to Hugh of S. Victor (Rouen ed., 1648, vol. ii. pp. 207-9). The imaginative detail is mostly due to the English author: contrast, 'Et qui veniunt cum illa.' *Memoria*: 'Mille daemones ferentes secum libros grandes et uncas ferreos et igneas catenas' of the original with its equivalent 119/68-75. The gruesome picture of 119/86-121/140 is mainly derived from the Visions literature.

Phonology: (1) of B. The following should be compared with the account of the MS. A of the Ancrene Wisse on pp. 357-62; explanations of abnormal forms offered there are not repeated here. Oral *a* is *a*, habben 41, makid 39; *a* before nasals and lengthening groups is *o*, from 25, lonc 58, fondin 224, in3onge 32; þen, þenne, hwen, hwenne are the usual forms, but þeonne 138 by analogy of heonne: and is ant 9, man indefinite is me 45, possibly mon 25. æ is mostly *e*, ed 98, gledd 208, but *ea* in feader 116 (4 times), forbearneð 103 (forbærnan), glead 201 (3), gleadschipes 306, 307, leatere 103, nease 96, 112 (næs-), reaðliche 21, smeale 70, wearliche 4, weattres 100, and *a* in blac 58, 110, war 195, 332, warliche 39, 178, warre 142, warschipes 42 &c., and habbe 61, 112, 220. *e* is *e*, bereð 70, herien 320, spekeð 8; before lengthening groups, ende 106, engles 239, but rikenin 86, stude 46 (3), hwuch 6 &c., swuch 93 (4). Umlaut *e* is *ea* in beast 332 (but best 64), formealte 104 (Anglian mæltan), smeal 275, spealie 303: from *swolgian descend forswolheð 91, forswolhe 152. *i* is regularly *i*, blisse 136, 3immes 245, but wiit 200; before lengthening groups, binden 71, bringe 113, but *u* in wule 42 (7), wulleð 289: in welcume 227, an early instance of this spelling, the adverb wel has been substituted for the original wil. *o* is *o*, bodi 323, bigotten 316; before lengthening groups, bold 129, word 73, but *a* in nalde 7, walde 6 (3), wrahtte 74 (descended from an older form with *a*): dehtren 202 is an umlaut plural: greot 93 for grot R. T. (grot, particle) is due to confusion with grēot, grit. *u* is

regularly *u*, *cume* 7, *stunde* 207, *tungen* 114, once *o* in *comme* 60, and *i* in *kimeð* 69, 138. *y* is *u*, *arudden* 120 (**āryddan*), *brune* 83, *zuldene* 170, *sunderlepes* 280; *mycel* is *muchel* 11, *muche* 105.

ā is *a*, *ban* 131, *ouergað* 270; before two consonants, *gast* 323, *tadden* 95, but *e* through loss of stress in *se* 17 &c., (*hwam*) *se* 276, (*hwider*) *se* 275, *ase* 91, beside stressed *swa* 120 &c., *alswa* 230, and *u* in *wumme* 133: *ohwider* 25 is probably influenced by *nohwider* (*nō*): *ea* in *easkeð* 75, 215, *easkest* 68 comes from a form with *æ*. *æ*₁ is *ea* (33 times), *deale* 105, *ear* 44, *æað* 151, *leasten* 108, but *e* in *flesch* 99 (5), *lest* 54, *lesten* 178, *sumdel* 137, 284, *þen* 158, 212, mostly before two consonants. *æ*₂*nig* is *ei* 42 (4), but *eni* 113; *æle* is *euch* 16 &c. *æ*₂ is *e* (45 times), *bere* 23, *dede* 19, *dreden* 166 (5), *ferliche* 67 (3), *þer* 27, 150, *were* 124 (9), and *eo* in *leote* 40; *ea* appears only in *deadbote* 75, *fearlac* 62, *heale* 242, *ileanett* 35, 202, *offearen* 56 (4), *reades* 296, ? *readien* 81, *reade* 142, *readeð* 177, *þear* 246, 331. *ē* is *e*; *ī*, *ī*, but *u* in *bluēliche* 80 (**blīþe*); *ō* is *o*, but *eo* in *iseoð* 229 (beside *soð* 75, 179, 293, *isoðet* 257); *ū* is *u* without exception; *ȳ* is *u*, *cūðen* 241, *fure* 71; before two consonants, *lutlin* 327, but *stele* 114 represents the earlier *stæli*, similarly the derivative *istelet* 126.

ea before *r* + cons. is *a* in *igarket* 339, *zarowe* 260, *swarte* 70, 89, and before lengthening groups, *hardi* 56, *inwarde* 72, *inwardliche* 247, *towart* 81 (4), *warde* 1 (3), *wardi* 141, *warneð* 34, *warne* 155, *warni* 42, *warnin* 63, 140, *unwarnede* 157, mostly after *w*, but *ea* in *heard* 116 (7), *ofearneð* 135, as well as *hearm* 117, *hearmin* 290, and *e* in *þerf* 171. The *i*-umlaut is *e*, *derne* 296, *ferd* 151. *ea* before *l* + cons. is regularly *a*, *al* 12 &c., *fallinde* 178, *forwalleð* 104; before lengthening groups, *bald* 183, *bihalde* 40, *bihalden* 57 (5), *calde* 104, *halden* 46 &c., *half* 143 (4), *talde* 114, but *ea* in *wealdent* 226, *eo* in *feole* 54. *eo* before *r* + cons. is generally *eo*, *feor* 40, *heorte* 163, *steorren* 267, and before lengthening groups, *eorðe* 84, *æorne* 201, but *e* in *derueð* 90, 103 (possibly representing *dierfan*), *hercneð* 218, *werc* 74, *werkes* 64, and *o* in *dorc* 130 with accent shifting. To the *wur* group belong *iwurðen* 26, *iwurden* 298, *iwurðeð* 93, 148; *wyr* words are *deorewurðe* 203, *wurse* 102, 105, *wursi* 164, *wursin* 328, *wurð* 156, 181, 194, *wurðe* 40: *warpe* 43 is Scandinavian; *istirret* 245 a ME. formation. *eo* before *l* + cons. is seen in *seolf* 27 &c. *ea*, the *u*- and *ā*-umlaut of *a*, is seen in *eawles* 126, *gleadeð* 310, *gleadien* 223, 270, *gleadunge* 283 (4), *heatel* 128, *heateð* 109, *meaðen* 99, *neaele* 98, and analogically in *feareð* 18, *igleadet* 214, *heatieð* 111, but it is wanting in *bale* 93, 129, *care* 150, *carien* 162, 166, *cwakie* 131, *cwakien* 325, *waker* 53, 57, 142 (*Vesp. Ps. wæ(e)er*), *wakien* 7 (*Angl. wæcian*, *Bülbring*, § 231). *eo*, *u*-umlaut of *e*, is represented in *heouene* 146 (3), *heouenliche* 243, but *wordes* 251, *world*

169 (7), worldlich 170 after w. *eo*, *ä*-umlaut of *e*, is seen in *abeoren* 125, *brooken* 8, 28, *freoteð* 96, *spoken* 61, *feole* 306, *weole* 161, *weoleful* 245; *eo*, the *u*- and *ä*-umlaut of *i*, in *cleopeð* 38, *icleopet* 36, *hweonene* 60, 65, *neomen* 317, *neome* 328, *neomeð* 311, *seoðen* 213, *seoueðe* 284, *seouenfald* 282, 287, *þeose* 97, *unweotenesse* 179, and by analogy, *neome* 147, *bineome* 11, but *hare* 18 (3), *suster* 43, 207. *ea* after palatals is *a*, *schal* 21 &c., *schadewe* 148, 231, *schape* 122, but *e* in *schekeð* 132 (*i*-umlaut), *eo* before nasal, *scheome* 117. *ie* after *ġ* is *e*, *forȝet* 25, 167, *ȝef* 27, *ȝeueð* 87, 164, *ȝelden* 301, *ȝeldeð* 213, *ȝelpeð* 188. *ȝef* is *ȝef* 6, 14, *gef* 12. *ie* after *č* is *e*, *chele* 101; after *scé*, *i* in *schilde* 233 (*scildan*), *e* in *scheld* 159. *eo* after *scé* is *u*, *schulen* 178, 224, 320, *schulde* 158 (*R*₁ has *scylde* *subj.*) *schunien* 177. *eom* is *am* 62; *heom*, *ham* 45, 87.

ēa is generally *ea*, *beateð* 48, *deaðes* 62, *deaðlich* 58, *auraskes* 97, but *e* in *ec* 64, *echen* 95 (perhaps representing *īecan*), *etscene* 240, *eðeliche* 157, 193, *ȝe* 77, 216 (Anglian *gǣ*), *gret* 70: its *i*-umlaut is *e*, *alesen* 242, *alesnesse* 294, *here* 22 (5), *herunge* 16, (an)lepi 313, (sunder)lepes 280. *ēo* is generally *eo*, *beon* 10, *biheolt* 262, *breoste* 98, *deopre* 296, *þeosternesse* 89, but *þosternesse* 86 and *schute* 160, with shifted accent: *hēo* is *ha* 40; the *i*-umlaut is wanting, *deore* 31, 144, *þeoster* 246, *neod* 211 (see p. 288, last line). Palatalization is wanting after *ġ* in *forȝeme* 54, *ȝemeð* 168, *ȝeme* 177, *ȝeme* 147, 311, *ȝemeles* 18, 56; after *scé* in *schene* 233, 268, *schenre* 287. *ġiet* is *ȝet* 239.

a + *g* is *aĥ*, *drahen* 72, *sahen* 201, *mahen* 22: *islein* 116 is *geslegen*; *sei* 280, *seist* 279, *seið* 6, 61 come from forms with *æ*; *dreaien* 206 represents **dreagan*. *æ* + *g* is regularly *ei*, *dei* 29, *feier* 209, *feierleac* 272, *iteilede* 90, *mei* 10 &c., *meiden* 243, *seide* 66, but *mahe* 290, 332. *e* + *g* is *ei*, *aȝein* 20, *eie* 23, *eilin* 290, *wei* 170, but *isehen* 77 (6). *i* + *g*, *h* is *iĥ*, *nihe* 251, *diht* 10, *sihðe* 16 (4), *unwiht* 5, but *flið* 158 (WS. *flihð*, Rushworth₂ has *flið*): *freineð* 65 is from a form with *æ* or *e* (*R*₁ has *frægnast*, Li, *fregna*). The spirant has disappeared in *monie* 307, 314, *murie* 283: final *ig* is *i*, *buri* 129 (from dat. *byrig*), *dreorinesses* 131, *moni* 29, *seli* 280, *unseli* 121. *o* + *g*, *h* is *oĥ*, *bohte* 28, 237, *untohe* 23, *untohene* 13, *untoheliche* 18; *dehtren* 35 has umlaut *e*. *u* + *h* is *uĥ*, *bituhhe* 133; *y* + *h*, *uĥ*, *tuht* 46, *tuhte* 23. *ā* + *g*, *h* is *aĥ*, *ahen* 4, *ahne* 184, 305, *wahes* 32, *ah* 165. *æ*₁ + *h* is *aĥ*, *bitaht* 144, 149, but *æ*₁ + *g*, *ei*, *keis* 34, *eiðer* 102, 111. *ī* + *g*, *iĥ*, *wiheles* 155; in *sti* 186 the spirant has disappeared. *ū* + *h* is *uĥ*, *buhsam* 241. *ea* + *h* is *aĥ*, *mahte* 84 (5), but *iseh* 118 (6); the *i*-umlaut is seen in *almihti* 324, *unmihti* 181, 191, *niht* 29; *lahhinde* 213 comes from an Anglian form in *æ*. *eo* + *g* is seen in *tintreohen* 264 with *eo*, *ä*-umlaut of *e*; the form is characteristic of the group. *eo* + *ht* is *iht*, *brihte* 269, *rihte* 14 &c.,

rihtwise 193, but fehte 160 has Anglian *e*. *ie* + *h* is seen in *bisið* 332. *ēa* + *g*, *h* is *eh*, *ehnen* 51, *heh* 225, *neh* 329, but *tah* 11 (3). *ēo* + *g* is *eh* in *drehen* 105, *dreheð* 167, but *liht* 87, *lihtschipe* 283, *lihtliche* 263. *ie* + *h*, *lihteð* 69, *ilihtet* 214, but *hest* 48 (Anglian *hēst*), *nest* 41 (Angl. *nēst*). *ā* + *w* is *aw*, *cnaweð* 55, *cnawen* 293, *cnawlechung*e 292, *nawt* 7 &c., *nawiht* 183, *sawles* 1, 27, *snawi* 100, but *noht* 149 (*nōht*), *nowðer* 171 (*nōwper*), *sehe* 228, *isehe* 118. *ī* + *w*, *elheowet* 58 (Anglian *hēow*), *speoweð* 91 (with *w*-umlaut). *ēa* + *w* is *aw*, *schaweð* 240, *schawede* 265, *ischawed* 258, *schawere* 233, but *þeaw* 30, *unþeaw* 32, *unþeawes* 334, *heaued* *þeawes* 36. *ēo* + *w* is mostly *eow*, *tocheoweð* 93, *reowðful* 120, *treowe* 157 (*triēwe*), *treoweliche* 78, 206, but *fowr* 36 (3), *trowðe* 78.

In *deorewurðe* 149, *eðeliche* 193, *euenin* 83, *husebonde* 34 (but *husbonde* 38), *huselauerd* 9, 17, *husewif* 20, 205, *leatere* 103, *steuene* 133, *sunegin* 179, *wrecchedom* 85 a glide *e* has been added, a final *e* to *ine* 337, *inwarde* 72, *ofte* 18. *e* is lost in *echnesse* 108, *i* in *unwerged* 251, 318 (*wērigod*): *a* occurs for *o* in *anan* 105; *o* is levelled to *e* in *lauerd* 4, *sikere* 107, *sikeriche* 171, *sikernesse* 188, *sunderliche* 308, *te* 71 &c., lost in *wordes* 251 (*werod*). *u* is *e* in *durewart* 39, it is lost in *world* 169 &c. The prefix *æt* is *ed*, *edwiteð* 123, *et*, *etstont* 158; *be* is *bi*, *bisetten* 64, *bigineð* 1, *bihinden* 92, *biwiten* 5; *ēap* is *et* in *etscene* 240; *ge* is generally *i*, *icwiddet* 257, *ifindeð* 156, *ihal* 91, *iwis* 137, *unimete* 125, but it is omitted in *bere* 23, *schape* 122, *monge* 102, *schad* 176, *unrude* 71 (but *unirude* 125), *wissunge* 31. The suffix in *herunge* 16 is noteworthy. *þær* is syncopated in *þrin* 79, *þrinne* 53, *þrof* 33, *trof* 331, *þrute* 41.

Metathesis of *r* is seen in *wernches* 5, *wrahhte* 74, *cauraskes* 97 (*forse*). *rr* is simplified in *feor* 40. *ll* is simplified in *feole* 54, *tele* 79, 228, and finally in *ful* 82, *godspel* 4, *wil* 10. *m* is doubled in *comme* 60, *mm* simplified in *grimfule* 122. *nn* is simplified in *bigineð* 1, *moncunnes* 242, *n* is lost in *raketehe* 71; the prepositions *in*, *on* are reduced to *i*, *o*, except before a vowel or *h* or when stressed, as in 316; for *n*, *m* appears in *þrumnesse* 234. *p* is inserted in *inempnet* 244. *f* is usually *u* between vowels or vowel and liquid, *biuoren* 59, *deouel* 171, *froure* 35, *seoluen* 117, *vuel* 19, but *deoffen* 69 (4), otherwise it is *f*, *fondin* 224, *hefde* 113, *seolf* 27. *t* is doubled in *bigotten* 316, *bitternesse* 130, *ileanett* 35 (but *ileanet* 202), *wrahtte* 74, lost in *best* 64, *beast* 332, added in *lustnið* 61, *loftsong* 283. For *t*, *d* occurs in *ed* 98; *tt* is simplified in *wit* 8 (but *wittes* 16). For *d*, *t* is often written finally, *ant* 9, *dret* 50, *durewart* 39, *etstont* 158, *feont* 33, *heart* 165, *hiderwart* 139, *hundret* 335, *lont* 130, *ontswereð* 66, *somet* 21, *þusent* 69, *towart* 81, *wealdent* 226, but *ð* in *iseið* 280, *lauerð* 8, *schenðlac* 124; *d* is doubled in *gledd* 208, *dd* is simplified in *midel* 174 (but *middel* 45, 170). Initial *þ*

becomes *t* after *t*, *tah* 12, *te* 9, *tis* 106, 152, *tu* 68, after *d* (possibly miswritten for *t*), *te* 98, *trof* 331: final *p* becomes *t* before *t*, *limpet* 154; for *p*, *d* appears in *blideliche* 248, *deorewurde* 301, *iwurden* 298, *makid* 39, *makied* 255, *oder* 19, *sod* 293, *swide* 208. *s* is doubled in *gasstes* 30 (*gāst*), but *gastes* 122, *rihtwissnesse* 175 (*wis*); for *ss*, *sc* appears in *iblescede* 221: *sé* is regularly *sch*, *schad* 176, *schal* 21, *scheome* 117, *schilde* 233, *schunien* 177. The stop *c* is usually *k* before *e*, *i*, *biloke* 204, *blake* 110, *keis* 34, *kimeð* 69, *þonkeð* 201, *c* in other positions, *blac* 58, *moncunnes* 242, *þonc* 20: *ah* 26 is Anglian *ah*, WS. *ac*. *č* is *ch*, *chele* 101, *echen* 95, *echnesse* 108 (a new formation from *eche*), *euch* 16, *hwuch* 6, *ich* 61, *ilich* 97, *licomlich* 173, *pich* 104, *rechelese* 13, *sechen* 32, *smeche* 88 (but North. *smeke* 88), *stench* 84, *tocheoweð* 93, *þulliche* 162 (but *þulli* 326, 327). *čč* is *cch*, *dreccheð* 90. *cw* is preserved, *cwakie* 131, *cwemen* 20, *cwic* 84, *acwkieð* 105, but *quoð* 139 &c. Palatal *g* is written *ȝ*, *forȝeme* 54, *ȝarowe* 260, *ȝe* 137, *ȝe* 159, *ȝef* 6, 14 (but *gef* 12), *ȝef* 27, *ȝelden* 301, *ȝelpeð* 188, *ȝeorne* 201, *ȝet* 239, *ȝimmes* 245, but *igarket* (no breaking). The guttural stop is written *g*, *bigineð* 1, *gulteð* 18, *bigoten* 259, 316, *unwerged* 251, but *ȝ* in *aȝulteð* 48, *ȝeað* 151, *inȝonge* 32, 41, 146 (comp. Northumbrian *ȝeonga*, *ȝionga*, *Bülbring*, § 492, *anmerkung* 1, and *hiniong[a]*e, Sweet, OE. Texts, p. 149), *ȝuldene* 170. For the spirant after *l*, *r*, *h* appears in *folhin* 12, 336, *folheð* 275, *halhen* 278, *forswolhe* 152, *forswolheð* 91, *sorhe* 85: *myrigþ* is *murhðe* 253, 255, *murðes* 219. *hl* is reduced to *l* in *leane* 58, *leor* 58, 231, *lust* 261, *lustnið* 61, *anlepi* 313, *sunderlepes* 280, *hn* to *n* in *nesche* 162, 167, *hr* to *r* in *remunge* 99. Initial *hw* is usually preserved, *hwen* 68, *hwer* 17, *hwet* 60. *h* is added in *unwhiht* 151, doubled in *bituhhen* 168, *bituhhe* 133, 169.

(2) Of R. The principal divergences from B are noted. *a* before nasal: *unþeonkes* 42 (comp. 'feondeč,' SM 10/7). *æ*: the spelling *ea* for *e* is used only in *smeale* 70, *wearliche* 4, otherwise *e* occurs, except in *latere* 103, *neose* 96, 112 (*nosu*): similarly *ea* for umlaut *e* is absent in *best* 332, *formelte* 104, *smel* 275, *spelian* 303. *o*: *grot* 93. *u*: *com* 60 (*cwōm*), *cumeð* 69, 138. *y* is regularly *u*, as in B. *ā*: *swā* stressed and unstressed is *so*, but once *swa* 234; *eskeð* 75, 215, *eskest* 68. The representation of *æ*₁ is divided between *ea* and *e*, each 28 times: *æ*₂ is *e* 50 times (*lete* 40); the exceptions are *hear* 132, *heale* 242, *hileanet* 202, *offearen* 56 (4), *offeared* 54, 211, *reade* 142, *reades* 296, *rodien* 81 (*reoden* T). *ī*: *bliðeliche* 351. *ea* (breaking): *hard* 116 (7), *harm* 117, *herdes* 183, *þearf* 171, *weldent* 226. *eo*: *hercni* 349, *darc* 130. The *u*-, *ā*-umlaut of *a* is *e* in *gleded* 310, *gledien* 223, 270, *gledunge* 308, 310, 312, *meded* 99 (for *mečen*), *neuele* 98, *igledet* 214, and is wanting in *fareð* 18, *hatel* 128, *hateð* 109, *hatied* 111. *ā*-umlaut of *e*: *to speakene* 347. *u*-, *ā*-umlaut of *i*: *sečēn* 213, *unwitness* 179.

eo after ġ: zuheče 383. ēa: deð 171, dedlich 58, adie 269, eðsene 240, great 70. iē: fleme 343. ēo: þeosternesne 86, þreohad 372. a + g: dreien 206. æ + g: feirlec 272. i + ht: unwiht 151. ē + g: tweien 342. ō + h: þohtes 360. eo + g: tintreon 264.

r: wrenches 5. n: in 108, 319, on 29. f: under fon 57. t: et 98. d final is seldom altered to t, dred 50, dureward 39, hard 165, hideward 139, lond 130, toward 81, 127, but heauct 59: other spellings are onswereð 66, 281, schenlac 124, gled 108, middel 174. Initial þ is often unaltered after final t, þu 79, þrof 331 (but it is lost in ant e 372), so final þ in limpeð 154. Normal þ appears in bliðeliche 248, makieð 255, makeð 39, oðer 19, soð 293, swiðe 208; for þ, d in beod 15. s: gastes 30. c: ecnesse 108. g: 3ef 12, izarcket 339, biȝeoten 316 (but bigoten 259), agulteð 48, guldene 170, strençde 153 (5), strençden 164, strençe 343. h: unwiht 151, hearen 98, her 94, hileanet 202, hearneð 135, hure 144, er 58, is 28, wilinde 135.

(3) Of T. a before nasals and lengthening groups is o, but fram 25 (5) is invariable. æ is a (45 times including nase 96, 112), exceptions are hefde 116, hefden 256, hwečer 101, forbearneð 103, readliche 21, smecche 88, wrecchedom 85. e: rekenen 86, best 332, smal 275, spelie 303. i: wile 42 &c. (but ichulle 81), wilneð 289. o: grot 93. u: cumeð 69, 138. y is u, except winne 161, 173 (but wunne 166, 169). ā: ai 53 (7), a Scandinavian word, leað 153 (? lāþo, or miswritten for leið, OWScand. leiðr), askeð 75, 215, asket 68, owhwider 25 (comp. 'ouhwuder' AR 172/3, ? influence of ōwer). ǣ is ea, in close agreement with B; sumdeal 284, but lasten 108, 178. ǣnig is ani 42, 135, 192. ǣ₂: also as in B; lete 40, rodien 81, þer 246, 331, trinne 86. ē: fearreden 269. ī: bliðeliche 80, huinen 17 (comp. OWScand. hjûn). ō: isoð 229, sweote 291 ('swoete' Vesp. Psalt., Sweet, OET. 217/13). ŷ is u, written ui in fuire 71, fuir 83, 87 (but fur 103). ea (breaking): wearnið 34, wearne 155, wearnen 63, unwearnede 157, hard 116 (5), hardes 163, 172, harm 117, harmen 290, þurf 171; i-umlaut, dearne 296, ferd 151. eo: isterret 245, self 27 (6), seluen 5 (3), but seolf 8. The u-ā-umlaut of a is wanting, except in eawles 126; for heatel 128 heates is read. The absence of this umlaut points to Northumbrian or W. Saxon. eo, u-umlaut of e: heuene 220, 325, heuenliche 243, but heouene 146; after w, woredes 251, world 108 (7), worldlich 170. eo, ā-umlaut of e: breke 28, breken 8, freten 96, speken 61. eo, u-ā-umlaut of i: nime 147, 328, binime 11, nimeð 311, sičen 213, clepeð 38, iclepet 36, seuenfald 282, seuefald 287: for hweonene B 60, 65 T has hweðen, hwenne; hore 122. ea after sć, schome 117. iē: 3ef 27, 3iueð 87, 164, 3iue 371. 3if 6, 12, 14. ēa: dedes 62, gledred 71; 3a 216, 3ea 77 (possibly Scandinavian), great 70. ēo: biheld 262, depre 296, deulen 69, iseð 89, 94, seð 257, ned 211, þeoster-

nesse 86, ho 40. *æ* + *g*: dai 29 &c., mai 10 &c. are the regular forms, but mei 303, so feir 209, 239, feirleic 272. *e* + *g*: azain 20 (Angl. *ongægn*), azaines 34, 153, but to zeines 196. *ea* + *h*: mihte 113, 118, 162, but mahte 84, 232. *eo* + *g*: tintrohen 264. *ie* + *h*: bisihð 332. *ā* + *w*: noht 7. *ī* + *w*: speweð 91. *ēa* + *w*: scheaweð 240, scheawde 265, ischeawet 258, scheawere 233. *ēo* + *w*: treowðe 78; treweliche 78, 206.

r: wrenches 5. *m*: com 60. *n*: in 99, 108. *f*: biforen 59, þer fore 150, þurn 225, under fon 57. *t*: blend 87, at 98. *d*: dred 50, dureward 59, atstond 158, feond 33, hard 165, hiderward 139, hundreð 97, 335 (OWScand. *hundrað*), lond 130, 256, heauct 59, onswereð 66, 281, somen 21, þusend 69, þusand 114, 119, þusanð 138, toward 81, 127, schendlac 124, glad 208, middel 174. *þ*: bliðeliche 248, limpeð 154, makes 39, makieð 255, swiðe 208. *s*: gastes 30. *c*: cumeð 69, þoncheð 201, long 58, swing 289, smecche 88, euh 58, hwucse 72, stinc 84, ecnesse 108. *3*: 3if 12, 3arket 339, bi3oten 316, unwerched 251, agulteð 48, guldene 170. *h*: unwiht 151.

Accidence: (1) Of B. Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. In the *s. n.* pinge 84 has added *e*. *Gen.* -es, cunnes 90, deaðes 62, contracted weis 162, 236: *d.* -e, dome 261, flesche 270, hame 25, with all nouns which have vowel ending in the *s. n.* as bale 93, chele 101, in others the inflection is more frequently wanting, deað 222, flesh 99, and generally in words of two syllables, as finger 325, godspel 4, heauct 59, lauerd 207; wa 86 is indeclinable. In the *s. a.* deale 105, in3onge 32, 41 (but in3ong *n.* 146), mete 45, 47 have added *e*; bere 23 is *gebære*; sune 235 represents *sunu*. The *pl. n. a.* of masculines ends in -es, eauraskes 97, engles 239, deaðes 119, duntles 125: neuters, with the exception of ping 178, 297, schape 122 (*gesceapu*), have taken the *masc.* termination, pinges 89, werkes 64, wittes 16, wordes 251, wordes 64, or have joined the weak declension, deoffen 89, 91, studen 240, wepnen 159: genitive is smeche 88; datives have mostly -es, eawles 126, gleadschipes 307, but bisocnen 277, colen 104, deoffen 69, 139, wepnen 162, 184, and siðe 97, 138, 335 (without *n*). The *fem.* nouns of the strong declension have -e in the *s. n.*, este 173, cnawlechunge 292, and many other derivatives in -ung, schadewe 148, but meað 37, 43 (once *masc.* in OE.). *Gen.* -e, helle 95, nease 96, but murðes 219, sawles 1: *dat.* -e, alesnesse 294, bisne 4, worlde 108, 136, 260, but ferd 151, half 160, 238, luft 186, sti 186 (*stīg*), world 108, 110, 147, 169 are not inflected: *acc.* -e, blisse 221, froure 35, but ferreden 269, fulst 225 (*fylst*), half 143. *Pl. n.* is hondon 51; *d.* blissen 267, pinen 90, 127, sunnen 70, wunden 240, dreorinesses 131; *a.* pinen 263, sahen 201, strengčen 164, sunnen 124, cunreadnes 261, estes 197, keis 34, runes 296. Nouns of the weak declension have -e in all cases of the singular, -en throughout the

plural. The minor declensions are represented by *uet pl. d.* 260; *mon s. n.* 8, *moñnes s. g.* 9, 15; *boc s. d.* 72, *s. a.* 70; *buri s. n.* 129 (from *dat. byrig*); *niht s. d.* 29; *feader s. g.* 237, *s. d.* 241, *s. a.* 116; *moder s. a.* 116; *dehtren pl. n.* 202, *pl. d.* 35, 195; *suster s. a.* 43, *sustren pl. n.* 202, *pl. d.* 207; *feont s. n.* 33, *s. d.* 158; *wealdent s. n.* 226.

Adjectives which in OE. end in *e* retain that termination in all cases. Weak inflections are *s. n. m.* *zuldene* 170, *rihtwise* 193, *neut.* *blake* 110, *willesfule* 205, *s. d. f.* *swarte* 89, *s. d. neut.* *ferliche* 102, *s. a. m.* *willesfule* 44, *f.* *brihte* 269: strong inflections are *s. d. f.* *inwarde* 72, *s. a. f.* *longe* 254: *swote s. n. m.* 275, *neut.* 291 (*swōt*) has conformed to *swete*. All other adjectives are uninflected in the singular. Those in *-ig* lose *g*, *anlepi* 313, *eadi* 243, *hali* 234: *lȳtel* is *lute* *s. a. f.* 235; *lūte* *s. a. neut.* 328, *lut pl. n.* 187, few people, are used as nouns; *mycel* is mostly *muche*, but *muchel s. d. neut. strong* 166, *muchele weak* 300, *pl. a.* 314: *āgen* gives *ahne s. d. f.* 305, *pl. d.* 184. The plural ends in *-e*, *ȝarowe* 260, *wakere* 57, 142, *misliche* 127, *unmihtie* 191; exceptions are *n. ful* 239, *hal* 93, *ilich* 97, *hardi* 56, *lusti* 318, *d. eadi* 269, *mislich* 20, *seli* 280, *snawi* 100, *a. unseli* 121, *wurð* 194. OE. *āna* is *ane* 200; *ān* is *an*, *a*, *s. g.* *anes* 311, *d. ane* 207, *a.* 216: *nān* is *nan*, *na*, *s. g.* *nanes* 317, *pl. n.* *nane* 274. Adjectives used as nouns are rarely inflected, as *heardes s. g.* 163, 172, *nesches* 172, *uuele pl. n.* 224: comparatives regularly end in *e*, *brihtre* 287, *deopre* 296, *earre* 103, *leatere* 103, *wurse* 102, but *grisluker* 97; of superlatives *earste* 36, *forme* 195, *leaste* 115, 118, *measte* 115 have weak inflection.

The personal pronouns are *ich*, *me*, *we*, *ure* 181, *us*, *þu*, *tu* after *t*, *þe*, *ȝe*, *ow*. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n.* *he m.* 6, *ha f.* 10 &c., *hit neut.* 13; *g.* *hire f.* 11; *d.* *him m.* 35, *hire f.* 42, *a.* *hire f.* 8 (with *hus neut.*), 11, 33 (with *þeaw m.*), 43, 87, *hit neut.* 10, 85; *pl. n.* *ha* 89 &c., *heo* 93, 274, 276; *g.* *hare* 18; *d.* *ham* 55; *a.* 13. Reflexives are *me* 190, *him* 54, *hire* 180, 205, *ham* 94, *me seolf* 189 (possibly definitive), *me seoluen* 117, *us seolf* 191, 193, *us seoluen* 5, *him seolf* 27, *him seoluen* 109, 309, *hire seoluen* 182; definitive are *seolf* 8, 228, *him seolf* 277, *him ane* 200; possessives are *mi s.* 80, 116, *min* 163, 196, *mine pl.* 164, 234, *ure* 4, *þi s.* 78, *þin* 319, *his* 5, *hire* 12, *hare* 51, 122. The definite article is *þe*, *te* after *t*; inflected forms are *þet s. n. neut.* 33, 214, *þen s. d. m.* 158, *s. a. m.* 212, *þet s. a. neut.* 248; the instrumental is *þe* 11, 142. *Þet* is used demonstratively 35, 103, 104, *þet ilke* 89, 105, 256; the article is also used pronominally, *þeo þe*, those who 48, 49, 56, 247, those which 178, one who 180, *þeo*, those 15. The compound demonstrative is *s. n.* *þes m.* 6, *tis* 106, *þis neut.* 8, 53, 124, *tis* 26, *s. d.* *þis m.* 318, *þisse f.* 136, *þeos* 146, *þis* 110, *neut.* 9, 102, 137, 198, 199, *s. a.* *þes m.* 118, *þis neut.* 284, 285, *tis* 152; *pl. n.* *þeos* 17, 202, *d.* 24, 101,

207, 285, þeose 97, *a.* þeos 140. The relatives are þe, þet; þet . . . hire 10, = whom, þet te 154, = what. Interrogatives are hwam 39, hwet 60 (4), hweðer 101, hwuch 6 (6), hwucche *pl. n.* 14; its correlative is swuch 93, 135, 255, swucche *pl. n.* 194: ilca is ilke 105 &c.; þyllic, þulliche *pl. d.* 162, þulli *s. d.* 326, 327. Indefinites are hwam se *s. a.* 276, hwet se *s. n.* 172, hwuch se *s. a.* 72; me 45, 68, 87, 165, 275, mon 25; an 252; sum 54, summes *s. g.* 162, 236, summe *pl. n.* 14; eiðer 102, 111; oðer 37, oðres *s. g.* 109, 112, oðre *s. d.* 252, *pl. d.* 52, 285, *pl. a.* 277; euch 108, euchan 49, 109, euchanes *s. g.* 252, eauereuchan 307; eni 113, ei 42, 135, 192: nawiht 172, 183, noht 149; moni 20, 29, 166, monie *pl. n.* 307, *pl. a.* 314, ma 167; feole 306; al *s. n.* 12, alles *s. g.* 90, 197, 264, al *s. d.* 74, 155, *s. a.* 105, 116, 117; alle *pl. n.* 13, 114, 214, alre *pl. g.* 181, alle *pl. d.* 30, 46, 281, *pl. a.* 33, 40, 297, mid alle 211.

Verbs in -an have infinitive -en, abeoren 125, bihalden 233, 236, and thirty-five other instances, or -e, bringe 113, 173, cume 7, here 22, munne 303, neome 328, those in ian, mostly of the second weak conjugation, have -ien, carien 162, 166, gleadien 270, herien 320, schunien 177, þolien 7 (6), wakien 7, readien 81 (ME. formation from read = *ræd*), or -ie, spealie 303, þolie 235, or -in, amurdrin 32, blissin 270, eilin 290, euenin 83, folhin 12, 336, fondin 224, grapin 87, hearmin 290, lokin 232, 254, lutlin 327, openin 285, rikenin 86, sunegin 179, warnin 152, wursin 328, and ME. wontin, or -i, wursi 164: contract verbs are biseon 122, fleon 158, seon 305, underuon 312, unwreo 285. The *dat. inf.* is inflected in to cumene 265, to witene 50, 150, 226; other forms are forte binden 71, forte warnin 140, forte . . . halden 57, for . . . to drahen 72, forte brooke 28, to alesen 242, to seon 7 to cnawen 293 (virtual *nom.*), to warnin 63, to . . . makie 325. Presents are *s. i.* cume 76, 220, cwakie 131, demi 185, iseo 150; *2.* cumeſt 76, easkeſt 68, seiſt 279; *3.* cleopeð 38, limpet 154, makid 39, and seventy-four others; contracted, about one-fourth of the total number, biſið 332, biſt 246, flīð 158, forȝet 25, 167, halt 180, 195, 205, hat 45, let 26, 212, ſent 55, ſit 48, 225, 237, wit 52, and nine others, *passive* hatte 62; *pl. i.* habbeð 191, witeð 144, drede we 155; *3.* aȝulteð 48, edwiteð 123; of the second weak conjugation, acwikieð 105, heatieð 111, herieð 317, makied 255, wunieð 272, 320, but ofearneð 135 and liuieð 287, werieð 143; meallið 90, ſeoð 257, 295, iſeoð 89, 94: *subjunctive s. i.* habbe 61, underſtonde 285; *3.* bihalde 40, bineome 11, cume 23, 65, 144, comme 60, feole, forȝeme 54, forſwolhe 152, fortruste 54, leade 65, leare 45, leote 40, reade 142, rihte 14, 141, ſchute 160, ſeche 60, ſlepe 25, tuhte 23, werie 141, chaſti 11, loki 39, wardi 141, warni 42; *pl. i.* demen 191, 193, halden 198, þonkin 200, neome we 147: *imperative s. 2.* etſtont 158, let 209, ſei 280, tele 79, 228, warne 155; *pl. 2.* hercnið 218,

lokið 67, lustnið 61, neomeð 311, þencheð 115, understondeð 218. Past of Strong Verbs: I a. s. 1. iseh 118 (5), biseh 249, 3. þef 27, quoð 315; *pl.* 1. speken 44; *sub. unctive* s. 1. iseh 118, 2. sehe 228: I b. s. 1. com 139: I c. *subj.* s. 3. bigunne 299: III. *subj.* s. 3. forbude 13: V. s. 1. biheolt 262, lette (weak form) 28. Participles present: I a. sittende 278: I b. cuminde 40: IV. lahhinde *adj.* 213: V. fallinde *adj.* 178; past: I a. isehen 77 (6), ispeken 335: I b. ibore 136, icumen 55: I c. bigunne 112, iborhen 276, formealte 104: II. iwrten 70, untohene *adj. pl.* 13, untohe *adj. s.* 23, fulitohe *adj. s.* 9: III. bigoten 259, bigotten 316, biloke 204: IV. islein 116: V. bihalden 57, ihaten 10, 37, 220, underuon 57, ofdred *adj.* 145. Past of Weak Verbs: s. 1. hefde 113, talde 114; 3. bohte 28, luuede 241, schilde 233, sende 223, wrahtte 74; *pl.* 3. deiden, liueden 266. Participles present: libbinde 270, sechinde 151; ME. formations are fikeline *adj.* 147, smorðrinde *adj.* 88; past: bitaht 144, 149, ibet 74, igret 256, ilihtet 214, ischawed 258, iseid 328, iseið 280, unwerget 251, icleopet 36, icwiddet 257, offearet 54, 211, unwerget 318, and thirteen others in -t, besides irobbet 26, istirret 245; others used as adjectives are elheowet 58, fordemde *pl.* 133, forrotet 99, forwerede *pl.* 114, iblescede s. *weak* 221, *pl.* 250, isette *pl.* 252, istelet *pl.* 126, iteilede *pl.* 90, unwarnede *noun pl.* 157, offruhte *pl.* 222. Minor Groups: witen *inf.* 137, 305, wat *pr. s.* 176, nat 66, witen *pr. pl.* 295, 297, nuten 101, wiste *pt. s.* 6; ah *pr. s.* 165, ahen I *pr. pl.* 4, *pr. pl.* 300; con I *pr. s.* 81, 329, *pr. s.* 64, cunnen *pr. pl.* 187; þerf *pr. s.* 171, þurue we I *pr. pl.* 145, 225; schal *pr. s.* 21 &c., schulen *pr. pl.* 178, 224, 320, schulde we I *pt. pl.* 158; mei I *pr. s.* 81, *pr. s.* 10 &c., me[i] 327, mahen I *pr. pl.* 22, 2 *pr. pl.* 137, 305, mahe *pr. pl.* 274, *pr. s. subj.* 290, 332, mahte I *pt. s.* 113, 162, 232, *pt. s.* 84, 118; most 2 *pr. s.* 285, 316; beon *inf.* 10 &c., am I *pr. s.* 62, is *pr. s.* 8, nis 18, bið 146, aren *pr. pl.* 107, 256, beoð 13, 56, 159, 202, beod 306, beo *pr. s. subj.* 26 (8), beon I *pr. pl. subj.* 142, 198, beo we 193, beon *pr. pl. subj.* 104, wes *pt. s.* 205, weren *pt. pl.* 94, 114, were *pt. s. subj.* 127, 136, 210, 253, nere 121, 136, were *pt. pl. subj.* 124, ibeo *pp.* 331; ich chulle I *pr. s.* 81, wule *pr. s.* 145, 193, 325, wulleð *pr. pl.* 289, wule *pr. s. subj.* 42, 210, 323, walde I *pt. s.* 119, *pt. s.* 6, 12, nalde 7; to donne *dat. inf.* 142, 185, to don 288, 324, to do 189 (virtual *nom.*), do I *pr. s.* 190, 197, deð *pr. s.* 182, doð *pr. pl.* 49, 267, do 2 s. *imp.* 154, idon *pp.* 300, ido 53, 117; gan *inf.* 21, 316, 3eað *pr. s.* 151, ga we I *pr. pl.* 171, ouergað *pr. pl.* 270, ga 2 s. *imp.* 315, *pr. s. subj.* 10, 47.

Among adverbs may be noted á 105 (4), áá 53 (3), ever, distinguished by accent from a 227, ah! hweonene 60, 65, interrogative, earþon 74, previously, unmundlunge (unmyndlinga) 68, unexpectedly, in ME. apparently only here and once in AR; among prepositions, bituhhen 168, bituhhe

133, 169, extension of OE. *bituh*, BH 133/33, which comes also in SK 1515, 'bituhe' AR MS. A, 204/20, 'bituhhen,' id. 358/11, fore 27, 276, on behalf of, in both places separated from the word governed and put at the end of the sentence.

(2) Of R. This is substantially the same as that of MS. B: some forms from ll. 339-373 are here noted. Nouns: *neut. bodi s. d.* 369, *limen pl. n.* 364; *fem. sawle s. n.* 369, *neod* 349, *sondes s. g.* 346, *murðes* 342, *lefdi s. d.* 355, *sonden pl. a.* 357. Adjective comp. *lessere* 345 (*læsssa*), an early instance of the double comparative; T has *lesre*. Pronoun: *incker dual g.*: *indef. oðer s. d.* 363, *noðres s. g.* 347.

(3) Of T. It differs from B mainly in the verbal inflection. Forms with *i* are few, *euennin inf.* 83, *fondin* 224, *lutlin* 327, *openin* 285, *sunegin* 179, *wursi* 164, *mellið pr. pl.* 90; in the *pr. s.* -es and -eð alternate, *warnes* 348, *wilnes* 286, *bides* 59 (hat B), *fares* 25, *haues* 144, *makes* 39, *slepes* 25, *spekes* 8, *wites* 52 (wit B), *fleoð* 158 (*flīð* B), *beoð* 146, *beð* 24, in the *pr. pl.* -en and -eð, *habben* 191, *beon* 14 (6), *freten* 96, *zelden* 213, *hatien* 111, *iwurðen* 93, *snicken* 96, *sweren* 21, *beoð* 17 &c., *speweð* 91: *arn* 256, *schuln* 340, *þurn* 225 are syncopated. Beside *ha*, *she*, *ho* occurs 12, 40, 181; *man* 165 is indefinite. The suffix of the verbal noun is regularly -ing, *cnowlechinge* 292, *gretinge* 213, *hecheling* 100. For *aðet* B, R 104, it has *til þ*, for *mid* B, *mit* R 28, *wið*.

Vocabulary: Scandinavian are *ai* T 53 &c., *aren* 107, *drupnin* 222, *etlunge* 310, *far* (lac) 341, 363, *fear* (laic) T 341, (feir) *lec* R 272, *feoloh* (luk-est) 270 (OWScand. *félagi*), *flute* 349, *flutteð* 100, *3a* T 216, *3ea* T 77, *hird* 65, *hundreð* T 79, *keiseres* 261, *lahe* 193, 259, 271, *lane* 202, *meoke* 198, *nowcin* 163 (4), *tidinges* 140, *til* T 104, *trust* 184, *vmben* 207, *wan* 129, *warpe* 43, *varpeð* 341, *wengen* 143, 340, *witer* (liche) 78, *witer* (luker) 285, *wontin* 135 (OWScand. *vanta*), *wontreaðes* 129, *wondraðes* R 129, *wandreðes* T 129, *picke* 86 (OWScand. *þykk*), probably *baðe* T 23, *iburst* 151, *lustnin* 217, possibly *froden* T 95, *zetteð* 247 (Björkman 109), *3eieð* 134 (OWScand. *geyja*) influenced like *3oulen* by *3ellen* (Björkman 69). French are *arch-angles* 249 (possibly Latin), *apostle* 157, *castel* 31, *chasti* 11, *chere* 213, *icheret* 209, *cruneð* 49, *cunestable* 38, 200, *cunfessurs* 266, *enbreuet* 73, *false* 147, *falsi* 163, *fol* 19, *feh* 149, 204, *grace* 160, *iordret* 252, *iobbet* 26, *leattres* 71, *liun* 151, *meistre* 44, *meistreð* 33, *meoster* 189, 252, *measure* 174, *meosure* 45, *patriarches* 255 (possibly Latin), *poure* 259, *preouuin* 72, *prophetes* 255, *semblant* 19, *seruið* 247, 250, *tresor* 27 (3), *treosor* 369, *tresures* 339, *tre-sorers* T 339, *trone* 244, 260, *turnes* 182, ? *turneð* 206, *aturnet* 209. A Latin borrowing is *martyrs* 262.

Dialect: MS. B bears a close resemblance in all dialectal criteria to

MS. A of the *Ancrene Wisse*; its Anglian peculiarities are somewhat more pronounced. MS. R differs from MS. B in its representation of æ₁ and in the narrower range of its u-, â-umlauts; it is somewhat more Southern than MS. B. MS. T, in the same hand as the copy of the *Ancrene Wisse*, is of the mixed character described on p. 373, but the Southern element is more extensive here.

Style: Sawles Warde has been divided by its latest editor into one thousand and seventy-two half-lines of 'rhymeless Layamonian verse,' with three hundred and sixty-two varieties of scansion, nearly two hundred of which are each represented by a single line. Much ME. verse, the *Proverbs of Alfred*, the *Brut*, the *Bestiary* for example, is, like Sawles Warde, written continuously, but its verse character is always definitely indicated by its punctuation, in Layamonian verse by a half- or full stop at the end of the half-line and a full stop at the end of the line. But, as Luick has shown, Sawles Warde has a prose punctuation of natural pauses in reading, of clause and sentence, a contention which may readily be tested by the texts in the present book, which reproduce the manuscripts in this detail. Thus the punctuation of Sawles Warde which has been adduced as an indication of its verse character is evidence to the contrary.

Some specimens of the verse with the editor's scansion are: 'téacheð us þùrh a bísneð,' 117/4: 'Þis hús þe ùre láuèrd | spékeð ðf, is sèolf þe món,' 117/8: 'þe éarèste is Wárschipe | icléopet, ànt te óðèr | is gástelìch Stréncðè,' 118/36: 'Wárschipe, þet àa is wáker, | is offéared, lèste sùm | fortrúste him ant fèole oslép,' 118/53: 'hwuch só he mèi préouin | þùrh his bóc, þèt is ón | euch súnnè ibréuèt,' 119/72. Now Bartels points out that in Layamon's verse there is no *enjambment* and no beginning of a clause in the middle of a half-line. Furthermore, there is no rhythm in these lines which remotely resembles either the recitative of Layamon's alliterative line or the syllabic measure of his rhymed lines. But the fatal objection is the absence of alliteration or rhyme, for without one of these or a combination of the two there is no verse at all in Middle English; they are of the essence of its form. For Orm is an eccentric and absolutely isolated; his verse would be recognizable by his contemporaries as such only in virtue of the rigid uniformity of its rhythm.

Sawles Warde is written in the same rhythmic prose, and by the same author, as AR and the other pieces mentioned on p. 373, including the *Wohunge of Ure Lauerd* (OEHL i. 263-87) and the *Ureisun of God Almihti* (id. 200-3). The evolution of this style is easily followed. The writer began his literary career with his memory well stocked with alliterative formulae and other phrases, derived in some small measure from the

pre-Conquest literature, but mostly from a body of popular poetry which is represented by isolated pieces like the Worcester Fragments. His first writings, SJ and SM, are overloaded with them, and they have impressed their peculiar movement more or less on the stretches of prose which link them together. Accordingly many passages in SJ for example approach much more nearly to verse than anything in Sawles Warde. Take at random 143/68-72 :—

sei me hwi þu forsakest. ʒ þi sy ant ti selhðe.
 þe weolen ant te wunnen. ʒ þe walden awakenen.
 ant waxen of þe wedlac. ʒ þet ich reade þe to.
 hit nis nan eðelich þing. ʒ þe refschiþe of rome.
 ant tu maht ʒef þu wult. ʒ beon burhene leafdi.
 ant of alle þe londes. ʒ þe þerto liggeð.

This has the right swing, and its slightly faulty alliteration could easily be mended, yet Saint Juliana is not verse. In SK, HM, AR, and SW we can observe a gradual and progressive diminution of this borrowed matter, but the verse cadences persist to the end.

Introduction : Einkenkel, in the preface to his edition of Saint Katherine, claims to have proved that Saint Juliana and Saint Margaret were written by one author, Saint Katherine by another, and Hali Meidenhad by a third. His proof rests largely on the untenable assumption that a Middle English author, whatever the length of his literary career, or the changes in his environment, or the nature of his subject, by reason of his unbending 'individuality' did not vary in his vocabulary, phrases, or turns of expression. So if words in sufficient number occur often in one writing and seldom or not at all in another, if the percentage of the foreign element is not similar, if the synonyms for abstract notions like joy and sorrow, luck and mishap are not the same, the compositions must be the work of different authors. Of far other significance are the unity, not uniformity, of style which pervades the whole group in orderly and natural development, the unity of subject, that is, the praise of virginity and its superior virtue over other states of life, the recurrence of a considerable number of characteristic words, phrases, and constructions found seldom or never outside the group, the presence throughout of a pronounced Scandinavian element testifying at least to a common dialect of origin.

As has already (p. 376) been suggested, this literature is best understood as a product of the Gilbertine movement. The lives of the female saints, of whom two resist marriage and the other says of Christ 'He hæueð iweddēt him to mi meiðhad,' were suitable reading for the Gilbertine nuns, and the anchoresses, for whom the *Ancrene Wisse* was written, had a copy

at least of Saint Margaret. Hali Meidenhad was probably occasioned by the affair of the nun at Watton, one of Gilbert's foundations, which is related by Gilbert's friend, Ailred of Rievaulx, in what is one of the most extraordinary revelations of the mediaeval clerical mind on the subject of the single life: it shows us the younger nuns of Watton far outdoing in ferocity their exemplar Saint Juliana, and helps to the understanding of the sentiment in Hali Meidenhad, which is so distasteful and even revolting to modern feeling that some have thought it impossible that the author of the mild wisdom of the *Ancrene Wisse* could have any part in it. But it must be observed that much of the abusive language about the married state in Hali Meidenhad is not original, some of it is as old as S. Jerome, and no one is so likely to have written the treatise as the enthusiastic founder of an order of nuns.

The writer has already used the main idea of the allegory in the *Ancrene Wisse* (M 172, 271). The parallelism pointed out in the note on l. 82 of Sawles Warde is another indication of common authorship; it is not like a borrowing, nor can it be accounted for by independent use of the curt Latin original. Finally, the passage 125/268-278 in glorification of the 'feire ferreden of uirgines in heouene,' SK 2309, which is an addition of the author's, strikes the dominant note of all his works.

The Latin original of Sawles Warde was again adapted by the writer of the supplement to the *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*, pp. 263-9, presumably Dan Michel of Northgate; his version is much closer to the original, and he does not seem to have been acquainted with that of his predecessor.

1. With the title comp. 'Mid alle cunne warde (= custodia) . . . wite wel pine heorte, uor soule lif is in hire; 3if heo is wel iwust,' AR 48/5; 'þonne se weard swefeð, | sawele hyrde,' Beowulf, 1741 (with Holthausen's note).

2. Si &c.: S. Matt. xxiv. 43: V has 'veniret' with S. Luke xii. 39.

3. a bisne: a forbisne T.

5. to is omitted by R: to witen T: comp. 'To wyten vs wyþ þan vnwihte,' OEM 72/4; 'ihereð hu 3e schulen witen ou wið þes deofles wiles, þet he ou ne biwrenche,' AR 224/20, and see 48/299 note. þe unwiht of helle: so HM 41/19; 'of þe laðe vnwiht þe hellene schucke,' id. 41/35.

6. þes lauerd: þe husebonde RT.

8. hire: so all MSS.; the writer is thinking of the allegory rather than of his grammar. With broken comp. 62/20. mon &c.: R has, mon . in wið þe monnes wit ipis is þe huselauerd ., T, mon . Inwið . þe monnes wit ipis hus is te huselauerd. Kluge, adopting the text of B, punctuates þis hus, . . ., is seolf þe mon inwið; þe monnes wit i þis hus is þe huselaverd; while W, omitting 'i þis hus,' which does not fit into his metrical scheme,

has þis hus, . . . , is seolf þe mon . inwið þe monnes wit is þe huselauerd. In both cases 'inwið' is adverbial, as at 130/57, and the sense yielded is intelligible. But it diverges strangely from the original, 'Pater iste familias animus potest intelligi, cuius familia sint cogitationes et motus earum, sensus quoque et actiones tam exteriores quam interiores. . . . Domus est conscientia, in qua pater iste habitans thesauros (see 118/27) virtutum congregat, propter quos ne domus effodiatur, summopere vigilatur,' V 207 *e*, 208 *a*. All three writers appear to have been contending with a faulty archetype: the original may have been:—

þis hus þe ure lauerd spekeð of . is seolf þe mon
nes inwit . wit i þis hus is þe huselauerd,

where the first line is actually that found in R: the division of mon-nes would readily give rise to the corruptions of all three MSS. In the Ayenbite of Inwyt the Latin is translated, 'Hous . is inwytt[in huychen þe uader of house woneþ . þe hord of uirtues gadereþ,' 263/24. For inwit comp. 'wiðinnen us suluen, ure owune conscience, þet is, ure inwit,' AR 306/1, 206/5. When the writer afterwards speaks of the house of the body, 127/369, he is using a familiar expression, for which there is nothing corresponding in the Latin original. wit is Reason = animus rationalis: the contest between it and Will is also in HM 15/23-36; the embodiment of the later as the 'fulitohe wif' is due to our writer.

10. þ — hire, whose guidance if the household (hus = familia) follow: see 46/292 note. diht &c.: see 66/120 note.

11. chasti, discipline, restrain: comp. 'Hwil þi wit atstond ȝ chāisteð þi wil . . . ne harmeð hit te nawiht,' HM 15/26.

13. hit: see 1/10: ha RT.

16. wittes, senses: comp. 'hire fif wittes . sihðe ȝ heringe . smecchunge ȝ smeallunge ȝ euch limes felunge,' HM 13/25; AR 48/8, 116/25.

17. hwer — ȝemeles: 'Nam si vel parum a sua sollicitudine torpuerit,' V 207 *e*.

18. feareð untoheliche, behaves in unruly fashion. gulteð ilome: see 34/91.

19. ifol semblant, in foolish demeanour: comp. 'ȝif þu makest ei semblaunt oðer eni luue lates touward unðeauwes,' AR 90/17. Inwið &c.: following on the division made in ll. 14, 15, we might have expected here something like, þeo wið innen beoð þohtes.

20. in, busied about, intent on such a great variety of purposes to please Will. For in, of aim, object, comp. 'He only, in a general honest thought | And common good to all, made one of them,' Shakspeare, Julius Caesar, v. v. 71. It might also be regarded as, in the shape of.

21. **hit** might be impersonal, that things shall go on to her liking, but comp. l. 10.

22. **ipplen** can hardly be a mistake for **ifelen** (Specimens): it is possibly for **iðolien**. R has **felen**, T **fele**. **nurhð**, noise: comp. 129/47 note: 'His laðliche nurð 7 his untohe bere makeð þe to agrisen,' HM 31/22; 'nurð ne kimeð in heorte bute of sum þing þ me haueð oðer isehen oðer iherd,' AR Corpus MS. where MS. Nero, ed. Morton, 92/3, has 'noise'; 'leaued ower nurð . ant oþer ladliche bere,' SM 21/20. The word is not found outside this group. T has **murð**, as at 118/22, but R with 'murhðe' there has correctly **nurð** here.

23. **a þet**: see 72/179 note. **hit**: RT have correctly **wit**. **eie . . . luue**: comp. 72/200. With **tuhte**, discipline, comp. 'tuhten ne chasten þi meiden uor hire gult,' AR 268/21.

24. **for**, because of the untrustworthiness of: analogous to 104/175. **for hwen þ**, if on occasion, when: see 72/192 and comp. 'for hwen þat he cheas hire,' HM 15/11. Its use appears to be restricted to this group. **slepe . oðer ohwider fare R**; **slepes oðer owhwider fares T**.

26. **let ham iwurðen**, lets them have their own way, abandons them to their own devices. Comp. 'ure Louerd let us one iwurðen oðer hwules 7 wiðdraweð his græce,' AR 230/27, 288/23; 'Heo let heom alle i-wurþe . þat beoþ so swyþe stronge,' OEM 89/32; SK 791.

28. **forte brooke . . . abuten**: see 74/229 note. **after**: see 7/53. **þ** is *acc.* after **bohte**, with **lette** it means, for which: comp. 44/252, 263. With **lette** &c. comp. 144/84.

29. **moni þeof**: 'Fur autem non unus est sed multiplex, quia singulis virtutibus singula vitia insidiantur,' V 208 a.

30. **gasttes**: comp. 15/79; 'zewerged gastes . 7 unþeawes . 7 unwraste lahtres,' OEH i. 243/7.

31. **castel**: so T, but R has **chatel**, property, possession. All the MSS. have 'castel' at 123/203.

32. **hire**, the corresponding vice. OE. **þēaw**, **un-þēaw** are masculine.

33. **heaued**: 'Principalis tamen fur diabolus intelligitur. Contra quem et eius satellites pater idem (si tamen non negligens fuerit) domum suam forti cūstodia muniens, prudentiam in primo aditu constituat,' V 208 a. **meistreð**, acts as leader to.

34. **keis** is evidently translation of satellites, guards. 'Item satelles dicitur quia adheret alteri ad eius custodiam,' Catholicon. But W explains it of those who hold the keys of office.

35. **froure**: so T, comfort, support; comp. 18/19. But **fowre** R is better.

36. **heaued þeawes**, cardinal virtues. V mentions only three of these

here, but *Temperantia* (= *Meað*) afterwards takes part in the dialogue. *Warschipe* is *Prudentia*: *gastelich strengðe* is a translation of the *Spiritus Fortitudinis* of the very ancient Confirmation Prayer; VV has more literally 'gost of strengþe,' 83/22: V has *Fortitudo* only.

38. *cunestable*, chief officer: an early instance of the word in English.

39. *durewart*: comp. 'þe ȝeteward . þet is wittes skile,' AR 270/26: in VV she is ȝeapnesse, 'on of ðe holie mihtes ðe wel cunne ȝ wel muȝe ðo gaten ȝ ðo duren wel bilokin of ðis holi temple,' 99/22. *þe*: so R, but *þ T*: relative with subjunctive of purpose, like the Latin, 'quae discernat quid sit admittendum, quid vitandum, quid excludendum.'

40. *of feor*, from a distance; explained in NED under *afar*, as an analytical form = OE. *feorran*, *adv.*, from far. The latter is sometimes treated in ME. as a noun and combined with prepositions *of*, *on*, *from*: comp. 118/55, 198/31: *oferrum* in Minot vii. 70 is *on* + *dat. s. neut.* of *feorr*, *adj.*

42. *warschipes*: for the construction, see 10/167. R has *warschipe*, showing confusion of gender. The subject of *warni* is *warschipe* contained in the preceding genitive; see 6/18. *fore*, *adv.*, previously, comp. 121/140: 'Ah wel ich warni þe uore,' SJ 47/15.

44. *þ . . . speken*: see 81/77.

45. *mete*: so T, but *meðe* R: comp. 122/174. *ueeles*: so T, faults of excess and defect, extremes: 'muchel ȝ lutel,' 122/169. R has *þinge*, which perhaps points to an original *ueele þinge*. *for þ* — *halden*, lit., for that is in every place (i. e. under all circumstances) virtue and disciplined conduct in the observance; which is practically, for the observance of that moderation is under all circumstances virtuous conduct. So 'þ ich demi riht ȝ wisdom to donne,' 122/185, the doing of that I judge to be proper and wise. This use of the gerundial infinitive is frequent in AR, comp. 'ne beo þu nout Gius fere ne Gius make uorte birlen him so,' 114/15, by pouring him out such a drink. With *halden* comp. 'Al so me tempreð an baþ . . . also deð ðis halize mihte alle ðes mannes ðeawes ðe hes luuiȝeð ȝ healden cann,' VV 107/18.

46. *þ nan &c.*, that none of them in any case should, in opposition to her, with excess overstep moderation: *wid vnmeoð* is duplicated in *ouer mete*.

48: 'Iustitia sedeat in medio, ut sua cuique tribuat,' V 208 *b*.

49. *after his rihte*, according to his deserts.

50. *his*: RT have correctly *þis*, and after *is*, *his*. Comp. the corresponding passage 127/356-8, where *after þ he is* is varied by 'after þ him limpeð to,' and *nimed . . . his warde to witene* by 'fondeð . . . his warde te

witene.' This household, each in his own department, undertakes the care of his charge. R omits to witene. With **warde** . . . **witene** comp. 74/231; 'þet he wite 7 wardie ou,' AR 174/24: similar combinations are 'werieð 7 witeð,' 121/143, 122/192; 'wite 7 werien,' 123/203, 136/147, 149/169; 'wardi 7 werie,' 121/141.

52. of **þe opre**, of the other servants. **wit** is contracted 3 *sing. pr.* for witeþ, takes care; T has the equivalent in his dialect, wites: comp. 'swuchne wardein, þet wit 7 wereð us euer wið þe unseiene gostes,' AR 312/8. R reads ant euchan al swa as of þe oðere wið þæt wit onont him . ne schal &c.; wið þæt wit is an evident mistake for wit þæt. **onont him**, so far as he is concerned: see NED under *Anent*; the final *t* is possibly due to Scandinavian influence (Björkman, 20), and the second *o* to the analogy of such pairs as hwenne, hwonne, þenne, þonne. Comp. 70/161 note.

53: 'His ita dispositis, introducere debet prudentia aliquos nuntios, qui aliqua narrent, quae ad exercitationem valeant,' V 208 *b*.

54. **fortruste him** appears to mean, be over confident, the prefix implying excess: the word occurs here only.

55. **in**, adverb. of **feorren**: see 118/40 note.

58. **elheowet**, of strange colour: apparently here only. T has blac ille heowet, which looks like a popular derivation of an uncommon word.

59. **puncheð þæt stont**: see 7/52 note. **biuoren**, as a preliminary, as the first thing to be said: comp. 'vore,' 118/42. RT have biuoren ham, which is rather pointless.

61-3. **lust**: 'se respondit non aliter quicquam dicturum, nisi summum fiat silentium. Quo impetrato sic incipit. Ego sum timor mortis et mortem vobis venire nuncio,' V. In AR 306, fearlac binds the sinner condemned in Reason's court. **munegunge**, 'Memoria mortis,' V.

64. **bisetten**, employ, expend (NED i. 817, comparing bestow): arrange, dispose would better suit wordes, but not werkes.

67. **ah** — **hwenne**, but be always expectant of that time: comp. 'deað þet we beoð siker of 7 unsiker hwonne,' AR 144/13.

68. **unmundlunge**, unexpectedly: vnmunidlinge T. **hwen** — **weneð**: comp. 'er me lest wene,' AR 178/12, and often; 'þer we lest wenet,' OEHL i. 7/26; SJ 44/3.

70. of, with, filled with records of sins: comp. 'Vre Louerd hefde ifuld him of his þreatunge,' AR 156/3; 121/130; 201/61 note. See 36/101.

72. **preouuin**, convict: a rare absolute use. preouin R, preouen T.

73. **þæt . . . on**, on which: see 1/3 note. **enbreuet**, enrolled: comp. 'vor nis non so lutel þing of þeos þet þe deouel naueð enbreued on his rolle,' AR 344/10; 'in iames ant inembres bokes ibreuet,' SM 16/31. OF. em-

briever: *n* for *m* is Anglo-French: T has *embreuet*: *ibreuet* in R is pp. of * *breuen*, enroll.

74. *lif siðe*: see 2/27.

75. *soð schrift*: see 88/183, 80/52, and comp. 'healen ham wið soð schrift 7 wið deadbote,' HM 15/1, 21/24. *hire*: so RT: see 13/34 note.

77. *ha seið warschipe*: comp. 119/79, 80, 215/23; 'An oðer stede he seið godd,' VV 81/2; 'he seið seint Jame,' AR 10/14 and often; in all cases the name of the person thus added in explanation of the pronoun has been previously mentioned. Analogous are 192/504, 194/602.

78. *ofte 7 ilome*: see 32/47. *Nu . . . þenne*: see 60/8 note. *for þi trowðe*: see 94/26, and note in l. 80, the common 'omi trowðe.'

80. *efter*: comp. 36/119; 'Vor efter þet me icnoweð his muchele godnesse . . . efter þet me luueð hine more oðer lesse,' AR 92/13: in the next line *efter* — *con* means, to the best of my ability and knowledge.

81. *tellen*: RT omit. *þer towart*, lit. in that direction, i. e. concerning that matter: mostly used in local sense as 'buhen þertoward,' SK 1473. In l. 83 it means thereto. *readien*, discourse: *rodien* R, *reoden* T: W reads *reordin*.

82 ff. The details in this and similar descriptions, as VV 17-19, are ultimately derived from the Visions literature; see Introduction to piece X. The main divisions here correspond exactly to those in AR 144; 'þe seoruwe of helle, þer bihold þreo þinges — þe untaleliche pinen þet no tunge me mei tellen (comp. 119/85) — þe echenesse of euerichon, þet lesteð wiðuten ende (comp. 120/106-8) — þe unimete bitternessse of euerichon' (comp. 120/108-112).

82. [*wid*]: supplied from T, not in R. 'Infernus latus est sine mensura, profundus sine fundo, plenus ardore incomparabili ('uneuenlich'), plenus foetore intolerabili ('unþolelich'), plenus dolore innumerabili' ('untalelich'), W 208 d. *wið ute grunde*: comp. 40/178.

83. *uneuenlich*: comp. 'al so ase heo (blisse) is unefenlich to alle worldes blissen, al so heo is untalelich to alle worldliche tungen,' AR 110/11. R has *unwerilich*.

85. *ne mei* &c.: comp. 46/285, 126/303; 'ne mahte hit na mon rikenin ne tellen,' SJ 50/4.

88. *smeke*: smoke RT. *smeche forcuðest*, vilest of fumes, but RT have *smeche*, of flavours (*smæcc*); comp. 'þreaste smeorðrinde smoke ut smecche forcuðest,' SM 9/6. The adjective is everywhere else used of moral worthlessness; comp. 26/253.

90. *alles cunnes pinen*: see 81/80.

91. *ase deoffen*: R has as *þe deoulen*, which is preferable.

94. For **bute bote** T has *unbotelich*, a rare word, but '*unboteliche lure*,' HM 17/25. The combination of *bote* and *bale* is very common; see Minot i. 4 note. **as** — **weren** belongs to **hal**. **ful** — **grure**, and unmistakably they see themselves terrible and awful. **grisle** . . . **grure**: comp. 56/40, 120/122, 121/131; '*þet grisliche word ȝ grureful ouer alle*,' AR 306/5; '*grislich ȝ grureful uorto biholden*,' id. 242/12.

95. **froggen**: T has *froden*: see 46/273 note.

96. The omission of **þe** would improve the grammar of this passage by giving a verb for *helle wurmes*, *tadden ȝ froggen*.

97. **eaureskes**, water-frogs: *eaureskes* R, *eafroskes* T.

99. **eauerȝete**, at any time yet: comp. '*al þe wo þ̅nu is ȝ euer ȝete was*,' AR 52/12. In '*For falshede euer ȝite heo souhten*,' Castel off Loue, 342, it represents Fr. *tut tens*. **remunge** &c.: '*Ibi est fletus et stridor dentium* (S. Matt. xxii. 13 altered), *ibi transitur a frigore nivium ad calorem ignium, et utrumque intolerabile*,' V 208 *d*. Comp. 42/231-6, 76/25.

100. **hechelunge**: apparently here only: Morris translates '*chattering*.' If it is connected with ME. *hechele*, a tool for heckling flax, grating or gnashing is a more likely meaning.

102. **monge**, mixture, alternation of extremes.

103: '*Ibi omnes comburuntur . . . nec consumuntur*,' V.

104. **forwalleð**, 'tortures by boiling,' NED; apparently here only: comp. 43/222.

106. **unhope**, absence of hope, of any prospect of release: '*ibi nulla spes boni*,' V 208 *d*. A rare word, differing in meaning from *wanhope*: comp. '*in desperaunce, þet is, in unhope ȝ in unbileau forte beon iboruwen*,' AR 8/17. See 46/289.

108. **iwa**: *in wa* RT.

109. **heateð**: '*Omnis, qui est in eo, odit se et omnes alios*,' V. T has, *hateð oðer . ȝ ter teken him seluen*, and in addition thereto (*tō ēacan*).

110. **blake**: '*bestia nigerrima sicut corvus*,' Visio Tnugdali, 36/4.

114. **tungen of stele**: Virgil's '*ferrea vox*'; '*isene stemne*,' Wulfstan, 215/2; '*teȝ and tunge . of stel imaked*,' OEM 154/268.

116. **hefde a mon** &c.: comp. '*Testis mihi Deus est, quia, si viderem quempiam hominum, qui me et omnes caros meos omnibus damnis, iniuriis et laesionibus et extrema leti sorte affecisset: si, inquam, tam immannissimum hostem meum illis suppliciis, quae vidi, deputatum conspicerem prolixius cruciandum, millies, si fieri posset, pro eius ereptione temporalem mortem appeterem*,' Visio Monachi de Eynsham, ed. Huber, Rom. Forschungen, xvi. 663/25. The date of the Visio is 1196 A.D.

117. **al þe ende**, the whole: *ende*, portion, as in OE. *micel ende*, nan

ende appears to show in this solitary place the same development of meaning as *lot*, portion in the colloquial use, 'the lot,' 'the whole lot.' Morris translates 'remnant,' but that is a late meaning of the word: W, starting from the meaning, region (see 127/344), explains, the whole circle of my kin.

120. *ut þrof*, out of that place: comp. 'arudden mi sawle ut of þine honden,' SM 6/21: but *aredden* is usually followed by *of* alone, as, 'to aredden of helle,' OEH i. 203/16.

121. Some distinction is apparently intended between *iseon* (*seon* RT) and *biseon* (all MSS.) such as that between, to be within sight of, and, to gaze upon.

122. *grimfule* *ʒ* *grurefule*: the first word is rare and the combination apparently without parallel.

124. *schenðlac*, disgrace: *schenlac* R, *schendlac* T: a word found only in AR, SK, and here.

125. *ʒ hure þolien*, and especially to bear: in a normal sentence we should look for something like, but it is still worse to endure. *unirude*: *unrude* RT: see 188/389.

126. *mealles*: *melles* RT, beetles, clubs: comp. 'þer ʒe schulen iseon bunsen ham mit tes deofles bettles,' AR 188/4; 'þarfor þe devels salle stryk þam þare | With hevy melles ay,' Hampole, Pr. of Consc. 7047. *dustlunges*: only here; the parallel place, 58/68, fixes its meaning as flingings, hurlings: ME. *dusten*, to fling, is a word characteristic of the group. R has *reade . hare dustlunges* as, T *reade Hare dustlunges* as, a better division, but requiring *ʒ* before *hare*.

128. *grure* &c.: comp. 'greden ai ʒ granen iþe eche grure of helle,' HM 47/12; 'ðær is ece gryre . . . þær is wanung and granung,' Wulfstan II 4/4, id. 209/15, 18. *heatel*, full of hate, cruel; OE. *hatol*. R has *hatel*, T *Heates*.

129. *wontreaðes*: *wondraðes* R, *wandreðes* T: see 58/76. With *bold*, dwelling place, comp. 'bold of eche blisse,' OEH i. 273/10.

132. For *schekeð* R reads *sorheð*. *me . . . me* are *dat.* pronouns, like *ham* 120/96: comp. 80/47. *rueð*: *runeð* T, *ruueð* R; the first two seem to be mistakes for the last, which may represent a simple form of which *ruffle* is derivative, with meaning, to stiffen, stand up in disorder. W reads *riseð*. *of*, at; indicating source or cause: see 160/184.

133. *wumme*: see 2/13. 'Nulla ibi vox, nisi vae, vae, vae habent, vae sonant,' V 208 c.

135. *ofearneð*: if the prefix has any force, it means, thoroughly, fully. *hwilinde*: the OE. adj. are *hwilen*, *hwilendlic*, *hwilwende*.

136. *ȝef þ*: R omits *ȝef*: T has *ȝif* without *þet*. 'Bonum erat ei, si non esset natus homo ille,' S. Mark xiv. 21.

140. *fore*: see 118/42.

141. *rihte . . . reade*: comp. 141/50, 147/158.

142. Read *beo[n]* we, let us be.

145. *he*: ha RT.

146. *deore*: 'pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors Sanctorum eius,' Ps. cxv. 15.

147. *fikelinde*, deceiving: comp. 'þis fikele world ȝ frakele,' HM 7/34; 'eorðe ðet is fikel ȝ fals,' OEH i. 200/24. *false*: *fahe* RT., variegated.

148. *wurðeð*: so T, *wurcheð* R.

151. *iburst*, bristled, and metaphorically, enraged: elsewhere said of the boar, 'burst bar,' SJ 68/13, 'iburst bar,' id. 69/16; 'al was heora gristbatinge.' al swa wilde bares eȝe. | Whil heo weoren blake.' ȝ ladliche iburste,' L 1886; 'comeþ þe maister budel burst ase a bore,' Bōddeker, AE. Dicht. 104/51. *sechinde*: R adds *inȝonge*, which is superfluous, but not senseless; comp. 118/32.

152. *tis*, for *þis* after *ant*, cannot mean 'thus,' Morris: the meaning is, this much I can do, warn you against his malice . . . but I have no power against his force.

153. *of, for*, against. T has of his *leað* for his wrenches *ich con*. Ah i ne mai &c.

154. *þ te*, what: R has only *þ*, T reads *þ te limpeð* to.

157. *eðeliche*, morally poor: usually as applied to persons, it means, in humble circumstances. T reads *eðeliche ȝ wake · vnwearnede ȝ unwepnede of treowe bileaue*; preserving the original.

158. *Etstont*: here with *dat.*; it takes *wið* 122/182; *aȝeines* 126/324.

159. *alle* &c., our weapons are all given us by his favour. Fortitudo in the Latin quotes 'induîte vos armaturam Dei,' Eph. vi. 11.

160. *he*, the adversary.

161. *towart*, against: comp. 126/333; 'weorreð ȝ warpeð eauer toward tis tur,' HM 5/18. *weole ȝ wunne*: a frequent combination in this group: comp. 143/69, 95; AR 198/30; SK 1501; HM 9/8, also 'For al þe weole and þe wyn . þat riche men fede,' OEM 91/22. *este*: comp. 72/187; 'al hore wil ȝ flesches eise ȝ este,' AR 220/6.

162. *summes weis*, in some respects: comp. 140/30; HM 9/32; at 124/236 it appears to translate aliquantisper, for some time. Similar phrases are 'pisses weis,' AR 186/25, 'eueriches weis,' id. 218/12.

163. *na þing heardes*: like Lat. nihil duri: comp. 122/183; 'Wat dostu godes among monne,' ON 563. With *heardes* comp. 113/37.

165. For both things, i. e. for both the rigour of adversity and the absence of bliss, it behoves one to feel dread. heart: hard R.T.

167. *ma pah*, still more.

168. *forȝemeð ham*: comp. 22/137.

170. *ȝuldene*: comp. 'þe middel weie of mesure is euer guldene,' AR 336/23. *guldene* R.T.

172. *hwet se* &c., whatever be the case when hardships are concerned, I am not at all afraid of prosperity. For this use of *of*, comp. 'Hwen þus is of þe riche . hwat wenes tu of the poure,' HM 9/16. Morris translates, 'Whatever may be of hardships I dread'; which involves an impossible ellipsis and the mistake of making 'of heardes' partitive depending on 'hwet.' In this text that would require 'heardes' without the preposition: comp. 122/163, 183.

173. *ne of licomliche estes* R.

176. *schad* is usually followed by *of*, as at 130/81, but Orm 6228, 9 has 'bitwenen.' Comp. 'scadwisnesse,' 92/121; 'ȝescod,' 14/74.

178. *fallinde*, perishing: B-T quotes 'Ðis lif is lánlic and feallende,' Thorpe, Anc. Laws, ii. 400/16.

179. *þurh unweotenesse*, if she sins, it will not be for lack of knowledge. Comp. 'I þine soule, oðer two—sunne ȝ ignorance.' þet is, un-wisdom ȝ unwitenesse,' AR 278/6.

180. After *nis* T adds *ha*. *siker of*, free from anxiety about; as 'siker-nesse' in l. 188 is confidence. *as þeo þe* &c., as being one who thinks herself weak, like Lat. *quippe quae*: comp. 128/1.

181. ȝ: so T, but R has correctly to, in.

182. *onont*, as regards, so far as she herself is concerned: Lat. *quoad*. *etstonden wið*: see 121/158. *turnes*, cunning devices: comp. 'aȝein þes deofles turnes ȝ his fondunges,' AR 78/27. *deð—wise*: comp. 'þenne doþ we as þe wise,' OEM 79/228.

185. *deð*: this superfluous use of *do* is common in AR. 'ne seið hit nout þ heo biheold wepmen; auh deð wummen,' 54/19; 'Auh þe treowe ancren þet we efneð to briddes.' nout we þauh.' auh deð God,' 130/30, and often. Comp. 85/105: different is 'do' used to avoid the repetition of a verb as at 49/304, 86/141. *to donne*: see 118/45.

187. T omits *halden*.

189. T has the better reading, to do riht ȝ riht for to demen, which is supported by 122/197: R to don riht ant riht fon ȝ demen; 'fon riht' is a strange expression, which may mean to exact justice at the hands of others. *ich deme* &c.: Morris translates, 'and I deem myself so that I, through myself, may do it (sin) not.' The meaning is, My duty is to behave justly

and to judge justly, and, in my own case, I judge that I do not perform that duty by my own unaided powers.

190: 'Omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum est, descendens a Patre luminum,' S. Jas. i. 17.

191. **Nu . . . þenne**: see 60/8.

192. **werien . . . witen**: see 118/50. **halden**: habben T.

193. **demen** &c., to have a poor and humble opinion of ourselves. Comp. 'leoten ham lahe ȝ eðeliche,' HM 43/29. **Ne beo** — **swucche**, even if we be not at all such, belongs to the preceding sentence.

199. **of**, in respect to; it comes near in meaning to, in spite of these merits. OE. **fordēman** is constructed with **for**, **dēman** with **be**, **ymbe**.

200. **him ane** is definitive qualifying god: comp. 'he him ane is to herien,' 130/75.

201. **þonkeð . . . of**, thank on account of, for: comp. 'Gode ȝanciað mid godum weorcum his gifa,' Cura Past. 318/3; 'þet þu luuie þine drihten . . . ȝ him þonkien alles þinges,' OEH i. 39/25; but 'þonkien hit ure drihten,' id. 5/29.

203. **on helpe**, as a help: comp. 123/226. **wite** &c.: see 118/50.

206. **dreaien**: see 74/233: **dreien** R, **draben** T. **treowliliche** is a scribe's mistake for **treowliche**, as in R, **treweliche** T.

207. **Vmben**: not 'for,' Morris, but **After**. On the other hand, 'umbe stunde,' AR 344/27, means, at times; 'eauer umbe stunde,' HM 33/30, at all times.

209. **freolich**, goodly, charming, properly, of gentle upbringing: for the combination with **feier**, comp. 129/23, 138/22. 'Alius nuntius venit pulcher et hilaris, qui videtur afferre bona,' V 208 c. **aturnet**, attired: see 68/146.

210. **þ** — **neod**, we should have much need of that: the construction in this expression is *dat.* of the person needing, *nom.* of the thing needed, as in 'Muchel is us þenne neod . . . sod scrift,' OEH i. 11/1; 'þu seist þet te nis no neod medicine,' AR 178/15; 'þe holie man is ned þ he [bie] festned on his holinesse,' OEH ii. 57/31: see also 62/24.

211. **mid alle**, utterly: the phrase translates L. **penitus** in SK 658.

214. **ilihtet**, alleviated, freed from depression: comp. 'þet ich beo ilihted of hore heuinessse,' AR 356/5. **ham þuncheð** is parenthetical.

215. **schimmeð**, shines: a form found also in SJ, SM: **schimereð** T.

217. **lustnin**: T has **lustin þ helden** us swa stille hwil fearlac us agrette, which corresponds to 'Si nos, dum timor et memoria mortis loqueretur, tacuimus, iustum est ut te loquente multo magis taceamus,' V 208 c.

219. **munegunge**: see 119/62. **liues luue**: 'desiderium vitae aeternae'; comp. 'þ he hire liues luue luueliche leareð,' HM 3/11.

220. þ, in which, where.

222. **drupnin**, to be dejected: a Scand. word; see Björkman 177, 208, *durcnin*, the reading of R, is for *drucnin*, a variant of the other: comp. 'ȝ dearede al adeadet, | druicninde ȝ dreori,' SK 2020. See Minot, i. 9 note.

224. **fondin** ȝ **ifinden**, experience and discover.

229. **ȝe iseoð**: ȝoi isoð T.

230. **alswa**: R omits. **aȝein**, in comparison with: comp. 124/246, 264; 'euerich worldes sauur is bitter þer aȝeines,' AR 102/26, id. 112/10. In l. 232 it means toward, in the direction of (from the place opposite): comp. 'Ben ȝese hangen ȝe sunne agen,' GE 4075.

231. **sunne** — **schadewe**: comp. 'te sunne were dosk ȝif hit to þi blisfule bleo mihte beo euenet,' OEH i. 269/26 (Wohunge); 'Iesu al feir . aȝein hwam þe sunne nis buten ase a scheadewe,' id. 200/9; HM 39/32; AR 100/4.

233. **schawere**, mirror; OE. **scēawere**. T has *scheawere*, R *schadewe*. The idea was possibly suggested by 'per speculum in aenigmate,' 1 Cor. xiii. 12. Comp. 'ȝe schulen, ase ine scheauware, iseon ure Lefdi mid hire meidenes,' AR 92/26.

235. **an**, one; not 'and,' Morris: the expression translates *individua Trinitas*.

236. **summes weis**: see 121/162.

237. **blisful**: wonderful R.

238. **rixleð**: the absence of a connecting word is perhaps due to the original Latin: 'Aliquantisper tamen intuitus sum Dominum Iesum Christum in dextera patris sedentem, in aeterna vita regnantem, quamvis super omnem creaturam adeo speciosum, ut in eum desiderent Angeli prospicere, ad haec (? adhuc) tamen vulnera passionis, quibus nos redemit, in corpore suo habentem, patri pro nobis assistentem,' V 208 d.

239. **ful** . . . to **bihalden**, sated with gazing: a peculiar use of the, historically, dative infinitive as a genitive: comp. 'sead . . . to iseonne,' 133/30; 'upo hwas nebschaft þe engles ne beoð neuer fulle to bihalden,' HM 39/32: NED quotes under date 1607, 'full to provide,' fully occupied in providing. Sometimes 'of' is added, as 52/388; 'Hit bieð sume þat non imeðe ne cunnen of hem seluen to feden,' VV 139/23. In OE. the dat. inf. is often used to translate the Latin gerundive in the genitive, as 'swa mycel getydnas ȝ gelærednes to spreccanne' = 'tanta dicendi peritia,' Bede, ed. Miller, 362/27. For **ich iseh** R has *is*, T *iseh*.

240. **etscene**: eðsene R, edscene T.

243. **heouenliche**, heavenly ones: T adds *weoredes*: comp. l. 251. 'super omnes ordines beatorum Angelorum . . . exaltatam,' V.

244. **in**, on.

245. **istirret**: **isterret** T. **weoleful**: **meiful** R, powerful.

246. **pear ich iseh as**, I saw where: usually the words are not separated: comp. 127/342; 'he is ase buruh wiðuten wal, þer ase uerd mei in oueral,' AR 74/6: so 'þider as,' whither, 126/334. For ase, where, comp. 125/272, 'ine Jerusalem, ase he wunede,' AR 172/2.

248. **þa**, when. R has after **mahte**, na mare of hire iþolien; T reads, mihte of hire na lengre þolien.

249. **biseh to**, looked upon, beheld: comp. 3/45; 'Ða biseh ure drihte mildeliche to hire penitence,' OEH ii. 145/9, and the similar 'belocest to,' 13/36; 'hwa bihalt to þeo þet beoð of lowe liue,' AR 276/26; 'iseh towart' = intuitus sum 124/254; 'on to biseonne,' 136/137. But 'to . . . bisihð' 134/81 means, looks up to, like 'hwon 3e habbeð touward me eien oðer honden,' AR 76/16: 'biseon to' 136/134, look after, provide for, as in 'Bisih to me lauedi brizt, | Hwenne ich schal wende heonne,' OEM 160/18. T omits ȝ — archangles, probably taking 'þe oðre þe beoð buuen ham' to mean the archangels. The Latin is, 'Sed hanc admirabilem claritatem matris et filii diu ferre non sustinens, converti aspectum meum ad illos beatorum spirituum ordines, qui ante Deum assistunt.' Probably the author meant by 'þe oðre' the four and twenty elders and the four beasts in perpetual adoration about the throne (Rev. iv. 4-11).

251. **unwergeð**: unwerched T. **Nihe wordes**: see 16/138: T has **woredes**, R **ord'res**, corrected out of wordes.

253. **onsihðe**: see 64/55.

255-8: 'miro exultantes gaudio, qui eam quam olim a longe salutaverant patriam obtinent, qui ea quae in spiritu praeviderant completa conspiciunt,' V 209 a. See Heb. xi. 13. **þ**, because.

256. For **igret**, greeted, OE. **gegrētan**, R has **igreiðet**, prepared.

259. **poure**: 'de pauperibus et de infirmis tam gloriosos tamque sublimes factos,' V. T of **poure**, R **þ'** **poure** 'weren'; omitting on **eorðe**. **bigoten**, drenched, perfused: comp. 'Eall ic wæs mid blode bestemed | begoten of þæs Guman sidan,' Dream of the Rood, 48; 'þ ha al were bigoten of þe blode,' SJ 27/6.

261. **alle cunnes ledenes**: RT have the usual **alles**: the MS. has **alles**, where the dot may be only a casual resting of the pen: see 81/80, and comp. l. 264.

264. **talden to**, esteemed: for 'to' T has of, which is the usual construction, comp. 164/256, 'telleð lutel þerof,' AR 200/12, but 'to' at 129/30; 'tellest herto lutel,' AR 100/20. **a3eines**: see 123/230.

266. **haliche**: read **haliliche** with RT.

267: 'fulgent quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates,' V 209 *b*, from Daniel xii. 3. **wlite**: 'Regem in decore suo vident,' V from Isa. xxxiii. 17. The writer omits any reference to monks, to whom the last clause of this sentence, 'þ — ehnen' (Rev. vii. 17), is applied in the Latin. It is significant that he greatly expands the passage which describes the maidens; which should be compared with AS. Hom., ed. Assmann, 42/460-72 (Ælfric, de Virginitate), HM 19/9-15.

269. **ferreden**: comp. 'i þe feire ferreden | of uirgines in heouene,' SK 2309. **ilikest towart engles**: so, 'þu ofearnest meiden to beo engle euening iþe heȝe blisse of heuene,' HM 13/5; 'to singen wið engles hwas felahes ha beoð,' id. 19/8, 21/31.

270. **feolohlukest**, best fitted as associates and equals to rejoice and be glad with them. An isolated superlative of *felaȝlich*: comp. 'wunderlukest,' 34/88; 'wurðlukest,' L 25496. The comparative adv. is more common: 'dimluker,' 56/43, 'creftluker,' 131/88, 'greatluker,' 70/157, 'monluker,' 66/110, 'oðerluker,' 38/149, 86/135, 'witerluker,' 125/285; in AR 'ȝeorne-luker,' 'gledluker,' 'wisluker,' 'uestluker,' 234/5, 7, 8, 9; 'wunderluker,' OE H i. 93/28. For *u* in these forms see Bülbring, §§ 420, 421. **ouergað**: see 22/143.

271. **flesches lahe**, desires of the flesh: *lahe* is custom, habit; its use was perhaps suggested by 'Video autem aliam legem in membris meis... captivantem me in lege peccati,' Rom. vii. 23. **cunde**, natural propensities: comp. 160/209; 'heald þin cunde,' follow nature, OE H ii. 31/6.

272. **as**, where: comp. 124/246. There should be a full stop at *wunieð*, as in RT.

274. R omits *þe* — *singen*. The arrangement in T shows how the mistake arose from the similar endings of two lines:

na *tunȝe tellen*. Alle ha *singeð*
 þ ter beoð. Ah hare song ne
 mahe nane *buten* heo *singen*
 Se swote smal ham folheð hwi.

hare song: 'Nam cantabant canticum, quod nemo alius poterat dicere,' V 209 *c*, from Rev. xiv. 3 (altered).

275. **smeal**: *smel* R, *smal* T. 'Sed odor in regione earum tam suavis erat, ut omnia aromatum genera exuperet,' V.

277. **azein** &c., to receive their petitions. **þ alle** &c.: *þ alle þe oðer* 'he' *walden sittinde ihereð* R, *þ alle þoðre halhen sittinde him hereð* T.

279. **Ah nu** &c.: 'De singulis beatorum Ordinibus mira disseris, quae sumus ut quae sit eorum in communi actio edicas,' V 209 *d*. The stop

should come not after *setnesse*, but after *sunderlepes*, as in T; R puts it after *sumhwet*, which is tolerable. *setnesse*, OE. *setness*, properly ordinance, arrangement, is here by extension, order, class: R has the isolated *tosettesse*, corresponding to an OE. **tō-setness*, division into classes, which is probably the original word. The sense is, Well, thou hast now spoken so admirably about each class of the blessed severally, tell us somewhat as to what bliss is common to all alike. W explains *setnesse* as = *swettesse*.

282. *lengðe*: 'Vivunt, sapiunt, amant, gaudent, laudant, veloces sunt, securi sunt,' V 209 d.

283. In T *murie* by punctuation goes with 'loft song,' which is OE. *lof-song*, Lauds, hymns of praise; see 126/318.

287-330. The messenger proceeds to explain the nature of the seven blisses. The scribe marks off each section with a special capital, but has omitted one at 'her,' 126/317.

287. *brihtre*: comp. 'seouesiðe schenre þen þe sunne,' HM 41/2; AR 100/4; SK 1665; SM 23/13; a phrase of this group. See Ælf. Lives, i. 538/820.

288. *buten* — *swinc*: 'current et non laborabunt,' Isa. xl. 31.

289. in a *steal*, in one station, condition: contrasted with man's state on earth, 'numquam in eodem statu permanet,' Job xiv. 2, 'never continueth in one stay.' R has *stel*.

290. *wið ute wonunge*: 'sine diminutione.'

291. *hare lif* &c.: 'Vita eorum visio et cognitio beatae Trinitatis,' V, quoting further S. John xvii. 3. R adds 'in' after *is*.

295. *nebbe to nebbe*: 'tunc autem facie ad faciem,' 1 Cor. xiii. 12. Comp. 'secheð earst upon hire nebbe to nebbe,' HM 17/7; 'cristes wille bo us bitwon. | neb wið neb for him to son,' OEH i. 61/109. *wise* &c.: 'Sapiunt consilia atque iudicia Dei, quae sunt abyssus multa,' V 209 e; partly from Ps. xxxv. 7.

296. R has *godes runes* ant his *reades* þ. Comp. 1/5; 'Godes derne runes ȝ his derne domes,' AR 96/3; 'his derne runes ȝ his heouenliche priuitez,' id. 154/2; 'þe deopschipe ȝ te derne run,' SK 1333.

297. *sea dingle* answers to 'abyssus': *dingle* is not otherwise known till the seventeenth century: see NED s. v. *ha seoð* &c.: so, 'Alle þeo ine heouene iseoð ine God alle þing,' AR 96/1.

298. *hwi ȝ hwerto*: 'Sapiunt causas et naturas et origines omnium rerum,' V. R omits.

300. *bi ham idon*, acted towards them, dealt with them: comp. 80/58. R omits *ham*.

301. **deorewurðe**: muchele R. **milce** is *dat.*, **hwet** *acc.* after **zelden**. R omits **ase** **muchel**.

302. R omits **al**, **se** **muchel** is not in RT and is not original: the correlatives are 'Se gleade' . . . 'þ ne mei.'

303. **munne**: comp. 'ȝ monie ma murhðen | þen alle men mahten | wið hare muð munnen | ȝ tellen wið tungen,' SK 1697-1700, and 119/85.

304. **Euchan** — **ahne**: comp. 'ȝlc blissæþ on oðres gode ȝ on oðres murhðe, swá on his aȝene,' Twelfth Cent. Hom. 120/11; AR 282/14-17.

306. **ase** — **alle**, as many gladnesses as all the saints in heaven are many: 'tot gaudia habent quot socios,' V. R omits **alle**.

308. **hwen**, since.

310. **of**: see 110/272. **wið uten ei etlunge**, beyond all estimate: comp. 'wiðuten eni etlunge,' HM 39/35. **eilunge** R, a scribe's error.

311. **Neomeð** &c. The Latin of this passage is clear enough: 'Si ergo cor uniuscuiusque vix capit suum gaudium, quomodo capit tot et tanta gaudia? Ideo dicitur, *Intra in gaudium Domini tui*: non intret gaudium Domini tui in te, quia capi non posset,' V 209 b. If *hu* be read for *þ* in l. 313, it gives a similar turn of expression and sense. As the text stands, it means, Now then note that, even if the heart of any one man can never find room for its own joy taken separately (so great beyond measure is the bliss of the individual) yet it does receive into itself so many and great joys [of others]. That is the meaning of our Lord's saying, 'Enter into the joy of thy Lord' (S. Matt. xxv. 21). You must enter into the joy, it does not enter into you, for you cannot take it in. Such verbal ingenuity is common in scriptural interpretation at this period. **nu þenne**, now, that being so; see 60/8 note.

312. **iseide**, meant, taken: for this use of *seggen*, see 56/46. T omits, B is defective here.

313. **þe**: **þen** R, **te** T. *þ* would in a modern sentence come after 'zeme,' l. 311.

316. **blisse**: **hus** R. **bigotten**: see 124/259: **biȝeoten** R, **biȝoten** T.

317. **neomen**: in the absolute use of *betake* itself, *proceed*: see 213/539: **in** is a mere repetition of the preceding '*in*': comp. 143/67 note. **her of** begins the expansion of '*laudant*': it does not refer to what precedes, but means, for the reason given in the following verse, 'Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine; in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te,' Ps. lxxxiii. 5.

318. **lusti**, finding pleasure: 'sine fastidio.' **songes**: read *songe*, as in R.

321. Comp. 'Alle þeo ine heouene schulen beon ase swifte ase is nu monnes þouht, ȝ ase is þe sunne gleam, þet smit from east into þe west, ant

ase þe eie openeð 7 tuneð. . . . tet bodi schal beon hwar so euer þe gost wule in one hondhwule,' AR 94/21.

322. **tuneð** &c.: 'In momento, in ictu oculi,' 1 Cor. xv. 52: 'as tu turnest þin hond,' HM 25/12.

324. **etstonden**: see 121/158.

325. **3e**: 3ea T. **makie to cwakien**: for the dat. inf. of purpose, comp. 128/370; 'he wæs . . . geneded to onfonne þa ðegnunge biscophades,' Bede, 368/17. The construction has its equivalent in an object clause, as 'makeð ham þ̅ ha beoð,' 131/101.

327. The writer has neglected the translation of 'de tali velocitate' after blisse. **þ̅ hit** &c.: 'quod nullum finem, nullam diminutionem, nullum detrimentum habebunt,' V 209 b. **me** is miswritten for mei; mai T.

329. **nower neh**, nowhere near, falling far short of the reality; a phrase of this group, comp. 'Nis hit nower neh gold al þ̅ ter schineð,' HM 9/15; 'ne schaltu nower neh | se lihtliche etsterten,' SK 2094. R reads, Ah nower neh ne seh ich al. ne þ̅ ich iseh. ne ne con ich al tellen: T, Ah nower neh ne seh ich al. ne þ̅at 3et þ̅ ich seh ne con ich half tellen. Both are quite intelligible, R is nearest the original. W emends, ah nowðer ne seh ich al, | ne þ̅et 3et þ̅et ich iseh | ne con ich half tellen. The Latin is, 'Neque enim ut vidi dicere, neque ut sunt videre potui.' 3et, even.

331. **after þi sihðe**, in accordance with what you saw: 'vera vidisse, vera narasse te intelligimus,' V 209 c.

332. **bisið him**, takes heed to himself.

333. **towart**: see 121/161.

334. **þider as**, to the place where: see 124/246. **þider þer T**.

335. **an**, for ant: 7 RT. **blisse . . . bale**; comp. 'in blisse buten euch bale,' SK 1755; 'my blysse, my bale 3e han ben boþe,' E. E. Allit. Poems, 12/373. R has wið uten balesið.

336. **folhin**, to follow after, or to practise, does not suit the context; but fonden T, to experience, gives a good sense and a characteristic combination: see 123/224. R has folhen an finden. **hwet** &c.: 'Quis ergo nos separabit a charitate Christi? . . . Certus sum enim quia neque mors neque vita . . . poterit nos separare a charitate Dei,' Rom. viii. 35, 38, 39.

337. **halden us þeonne**, keep us away from him: comp. 'halde we us from uniwil,' OEH i. 69/264. **þeonne**, not 'then,' but thence, therefrom: contracted from þeonene, OE. **þanone**: usually meaning from that place and seldom applied to a person as here.

339. **haueð**: the subject is *he* contained in the preceding 'his.' **treasures**: a mistake for tresurers: tresorers T: possibly the earliest instance of its use.

340. **under his wengen**, i. e. if we have his protection : from 'protegar in velamento alarum tuarum,' Ps. lx. 5 : similar expressions in Pss. lvi. 2, lxii. 8, xc. 4.

341. **warschipe** : T has rihtwisnesse, with the Latin, where Justitia pronounces judgement (comp. l. 350) and Fortitudo executes it (l. 343), while Temperantia says what is translated in ll. 349-52.

342. **per as**, where : see 124/246. **murðes** : murhðes T.

343. **nu ut quod strenðe** is omitted by T.

344. **ende** : see 96/34. Nu nu *quod* fearlaic . T.

345. **lessere** &c., inferior in importance to that of mirth's messenger ; so Morris, taking sondes as *s. gen.* balancing 'mi' after þen. T has sonden.

346. **unbihefre** : see 91/108. **licwurðe ne icweme** : comp. 'Hesteres bone þe cwene was þe kinge Assuer licwurðe ȝ icweme,' AR 146/7, 120/25, 326/13.

347. **ow** : T adds *quod* meað.

349. **þah** with **nu**, nevertheless at this time, on this occasion. T has, flutte nu þah fearlac.

351. 'Forsitan tu admitteris si Desiderium vitae aeternae aliquando loqui cessaverit,' V 209 *d.*

352. **stutteð**, ceases : a word characteristic of the group : comp. 'þa ne cuðen ha neauer stuten hare cleappe,' AR 72/14 (Corpus MS.) ; 'Stute nu þenne ȝ stew þe, | ȝ stille þine wordes,' SK 1529 ; 'Wið þis þ ha stutte stoden þe cwelleres,' SJ 64/12 ; 'stute nu ant stew þine unwittie wordes,' SM 6/2 : it is mostly used of cutting short a discourse : cognate with Du. stuiten (Franck), G. stutzen.

353. **ituht efter**, disciplined in conformity with : similarly **don efter**, l. 355, to behave in subservience to : comp. 106/197.

355. T has, se ful itohen ȝ don al as ham luste ase wil hare lafdi ȝ nawt ase wit ham tuhte.' lustneð &c.

356. **fondeð** &c., each one, owing to those two messages which they have heard, and (owing to) that which the four sisters have taught in addition, ever strives, in discharge of his office, to keep his watch and to guard faithfully against the entrance of each vice.

357. **þurh** : R has the contraction þ with oblique stroke through the lower part of the staff here and at 128/371, not þ̇. þ̇ **fowr** : to fowr R.

358. **for**, against, with 'witene' and 'warden.' **warde** &c. : comp. 118/50.

359. **ant** — **treowliche** : T omits.

360. **ofte** &c. : see 32/47.

361. *þe islep*: *þ* iþe slep of *þemles* T. For *þemeles* comp. 54/10, 17. hire: his T. 'Sic debet quisque torporem suum excutere,' V 209 *d*.

362. *after þeos*: *after þe* tidings of *þe* T. *biseon* to, gaze up to: comp. 124/249: with *on*, 120/122. Here V ends.

364. T reads his hinen. *after*, in accordance with that which: *after þat* his wil T.

365. *þ is*: *þe* wise T. *tuhten* *ʒ* *teachen*: comp. 47/272: in Specimens connected with 'wule,' 'as Wit . . . will discipline and instruct'; by Morris made to depend on 'husebonde,' both wrongly. They depend on *ah*, l. 360, which governs the whole series of infinitives 'te þenchen,' 'awecchen,' 'biseon,' 'To habben,' 'leaden,' 'tuhten *ʒ* teachen,' 'witen,' l. 368: one ought to train and teach (himself and his servants, l. 363) that Wit should always go before.

366. *teache*: T has the correct reading, *drahe*. *dihteð* *ʒ* *demeð*, arranges and decrees to be done. The combination is uncommon, but comp. 'al ich wule dihten | þe domen of mi kinedom,' SK 1460 (MS. Titus); 'he dihte feole domes,' L 7221.

367. *þer fore*: not in T; it is a blundering anticipation of the two words following.

370. *te fleon*: see 126/325. *ontent*, inflames: comp. 70/168; 'þe hali gast | þe, in furene tungen, | ontende þe apostles,' SK 1402; 'Ontend me wiþ þe blase of þi leitinde loue,' OEH i. 185/6. T has *ontenden*.

372. *feder* &c.: *fader* *ʒ* *te hali gast an godd i þrehad rixleð ai bute ende* T. *ant e sune* is a strange mistake: comp. 88/190.

374 ff. are not in T. *iohan* is the copyist: comp. 74/237, 75/209; 'Ant he *þ* her least on wrat swa as he cuþe,' SJ 79/18. He may have been the author of the doggerel which follows.

377. *swa*, accordingly, i. e. by reading it.

381. *þ lif*, such a life.

384. *þet* means that, in conjunction with 381, so that, with 382. *Johan* was a good scribe, and a poor poet.

XVII. SAINT KATHERINE

Manuscripts: As for Sawles Warde. The text of this extract is from the Royal MS.

Editions: Morton, James, The Legend of St. Katherine of Alexandria, Abbotsford Club, London, 1841 (text from MS. Titus D 18, with variants from the Royal MS.). Hardwick, Charles, An Historical Inquiry touching Saint Catharine of Alexandria: to which is added a Semi-Saxon Legend, Cambridge, 1849 (text from MS. Titus). Einenkel, Eugen, The Life of

Saint Katherine, London 1884 (text based on the Royal MS. with readings of all the manuscripts, the Latin original and an English translation): also as Appendix to *The Life and Martyrdom of Saint Katherine of Alexandria*, Roxburghe Club, 1884.

Literature: (1) Of the present version. Einkenel, E. (see p. 493/7); *Stodte, H. (see p. 493/9); Victor, Otto, *Zur Textkritik und Metrik der frühmittelenglischen Katharinenlegende*, Bonn, 1912; Luick, Karl, *Anglia*, Beiblatt, xxiii. 226-35 (review of Victor's dissertation); Bartels, L. (see p. 450/23). (2) Of the Legend in general. Knust, H., *Geschichte der Legenden der h. Katharina von Alexandrien und der h. Maria Aegyptiaca*, Halle, 1890; Varnhagen, H., *Zur Geschichte der Legende der Katharina von Alexandrien*, Erlangen, 1891; id., *Zur Geschichte der Legende der Katharina von Alexandrien*, Erlangen, 1901.

Source: The most widely spread of the Latin lives of the Saint, called by Varnhagen the *Vulgata*, and printed opposite the English text by Einkenel. Varnhagen's tract dated 1891 gives a good account of all the Latin versions and their sources.

Phonology: This is of the same type as that of MS. A of the *Ancrene Wisse* and of MSS. B, R of *Sawles Warde*. Noteworthy are *cang* 88 with *a* for *a* before a lengthening group, and therefore a loan-word; *wastum* 24 with *a* for *æ* after *w*; *icuret* 25 participle of ME. *curen*, derivative of *cyre*; *dale* 33 from *dāl*, not *dæl*; *medschipe* 79 (*gemædd* pp.); *teeð* 64 with doubled vowel for length; *roðeren* 21 (*reoderen* B) from *hrȳðer* through *ruðeren* L 8106 (*roþere* O); *awariede* 48, 82, *wariet* 67 without *i*-umlaut of *ea*; *horte* 38 French writing for *heorte*; *steðeluest* 24 *u*-umlaut of *a*; *woorld* 97 probably miswritten for *weorld* (*weorlde* B); *hersumin* 49 representing **hēarsumian* without umlaut; *storede* 4 French writing for *steorede* from *stēoran* without umlaut; *scheop* 73, 80, 103 (*scēop*). *Dreien* 12 is *dragan* with *ā*-umlaut of *a*; for *plohen* 36 see 360/19; *slaht* 67 is Anglian *slæht*; *seheliche* represents **gesegenlic*, Li has *geseen*; *rewfule* 55 has *ew* from *ēow*. A glide *e* is added in *halewunde* 78, *ludere* 69; *e* is lost in *zeinde* 54, *wettres* 93; *e* is *u* in *halewunde* 78 (*hālwendē*) through an intermediate *i*; *o* is *u* in *þrittuðe* 15. In *zurinde* 54 *r* has been lost; *d* is *ɹ* in *wurðmunt* 73 (*wurðmund* T); *ð* in *cweðen* 45 is from the singular; *ð* is lost in *wurgin* 19, *wurgið* 93 (*wurðgin* B, ME. derivative of *wierðig*); *ȝ* is written for *g* in *ȝeinen* 60 (OWScand. *gegna*); initial *h* is lost in *lowinge*, *ludinge* 48, *remes* 55.

Accidence: This has been sufficiently described in the texts mentioned above. Noteworthy is *heoren* 85, perhaps the earliest instance of the form with *n* added from *min*, *pin*.

Vocabulary: Scandinavian are *bule* 21, *crokes* 43 with its derivative *crokinde* 87, *euene* 20, *zeinen* 60 (*keinén* T), (*god*)*lec* 98, 101, *hap* 62, *keisere* 60, *lates* 35, *menske* 45, *witer(liche)* 96: possibly *hird* 53, *zeinde* 54. French are *lay* 55, *mawmez* 21, *mawmetes* 48: possibly *cang* 88, *crauant* 45.

Dialect: As for Sawles Warde.

Style: What has been said about the arrangement of Sawles Warde in Layamon's verse applies to Einkenel's distribution of SK in Otfrid's verse, which Trautmann, the discoverer of Otfrid's verse in England, afterwards recognized as Layamon's. It produces such strange divisions as, 'þet an engel ne com | lihtinde, with swuch | leome, from heouene,' 666-8; 'He haueð iweddēt him to | mi meiðhad mit te ring,' 1507, 8; 'to habben' ant to halden þe | cwic, þen to acwellen þe,' 1867, 8; 'ant heo duden; drohen hire | wiðuten þe burhþetes,' 2173, 4, and such rhythms as, 'hwet he warpe a word aþein ow,' 643; 'for hwas nome ich underneome,' 765; 'ant kēnest of ow álle óf þe créft,' 814; 'ant cweðe ham al sker up,' 867, with many others. There is a parallel to SK in the OHG. *Himmel und Hölle* printed as verse in MSD i. 67. It is described by Einkenel (p. xxi) as 'a poem which, curiously enough, is in its unrhymed form unique in O. H. G., and forms the only perfect analogy to our three legends and to numerous other Old and Middle English poems of the same class,' while Steinmeyer (MSD. ii. 162) is of opinion that to treat it as verse and so create an unique rhymeless poem in the earliest German literature is a very doubtful proceeding.

Introduction: This is the first version of the Legend extant in English. It was followed by six other redactions in Middle English, all in verse: they are enumerated and traced to their originals in Varnhagen's tract of 1901.

1. **Maxence:** a mistake of the Latin original and of its source, Simeon Metaphrastes, for Maximinus, as correctly given in the *Menologium Basilianum* (Hardwick, p. 11). Galerius Valerius Maximinus was raised to the rank of Caesar by his uncle, the Emperor Galerius, and made governor of Syria and Egypt in 303 A.D. He died in 313. See 138/16. *as*, as being: comp. 122/180, 131/103, 139/15, 141/49, 142/57, 145/105, 108.

2. **hehest i rome:** comp. 140/32.

3. **purh:** the usual prep. is *bi*, as 'ðe ferden al bi fendes red,' GE 2921: 'be his witena ræde,' Ælf. Lives, ii. 106/591. **hwiles:** hwile BT, which is grammatically correct; but comp. 'umbehwiles,' l. 5 (where BT have again hwile); 'sumehwiles,' AR 272/28; 'oðer hwiles,' HM 33/31.

4. **refschipe:** comp. 143/71.

5. **comen:** subject *hi*, contained in preceding 'him': see 6/18. Similarly *warð*, l. 10.

7. **walde**: for omission of *gan*, see 2/2.

9. of **him siker**, secure so far as he was concerned, fearing no danger from him. of **his cume**: comp. 94/24.

10. **lei into**, appertained to, was subject to; comp. 143/72: a charter expression: B-T quotes 'ælc ðara landa ðe on mines fæder dæge læg into Cristes cyrcan,' Kemble, iv. 232/8: in modern dialect it means, to border on.

11. **wedwulf**: 'repentina rabie incitatus': comp. 'þe þurs Maxence, þe wed wulf, þe heaðene hund,' SK 1858.

14. **Oleast**, at last, as a final resort: the prefix is *on*: comp. 'a last,' Castel off Loue, 457, AR 18/15.

15. **tintreo**: comp. 144/98, 145/119. tintreothen B, tintrohen T. The first form which occurs five times in R corresponds to OE. *tintrego*, pl. of *tintreg*: the others to *tintregan*, pl. of *tintrega*.

16. **okine seotle**: comp. 'set in kineseotle,' SK 722.

18. **iþe tun** does not mean 'in the town,' Morton, but, in the court, the enclosure in which the temple was built. The Latin is 'ad templum deorum suorum.'

20. **bi his euene**, according to his ability, means: 'iuxta possibilitatem suam'; comp. 'efter hire efne,' AR 126/31; 'mys motinde men alle by here euene,' Böldeker, AE. Dicht. 110/38. OWScand. *efni*: Einkenel points out that it has taken the place of OE. *hæfen*, as in 'Be his agene hæfene,' Ælf. Hom. Cath. i. 582/28. **to wurgen**: *wur'd'gede* B.

21. **mahte**: so B; *mihte* T.

22. Add full stop after *briddes*.

23. **þung of 3eres**: comp. 139/23; 'þung of 3eres ase he was,' AR 158/17; 'þunglich of 3eres,' SK 545. **twæ wone of twenti**: 'duo de viginti': see 52/368 and comp. 'Abraham on wane of an hundred told,' GE 1028. **feier 7 freolich**: comp. 123/209, 138/22. **o wlite &c.**: comp. 'schan al of wlite ant of wastum,' SM 2/34: similarly, 'O schene nebschaft | 7 schape se swiðe semlich,' SK 1446.

24. **steðeluest** goes closely with 'of treowe bileaue'; not 'steadfast within, of true faith,' Morton: comp. 'stalewarde 7 kene ine treowe bileaue,' AR 272/6. OE. **stapol-fæst** usually takes *on*, like 'a þanke unstedefeste,' 44/241. 'speciosa valde, sed quod pluris est religiosa fide.'

25. **icuret clergesse**, a choice female scholar: comp. 'Sum is clergesse, 7 sum nis nout,' AR 6/12.

26. **of**, from: comp. 'Þah ich beo in alle | of se earliche ilearet,' SK 858.

27. **wisliche**: see 18/16.

28. **herd**: OE. **heord**, flock: not 'custodia,' Einkenel, which is OE.

heorde. It does not fit the context, and eard B points to an original erde, dwelling-place, ancestral home. Morton took herd to mean hearth, hall. **com of &c.:** com hire of burde B, com hire of burðe T, came to her by birth: Victor quotes 'ȝ tat com þe of burðe,' OEH i. 273/27.

30. **telleð wel to:** see 124/264.

32. **kepte . . . of:** like 'let of,' 44/260; 'tellen of,' 164/256; 'Hold it of wel litel pris,' Floriz, 350: 'nichil cum mundo habere commune decreverat.'

34. **in, upon.**

35. **lasteles lates,** blameless gestures, bearing.

36. **lihte plohen** apparently answers to 'puellares iocos,' and Morton's 'trifling amusements' seems preferable to 'frivolous plays,' Einkenkel. **luue — songes:** sotte songes Nalde he nane ronnes BT.

37. **leornin** refers to 'songes,' **lustnin** to 'runes,' talk; see 102/159.

39. **to leaf ȝ to lare,** to belief and to learning: comp. 'þ tu were iset ȝung | to leaf ȝ to lare,' SK 384. **underueng:** undernom B, undernam T.

41. **underneomen,** 'entrap,' Morton, a translation which suits also 'me to underneomene,' SK 652, but is hard to parallel elsewhere, the usual senses being to receive (in one's mind), to reprehend. Perhaps the writer had in mind OF. *susprendre*, to catch in one's words; 'ut eum caperent in verbo,' S. Mark xii. 13. The Latin has attemptassent.

42. **wrenchen . . . ut of þe weie:** a phrase characteristic of this group: Einkenkel quotes 'mahen wrenchen sum rihtwis of þe weie,' SJ 43/5; 'tu ne maht . . . me . . . wrenchen ut of þe weie,' SM 4/25. **crefti crokes,** crafty devices; a figurative use of croke, hook: comp. 131/87, 148/141; SJ 35/5; 'Mast he outh o crafte and crok,' CM 700, 740.

43. **ȝeincleppes,** blows in return, counter strokes; apparently only here: ȝeincleappes B, ȝainclappes T.

45. **crauant,** vanquished: comp. 'he is crauant þ me wende to ouer-cumen,' SM 11/19. **cweðen . . . up,** yield, resign: comp. 'al ich forsake her | ȝ cweðe ham al sker up,' SK 866: possibly an imitation of L. *abdicare*.

47. **burde boldes:** burðe boldes T: it corresponds to 'in palatio patris, and may mean, ancestral mansion; it occurs only here: at l. 439 is 'buriboldes,' = palatium. **murðe:** murð T, nurð B, which is doubtless correct: see 118/22.

48. **towart,** in the direction of.

49. Comp. 'gleowinde of each gleo,' SK 1667; 'þ each mon ah to her-sumin | ȝ herien in eorðe,' id. 352; 131/84.

51. **were** is subjunctive in a dependent question: contrast with 'wes' in preceding line. **sone so,** as soon as: comp. 94/18: 'þe child him

answerde | Sone so he hit herde,' KH 199, where MS. L has the alternative 'so sone.'

52. of: comp. 'þat he of þe holy gost · so vre heorte a-tende,' OEM 52/548, but 'wið' is usual, as at 70/168. **wod** — **walde**: similar expressions are frequent in this group: comp. 130/81; 146/121; 'þet wod he walde iwurðen,' SJ 66/7; 'for neh wod he walde iwurðen,' SM 7/34.

53. **hwuch as**, those whom: less common than the equivalent 'hwich þat.' For a similar use of *as*, comp. 72/192.

54. **3einde ȝ 3urinde**: comp. 'ȝ he to rarin reowliche · to 3uren ant to 3ein,' SJ 49/4; 'þe heaðene hundes 3ellen | ȝ 3eien ȝ 3uren on euch half,' SK 2013. **wið rewful remes**: comp. 141/39.

57. **hire**: heo BT; both are necessary and *in* besides: read, þen heo in hire heorte iwundet inwið: comp. 139/28; 'Nes þis meiden nawiht | herfore imenget | in hire mod inwið,' SK 607; 'Constu bulden a burh | inwið i þin heorte,' id. 1642. Einenkel reads heo and says that 'heorte' is instrumental.

58. **wraðe**: the usual meaning, angry, is unsuitable: the word is connected with OE. **wriþan**, to twist, OHG. **reid**, 'curled', and crooked, perverse, would give a good sense here and in such places as 'iboren owraðe time,' SJ 57/3; 'to wraðer heale,' 141/64.

60. **þah**: so all three MSS. Einenkel reads þa, and translates, 'as she was alone (to strive) against'; rather, when she singly should be against, &c. If any alteration is to be made, þ̅ for þat would be preferable, but þah, even if, as in 'þ̅ we ne cunnen | ȝ tah we cuðen, | ne nullen ne ne duren,' SK 1322, gives a quite sufficient sense.

61. **hef**, lifted: comp. 'tu schuldest þin herte heouen þiderward as tin heritage is,' HM 25/34; AR 86/5.

62. **hap**, good fortune, success. **wisliche**, truly.

63. **wepnede**: 'sumentes scutum fidei,' Eph. vi. 16; 'induti loricam fidei,' 1 Thess. v. 8.

65. **rode taken**: see 17/145.

66. **itend of lei**: comp. 130/52; 'al þe cwarterne, of his cume | leitede o leie,' SK 671; but, 'leitinde al on leie,' id. 1651; 'þe halwende lei | of þe hali gast,' id. 1401. **bimong**: see 66/97 note.

67. **deoulen**, *dat. pl.*, deoueie BT, *dat. sing.* to lake, for a sacrifice.

69. **ludere stefne**, *dat.*, as in 'þa cleopode he hludre stefne,' BH 181/18; but 'ȝ 3eide lude steuene,' SK 2033; '3eiden lude stefne,' SJ 64/12.

71. **3eld**, tribute, resumed in 'hit,' l. 72.

72. **driueð**: comp. 60/11.

73. **ȝ al walt**: omit al and ȝ after wisdom, with BT.

75. **he him ane**, he and only he: see 123/200 note.

76. **pah** — **polie**, though he be long-suffering; 'longanimiter ferens,' Heb. vi. 15.

78. **halde**, keep: comp. 'haldeð his heastes,' SK 1788; 'heaste halden,' HM 5/28.

80. **wið** is adverbial and repeats 'þurh': see 62/24 note, and add, 'vor vuel þ ter kumeð of hit,' AR 52/2; 'þu þ dest eni þing hwarof þer mon is fleschliche ivonded of þe,' id. 58/22. The repetition of conjunctions is also found as in, 'nis he fol chepmon þet, hwon he wule buggen hors oðer oxe, 3if he nule biholden bute þet heaued one?' AR 208/6; of pronouns, as 'þ þe muð ne mei uor scheome, þe liht eie spekeð hit,' id. 60/6. B omits **wið**. **þen** = **þen þ**.

81. **schad**: see 122/176. **wit j** ... **wisdom**: see 22/142. **wurðen** &c.: see 130/52.

82. **forð**: se uorð B, se forð T: se being wanting in this text, the following **þ** must mean, so that.

83. **unwitlese**: so B unwitelese, but T witlese, senseless, the meaning required. **wuneth in**: the idea that idols are inhabited by demons is as old as Porphyry: it is frequently expressed in the legends: comp. 145/118; SJ 22/14; CM 2303; SK 553; 'praecipio tibi, daemon, qui in eo [ydolo] latitas, ut simulacrum istud comminuas,' *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Graesse, 39/2; 'In hoc ydolo quidam daemon habitabat,' id. 540/30.

84. **hereð** &c.: see 130/49.

87. **fint**: 'malorum omnium inventor diabolus.' **crokinde creftes**, comp. 129/42: not 'crooked crafts,' but either, perverting devices, or more probably, devices by which he hooks his victims; the idea of both words being pursued in 'keccheð' and 'creftluker': for the termination of the latter, see 125/270.

88. **cang**: see 58/82.

89. **þ he makeð**, by his making.

92. **sunne** &c.: the Latin has only 'elementis mundi'; perhaps the author had in mind, 'Nam solis lunaeque simulacra humanum in modum formant, item ignis et terrae et maris: quae illi Vulcanum, Vestam, Neptunum vocant,' Lactantius, *de Origine Erroris*, ch. vi (ed. Spark, 143/5).

95. **bute þ ow puncheð**, but by your thinking, lit. but that it seems to you; the explanation of 'þing.' **schulen**: so B, but T has correctly *sehen*.

97. B reads, ant of nawt ant i.

98. **of**: comp. 83/5.

99. **ha þ walden**, must mean, they desired that. But BT have correctly he þ walde.

100. *purh cunde*, by reason of their nature.

101. *makeð* &c.: see 126/325. *in eche*, eternal: T omits *in*, but the phrase occurs again 149/182, SJ 79/14.

103. *as in sum time*, as conditioned by time: comp. 128/1. BT have *ham* for *as*.

104. *þ . . . in*, in which. *ne* does not negative the clause: it continues and emphasizes the negatives of the principal sentence: see the quotations in note on 25/241.

XVIII. THE ORISON OF OUR LADY

Manuscript: Cotton Nero A 14, British Museum. See p. 355.

Editions: Morris, R., OEH i. 191-9 (with translation), and Specimens, 129-32 (part only); Zupitza-Schipper, AE. Lesebuch, ed. viii. 106-10.

Literature: Kölbing, E., ES i. 169; Lauchert, F., ES xiii. 83; xvi. 124. Marufke, W., *Der älteste englische Marienhymnus*, Leipzig, 1907; Vollhardt, W. (see p. 269/19).

Phonology: This section should be compared with the account of MS. N of the Ancrene Wisse, pp. 363-5, the copy of which is by the same scribe as the Orison.

Oral *a* is *a*, *hauest* 9, *uare* 119; *a* before nasals is *o*, *mon* 74, *nome* 126, *hwon* 112, 119, but *me* 45; *a* before lengthening groups is *o*, *londe* 16, *ilong* 96, but and 4: *þeonne* 118 is influenced by *heonne*. *æ* is regularly *e*, *et* 90, *gled* 54, *hedde* 144, *nes* 68, once *ea*, *sead* 30, and *a* in *habbe* 82 (4 times), *hwat* 106, was 88 (4). *e* is *e*, *aleggen* 133, *seggen* 158; before lengthening groups, *engles* 27, *schende* 92, but *i* in *siggen* 134, *siggeð* 72, 73: in *seoruwe* 60, 89, 120 *eo* represents *œ*, *i*-umlaut of *o*. *i* is *i*. *o* is *o*, *uorst* 38, *hopie* 110, note 88; before lengthening groups, *gold* 34, *noide* 143: *þene* 93, 127, 169 is LWS. *þæne*: *on* without stress is *a* 9. *u* is *u*, *kume* 117, *unne* 164; before lengthening groups, *bunden* 123, *murnen* 44. *y* is *u*, *agult* 82, *muchele* 14 (7), *sunne* r. w. *wiðinnen* 92; before lengthening groups, *guldene* 45, 52, *welsprung* 72 r. w. *þing*, but *chelle* 45: *king* 57, *kinestol* 25 have the usual *i*. *ā* is *o*, *holie* 126, *loðe* 93, *one* 21, but *a* *adv.* 129, *a* *art.* 150; before two consonants, *wost* 145: *nenne* 131 represents *nænne*. *æ*₁ is divided between *e* (15), *clenenesse* 163, *er* 66, *techen* 48; before two consonants, *euer* 54, *lefdi* 2 (5), *neuer* 30 (3), and *ea* (10) in *cleane* 42 (3), *todealen* 95, *deale* 154, *heale* 6 (3), *healen* 124, *leafdi* 170: *ilch* 81 is OE. *yle*. *æ*₂ is regularly *e*, *uorbere* 106, *greden* 155, *misdeden* 156, *were* 105, but *a* in *hwar* 106. *ē* is *e*, *greten* 152, *swete* 17, but *eo* in *steoren* 45,

weopen 44 represents umlaut *œ*, and idreaued 58, 82, from *drœfan*, descends in form from *dræfan*. *ī* is *i*, arine 127, bliče 116, hird 51, but *u* in hwule 12, 153, swuče 14 (6), wummon 23, wummen 19. *ō* is *o*: *ū*, *u*: *ȳ*, *u*, kuče 118 r. w. siče, fulče 94 r. w. dweoluhče, lučere 123, lučernesne 107, schrude 139 r. w. wide, ischrud 51.

ea before *r* + cons. is *e*, der 158, erme 64, ert 158, 160, herm 36, ȝeruh 132, but ȝeirkest 49. *ea* before *l* + cons. is *a*, al 4 &c., uallen 111, ualuwen 39, schalt 149: the *i*-umlaut is seen in wille 46 (wiell). *eo* before *r* + cons. is *eo*, eorče 159 r. w. wurče, ueor 94, ȝeorne 80, 103, heorte 4 (5); to the *wur* group belong wurčie 7, wurčeð 21, wurč 122, wurschipe 13: beornen 104, wurče 138, 160 are without umlaut. *eo* before *l* + cons. is *u* in suluen 64, 66, 100. The *u*- and *ā*-umlaut of *a* is wanting in kare 120, ičauien 142; it may possibly account for *e* in were 71, comp. *helwearum* VP 29/4, *Sodomwearena* VH 7/62. *eo*, *u*-umlaut of *e* is *eo*, dweolče 148, dweoluhče 93, heouene 77 (3), heoueriche 24, 150. *eo*, *ā*-umlaut of *e* is *eo*, ueole 9. *eo*, *ā*-umlaut of *i* is *o*, hore 22, 42. *ea* after palatals is *a*, schal 45, and *e*, ȝef 100. *ie* after *g* is *i*, ȝiue 162, ȝif 102, 126, ȝiuest 34 (3), uorȝiuenesse 110, 132, but *e* in forȝelden 135. EWS. *gief* is ȝif 42, 84. *eo* after *sc* is *u*, schulen 41, 43; *ie* after *sc*, *i*, ischild 120. *eom* is am 112, 113, ham 98; *heom*, ham 56.

ēa is *ea*, deað 36, leasung 75, read 53, but *e* in ek 87, ec 159, edmodnesse 79, isched 88; its *i*-umlaut is *e*, aulem 94, alesed 15, ȝeme 163, ȝemeð 42, ȝeme 121, ihere 84, but dreameð 27, without umlaut. *ēo* is regularly *eo*, beon 113 &c., biseon 134, deoflene 15, leoue 2 (10), but looue 100, 170, apparently for *lōue*; the *i*-umlaut is *e*, onsene 27. *ēo* after *g* is *eo*, ȝeomer 40: *giet* is ȝet 109.

a + *g* is *aw*, drawe 128, 141. *æ* + *g* is *ei*, dei 50, feier 137, mei 31, but daie 8, dai 166, fawe 142 (fagen). *e* + *g* is also *ei*, aweī 94, pleie 62, reine 58 r. w. kwene. *i* + *g* final is *i*, holi 70, i 97, 106, moniuold 61, murie 27. *i* + *ht* is *iht*, wiht 31, 47. *u* + *g* is *uw*, muwen 65. *ā* + *g* gives *ow*, owen 13, owune 112; *ā* + *h*, ouh 7. *ō* + *h* is *ouh*, auouh 119, brouhte 86, inouh 62. *ū* + *g* is *uw*, buwe 3. *ie*, *i*-umlaut of *ea*, + *ht* is *iht*, miht 133, nihte 8. *eo* + *ht* is also *iht*, briht 19, uihte 60; the *i*-umlaut is seen in bisihð 81. *ēa* + *g* gives *ei*, beie 3, beien 18. *ēo* + *ht* is *iht*, liht 5, lihtliche 133, 135. *ēa* + *h* is seen in þauh 82, 105. *ā* + *w*, bloweð 37, soule 5, snou 38, but iseie (? *gesæge*). *ēo* + *w*, kneon 3, kneouwunge 136, reoweð 101, þeou-dome 98.

Swā is so 53. For *e*, *u* is written in owune 112; for *o*, *e* in heouene 77, sumer 39: *e* is added in clenenesse 163, heuede 108, heuedest 107, neuere 143, but neure 111; *e* is lost in hird 51; the suffix *ing* is *ung* in gretunge

135. **on** is weakened to a **u**. **u** is added in *dweoluhþe* 93, *muruhþe* 61, *seoruwe* 60 (3), *þuruh* 122 (3); comp. 'seluþe,' AR 354/4.

Metathesis of **r** is seen in *spert* 140; **rr** is simplified in *der* 158; **ll** in *wil* 62; **mm** in *þimstones* 55. **n** is lost in *i* 50, *o* 96, 114 and medially in *heoueriche* 24, 150. **bb** is simplified in *sib* 60. **f** is generally preserved in combination with other consonants, *deoflene* 15, after 76, *lefdi* 2; before **u**, *ful* 35, *fulþe* 94; finally, *þif* 126, *lif* 6; initially after a word ending in a voiceless sound, *fawe* 142, *feier* 137, *fif* 102, *forboren* 109, *forþelden* 135. Otherwise it is **u**, **v**, *uorst* 38, *aulem* 94, *auouh* 119, *iureden* 38; exceptions are *hefedest* 143 and the contract *hedde* 144. **t** is added by inadvertence in *þuruhtut* 70; **tt** is simplified in *biset* 55: **þ** is omitted in *wurschipe* 13, *wurchipe* 130. After *þet*, *þu* becomes *tu* 72, 84, 91, but *vort þu* 64, *þet þe* 73, 74, *bit þe* 132, *et þe* 90. **ts** is represented by **c** in *milce* 79 (3): *bletsung* is *blescinge* 162. **ss** is simplified in *blisful* 19. Initial **se** is *sch*, *gledschipe* 14, *schende* 92, but *wurþschipe* 141, *wurchipe* 130; medially it is *ssc*, *englissce* 167, *ssch*, *wassche* 139. **c** [k] is **k** before **e**, **i**, **u**, *þeirkest* 49, *sike* 97, *kinescrud* 34, *kunne* 9, **c** before **o**, *com* 36, *icoren* 67, in other positions it is indiscriminately **c** or **k**, *Cristes* 1, *krune* 55, *kneon* 3, *licame* 163, *kare* 120, *woc* 40, *ek* 87, *ec* 159. **ð** is *ch*, *eche* 35, *techen* 48, *stanches* 44; **öð** is *cch*, *drecche* 148, *wrecche* 130, but *arechen* 47: **ow** is *kw*, *kwene* 57, but once *queadschipe* 42: **og** is *gg*, *aleggen* 133, *seggen* 158. Palatal **g** is written **þ**, *þef* 100, *forþelden* 135, *þimstones* 55: the prefix **ge-** is preserved as **i**, *ilong* 96. The stop **g** is doubled in *singges* 8. For **h**, *ch* is written in *þurchut* 142; **h** is added in *ham* 98, *dweoluhþe* 93, *þeruh* 132 (as at AR 394/12), lost in *i* 126, *licame* 163, *arine* 127 (*ahrinan*), *lefdi* 2, *ringes* 34, but **hw** is kept in *hwar* 106.

Accidence: Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. In the *s. n.* *sune* 57 represents **sunu**, *gome* 62 has lost final **n**. *Gen.* -es, *deaþes* 120, *kunnes* 92, but *heoueriche* 150 is not inflected: *dat.* -e, *daie* 8, *deaþe* 90, *reine* 58, *siþe* 101, *wille* 46; no exceptions. In the *a.* *schrifte* 152 has added **e**. The *pl. n. a.* of masculines ends in -es, *engles* 27, *beies* 34, but were 21: neuters are *þing* 71, *kneon* 3. Genitives are *kunne* 9, *meidene* 21, *þinge* 76; weak forms are *deoflene* 15, *englene* 16 (4); there are no datives. The *fem.* nouns of the strong declension have -e in the *s. n. a.*, *kwene* 57, *ore* 73, *sorinesse* 36, *bene* 84, except *sib* 60, *help* 116 (often *m.* in OE.). *Gen.* -e, *helle* 44, 104, *soule* 5: *dat.* -e, *blisse* 16 (5), *fulþe* 94, *honde* 15, *mihte* 7. *Pl. dat.* are *honden* 32, *misdeden* 156, *wunden* 102; *a.* *heorte* 18, *wunden* 124. Nouns of the weak declension have -e in all cases of the singular, except *lefdi* 2 (6): plurals are *n.* *blostmen* 37, *d.* *wrecchen* 63, *uote* 155. The minor declensions are represented by *mon*

s. n. 74, wummon 23, men *pl. n.* 13, ureondmen 166, wepmen *pl. a.* 20, wummen 19; nihte *s. d.* 8, 59, niht *s. a.* 50; moder *s. n.* 1, 67; ureondes *pl. a.* 33.

Adjectives which in OE. end in a vowel have -e throughout, eche 35, 39, 62, 120, swete 17. Of the weak declension are *s. n.* leoue 2 (5), looue 100, 170, *d.* erme 64, fule 94, heie 66, 165, holie 126, leoue 125, *a.* englissce 167, leoue 26, 76, loče 93. Strong inflections are *s. d. m.* guldene 45, *s. d. f.* hwite 51, *s. a. m.* fulle 65, *s. a. f.* fulle 110, gode 121: iliche 23, 68 is *gelica*. The plurals of all adjectives end in -e, holie 71, hwite 37, lučere 123, reade 37; exceptions are gled 54, sead 30, whit, read 53; gold-ring 34 is an OE. combination. *mycel* is *s. n.* muchel 79, *s. d.* muchele *m.* 14, *f.* 89, 140, *neut.* 49. *āgen* gives owune 112. *ān* occurs once as a 150; *āna* is one *s. d. m.* 125, *f.* 21: *nān* is *s. n.* no 23 (9), non 24, 39 (pronominal), 47 (before heorte), 40, *s. g. neut.* none 92, *a. m.* nenne 131. Adjectives used as nouns are god *s. a. neut.* 49, muchel 151: superlatives are best 129, leouest 76.

The personal pronouns are ich, i 97, 106, me, we, us, þu, tu 72 (4), after þet, þe. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n.* hit *neut.* 63, *a.* 11; *pl. n.* heo 30 &c., *d.* ham 29, *a.* 15. Reflexives are mi suluen 100, ƿe suluen 64, 66: possessives, *s. n.* mi 6 &c., min 6, 96, 158 (pronominal), *g.* mire *f.* 5, mine 5, 157, mines *neut.* 2, *d.* mine *m.* 117, mire *f.* 75, mine 7, 107, mine *neut.* 126, *a.* mine *m.* 152, *f.* 135, mi *neut.* 133, min 4; *pl.* mine *n.* 166, *d.* 156, *a.* 3: *s. n.* þi 25 (3), þin 24 (7) before vowel or h, 157 (predicative), *d.* ƿine *m.* 26 (4), ƿire *f.* 149 (5), þine 18 (8), þin 27, ƿine *neut.* 89, *a.* þine *m.* 116, *f.* 31 (3), þi *neut.* 30; *pl.* þine *d.* 32, 155, *a.* 33: is 126: ure 18, 86: hore 22, 42. The definite article is *s. n.* þe 53 &c., *g.* þes 100 (pronominal), *d.* ƿe *m.* 90, þere *f.* 85, 88, *a.* þene *m.* 93, 127, 169; *pl. g.* þer 24 (for þere). The compound demonstrative is *s. n.* þes *m.* 78, *d.* þisse *neut.* 64, 119, *a.* ƿesne *m.* 167, 170. The relative is þet 23 &c., once þe 41; ƿet 12, during which; interrogative is hwat 106; indefinites are me 45; ilch *s. d. m.* 81; sume *s. d. m.* 101; ueole *pl. g.* 9; *s. n.* al 5, *g.* alle *neut.* 93, *d. m.* 42, *f.* 7, *a.* al *m.* 100, *neut.* 48 &c.; *pl. n.* alle 13 (6), *g.* alre 76, *a.* alle 19.

The infinitives of the second weak conjugation end in -ien, ičauien 142, karien 43, luuien 17, except ualuwen 39; others, 32 in number, end in -en, but without n are deale 154, singge 8, þonkie 12, wurčie 7, iseo 165: to biseonne 137, to iseonne 30 are *dat.* infinitives. Presents are *s. i.* beie 3, hovie 110, liuie 12, offrie 4, þonkie 11, wene 111, wurčie 146; *2.* ƿiuest 34, ƿeirkest 49; *3.* hateč 145, likeč 29, wurčeč 144, contracted bisihč 81, bit 80, 132, let 56, spert 140, wurč 68, 122; *pl. 3.* bloweč 37, wurčeč 21: *subjunctive s. i.* habbe 116, 156, ičeo 121, 130; *2.* bringe 169, ƿiue 162, kume 117, kuče 118, makie 91, schrude, wassche 139, werie, wite 147; *3.* arine

127, derie 148, drawe 128, drecche 148, hadde 82, ihere 84, schende 92, to-drawe 141, unne 164; *pl.* 1. kumen 66: *imperative s.* 2. auouh 119, aulem 94, 3eme 163, haue 159, 3if 102, 126, ischild 120, ipench 100, nim 121, þole 127. Past of Strong Verbs: I a. s. 1. 3ef 100; 2. iseie 105: I b. 3. com 36; *subj. s.* 2. uorbere 106: I c. s. 3. funde 170 (weak form): IV. s. 1. uorsoc 99; 2. stode 90. Participles past: I b. forboren 109, iboren 23, 68, ibroken 151, ikumen 112, inumen 107: I c. bunden 123, iholpen 9, isungen 167: III. icoren 67, uorloren 74, 108: V. isched 88. Past of Weak Verbs: s. 1. heuede 108, wreðede 101; 2. heuedest 107, 143: *subjunctive s.* 3. brouhte 86, hedde 144. Participles present: liuiinde 40 *adj.*; past: agult 82, alesed 15, biset 55, ibrouht 10, 98, idreaued 58, 82, ischrud 51, isend 16. Minor Groups: wot I *pr. s.* 103, wost 2 *pr. s.* 145; ouh I *pr. s.* 7, owen I *pr. pl.* 18, owe we 17, owen *pr. pl.* 13; kunne I *pr. s. subj.* 134; der I *pr. s.* 158; schal I *pr. s.* 104, schalt 2 *pr. s.* 149, schal *pr. s.* 45, 95, schulen *pr. pl.* 41, 43; miht 2 *pr. s.* 133, mei *pr. s.* 31, 74, muwen I *pr. pl.* 65; mote I *pr. s. subj.* 165; beon *inf.* 74, 113, to beonne *dat. inf.* 29, 138, am I *pr. s.* 112, 113, ham 98, ert 2 *pr. s.* 5, 158, 160, is *pr. s.* 25, nis 23 (4), beoð *pr. pl.* 52, beo I *pr. s. subj.* 23, 116, *pr. s. subj.* 122, 129, 138, *pr. pl. subj.* 166, was I *pt. s.* 106, *pt. s.* 88, nes 68, were 2 *pt. s. subj.* 105; wulle I *pr. s.* 12 (3), wule 113, wult 2 *pr. s.* 121, 133, 142, wule *pr. s.* 142; don *inf.* 13, do 152, dest 2 *pr. s.* 149, doð *pr. pl.* 41, 56, dude I *pt. s.* 106.

Noteworthy are the adverb þereuore 63, 83, an early example of the meaning, that being so, and the prepositions anunder 32, OE. **anunder** (Morsbachs Studien, l. 171), ine 104 (4), onuppe 25 (comp. 'anuppon' 77/46).

Vocabulary: Scandinavian are laste 69, lasten 123, lune 126, wonteð 73, possibly trust 125. French are cherite 161, ciclatune 51, krune 52, ikruned 52, lai 167, paradise 10, 49, 108, seruise 50, seinte 17, seynte 1, trone 22. Latin are cherubine 25, lilie 53, munuch 169, rose 53, seraphine 26, all OE. borrowings, except the last. The inflectional -e of cherubine, seraphine appears to be quite isolated.

Dialect: The Orison in its present form agrees substantially with the copy of the Ancren Riwe in the same manuscript; both are in the dialect of the scribe, that of the Middle South. But the Midland i for y, ÿ is attested by the spoilt rhymes þing: welsprung 71; wiþinnen: sunne 91; kuðe: siðe 118; schrude: wide 139, which also point to an original flðe: dwilðe 94 (the forms dweoleð, dweoluhðe, dweolðe are found only in this manuscript), and chille: wille 45. There is nothing else in the rhymes to help to a nearer localization of the author: it can only be said that his dialect was Midland.

Metre: This is in dispute. Schipper sees in it a mixture of septenaries, alexandrines, and alliterative verse. He regards l. 28, pléieð and swéieð and singeð bitwéonen as the only indubitable example of the last, but first half-lines have two accents only in, to þé ich búwe 2; and þónkie wúlle 12; ne wéopen ne múnren 44, 72, 77, and second half-lines in, þi ueír to iséonne 30; mid gúldene chélle 45; mid énglene wílle 46, 52, 70. The alexandrine is a French verse of six stresses equally divided into two half-verses by a caesura; the ending of each half-line may be masculine or feminine; each half-line may also take a prelude. The scheme of the verse is accordingly (x)xxxx(x) || (x)xxxx(x). Such is held to be the rhythm of nís no | wúmmon i|bóren || þét ðe | béo i|líche 23; þíne | blísse ne | méi || nó wiht|únder| stónden 31, where the stress on 'þet' and 'no' is forced. It is found necessary to employ all the licences of English prosody in scanning this foreign metre, which moreover in its native form is never mixed with other metres, and rhymes, not in couplets, but only in 'laisses' or fours. Scanned as septenaries are, biuór|en ðínle léo|ue súnne || wið|ín|nen sér|aphíne 26; þú ham | ʒíuest | kíne | scrúd || beíes | and góld|ringes 34. But a line like vor heo neúer ne beoð séad . þi ueír to iséonne 30 may be scanned as an alliterative long line as marked, or as a septenary, vor heo | néuer | né beoð | séad || þi ueír | tó i|séonne, or as an alexandrine, vor heo neú|er ne beóð | séad || þi ueír | tó i|séonne. On the other hand, Kaluza refuses to admit such an admixture of metres: he regards the poem as written throughout in septenaries. So the first line is to be scanned, Crístes | mílde | móð|er || séynte | Már|íè. The unstressed syllable in a foot is often wanting; sometimes all the syllables of a word are stressed, as in the first half of l. 55, Mid bríht|e ʒím | stòn|ès. It is very artificial and unconvincing.

The matter is complicated by the fact that the Orison is only a copy, probably a copy of a copy, perhaps one of a succession of copies. A scribe dealing with an older text was generally little concerned about the form and much about the matter and the transcription of its language into his own dialect and idiom. That the text of the Orison has suffered from this preoccupation is evident from the rhymes; it is fairly certain that the author wrote lefdie 2, 11, 17, 170, sorinisse 36, mildheortnisse 78, 149, 164, edmodnisse 79, luðernisse 107, rene 58, leste 69, leasinge 75, gretinge 85, þas 100, seggen 134, and it may be inferred that alterations, including substitution of words, have been made within the verse. But even taking this into account, it is very doubtful whether the poet meant to write syllabic verse at all. Rather his metre exhibits the alliterative long line in the last stage of its dissolution, in which systematic rhyme has largely displaced the older and once essential elements of the verse. If rhythms occur, which

can with some violence be forced into the moulds of purely syllabic verse, they are not of the author's express purpose; precisely the same phenomenon is seen in Layamon (464/5). Moreover the alliterative element is considerable; the poet starts with two perfect lines, and ll. 60, 94, 101, 115, 153, 157, 171 have each three alliterating words; l. 3 is up to the Layamonian norm, and there are twenty-seven others equally good. But the development of the verse towards rhyme is complete and no longer, as in Layamon, occasional and for the most part imperfect (464/16).

Introduction: The author speaks of himself as a monk and of his composition as an English lay, as though it were an original production. He shows acquaintance with the earlier English literature, his manner is English, and the French element in his vocabulary is remarkably small. The highly conventional character of his language makes it difficult to speak with any confidence of his reading, but he would find much of it in his service books, and he was probably acquainted with Adgar's Mary Legends and the long series of *Orationes ad Sanctam Mariam Virginem* with the *Psalterium S. Virginis* of S. Anselm (ed. Gerberon, pp. 276-87, 303-8), the enthusiastic promoter of the cult of the Virgin Mary in England. For the same reason it is impossible to give much weight to the series of parallels from the writings of S. Edmund of Pontigny (Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1234-40), by which Marufke has sought to prove his authorship of the Orison.

In *ureisun* of the title, both pretonic and tonic *u* are characteristic of early Anglo-French: *ei* is historic spelling, and at this time alternates in AF. with phonetic *e*.

1. Comp. 134/67; 'O mater alma Christi charissima,' York Brev. ii. 182; 'virgo singularis: inter omnes mitis,' id. ii. 477; 'La duce mere al Salueur,' Adgar 131/39.

2. *mi leoue lefdi*: comp. ll. 11, 17, 63, 115, 170; 'ma douce dame,' Wright, Lyric Poetry, 55/1.

3. *buwe . . . beie*: see 143/84.

6. Comp. 134/96, 136/153; 'te spem meam singularem, te salutem computo,' Guibert of Nogent, *De Laude S. Mariae*, 6; 'Vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve!' l. 2 of *Salve Regina*; 'Ki est salu, ueire esperance | A tuz Crestiens, sanz dutance,' Adgar 107/845; | 'Pu art hele and lif and liht,' OEM 160/11. *mid iwisse*: see 32/40.

8. *bi daie* &c.: comp. 133/50.

9. *aueole kunne wise*, lit. in fashion of many kinds, .e. in very many ways: comp. 62/30, 114/64, 151/20; 'a vele kunne wise,' OEM 39/53, 44/241; 'Apre cunne wise,' id. 38/33; L 1717. OE. *fela*, much, many, is an

indeclinable noun followed by a genitive case, and this construction is occasionally found in EME., as at 27/300, 34/70 (76/19 is ambiguous), but generally in ME. *fele*, many, is pl. adj. or pronoun of all cases, as *nom.* 15/83, 16/115, 18/2; *gen.* 85/105; *acc.* 30/9. For the expression with **wise**, comp. 'on ælches cunnes wise,' L 8072; 'on aizes cunnes wisen,' id. 25778; 'an almes monnes wisen,' id. 19641: the genitive is, of course, equivalent to an adjective, as in 'a seolcuðe wisen,' id. 27835; 'on moni are wisen,' id. 555.

11. **hit**: see 115/120.

13. Comp. 'Ceste Dame deit hoem loer | E mult servir e honurer, | Ki rent as soens si bon luier, | Ke cors e alme lur uelt saluer,' Adgar 225/65.

15. **of**: see 52/394.

19. Comp. 'Marie, ki fu si bele, | Vnke si bele ne uit pucele,' Adgar, 22/75; 'gaude gloriosa: super omnes speciosa,' York Brev. ii. 493.

21. **were** Björkman (Archiv cxxii. 398) takes as a scribe's mistake for *wered*; comp. 'He gesceop tyn engla werod,' Ælf. Hom. Cath. i. 10/12. But comparing 134/71, it is more probable that it represents OE. **wara**, **waru**, as in Lundenwaru, in an extended sense of, host, company: possibly influenced in form by OWScand. *-veri*, *-verjar*.

22. **blostme**: comp. 'Leuedi, flour of alle þing,' OEM 195/28.

23. Comp. 134/68; 'nis non maiden under sunne | þe mei beo þin euen-i[n]g,' OEH ii. 256/43: 'Sancta maria, non est tibi similis orta in mundo in mulieribus,' York Brev. ii. 491.

25. Comp. 124/243; 'Exaltata est sancta dei genetrix: Super choros angelorum ad celestia regna,' York Brev. ii. 477; 'atque in regni solio sublimata post Christum gloriosa resedit,' id. ii. 492; 'Tibi thronus regius ab angelis collocatur in aula aeterni regis,' Sermon of Fulbert of Chartres, in S. Augustini Opera V², 246.

26. **wid innen**, surrounded by.

28. **sweieð**, make melody. **bitweonen**: see 148/6.

29. Comp. 'Kar li angele funt nuit e ior | Son plaisir, par grant amur,' Adgar 165/287.

30. See 124/239. **sead . . . to iseonne**: see 76/17. For *ueir* as a noun, beauty, comp. 139/27; 'þe mone ȝ þe sunne wundrieð of faire . swo fair is ure louerd ihesu crist,' OEH ii. 19/29.

32. Comp. 'Tuit est en sa main atachie | Li ciels e li munz ensement,' Adgar 165/282.

33. **riche**: see 19/34.

34. Suggested by such places as, 'Tulitque annulum de manu sua, et dedit eum in manu eius: vestivitque eum stola byssina, et collo torquem

‘auream circumposuit,’ Gen. xli. 42 ; Esther vi. 8. **beies**, crowns ; comp. 133/55 note, or less probably, collars, armlets ; comp. 202/194.

35. **Comp.** 50/360.

36-40, 59-62. These passages describing the joys of Paradise have many analogues in the earlier literature. Kölbinger, ES i. 169, thought they were borrowed directly from the OE. Phoenix : he compares with l. 38, ‘Ne mæg þær ren ne snaw, | ne forstes fnæst . . . | wihte gewyrdan,’ Ph. 14, 15, 19 ; with l. 37, ‘is þæt æþele lond | blostmum geblowen,’ Ph. 20 ; with l. 39, ‘Wintres ȝ sumeres wudu bið gelice | bledum gehongen,’ Ph. 37, 38 ; with l. 36, ‘Nis þær on þam londe laðgemiðla | . . . ne se enga deað,’ Ph. 50, 52, and he might have added, ‘ne feallað þær on foldan fealwe blostman,’ Ph. 74. For similar descriptions comp. Grau, G. (Morsbachs Studien, xxxi), p. 130 ; Pseudo-Cyprian, De Resurrectione Mortuorum, ed. Hartel, iii. 316/193-268 ; De Die Iudicii (attributed to Bede), 128-47 ; Christ, 1650-65 ; BH 65/16-22, but the parallels between the text and the Phoenix are remarkable.

36. **þær ðe**, where : comp. ‘ȝet doð þær þe heo beoð,’ OEH i. 9/9.

37. **hwite ȝ reade** : lilies and roses ; symbols of virgins and martyrs : comp. Be Domes Dæge, 18/286-9.

39. **ualuwen** : see 29/6.

43. **swinken**, be distressed : comp. 134/97, and see 40/194 note.

44. **stinken**, smell, perceive : comp. ‘wrieð hore fulðe so þ heo hit ne muwen stinken,’ AR 86/17.

45. **steoren** &c., cense with golden censer : probably suggested by Rev. viii. 3. **chelle** : OE. **cylle**, vessel ; only here in ME.

46. **mid englene wille**, ‘with angels’ joy,’ Specimens ; comparing OWS cand. viii. But this use of ME. **wille** for state of felicity is at least rare, and besides something more concrete is needed to balance ‘mid guldene chelle’ ; **wille** represents OE. **wiell**, **wiella**, fountain, with allusion to the ‘fluvium aquae vitae’ of Rev. xxii. 1, and to such places as ‘Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus salvatoris,’ Isa. xii. 3 ; ‘torrente voluptatis tuae potabis eos,’ Ps. xxxv. 9. The sense then would be, and pour out for them eternal life by means of the water of Paradise. The writer uses **englene** vaguely for, of Heaven ; comp. ll. 16, 70.

47-50. An application of 1 Cor. ii. 9 already in Adgar, ‘Certes, nul ne poet escrire, | De cuer penser, de buche dire | Les biens de la Dame uail-lante, | Ki de tuz biens est puissante, | Ke as soens fait chascun ior, | Vers cels, ke el’ ad puint d’amur,’ 224/7. See 46/285, 119/85. With l. 50 comp. ‘Nostre Dame serui nuit e ior, | El soen seruise out grant amur,’ Adgar 117/27.

51. **cielatune**, originally a fine silken stuff of Persian origin, usually red. Almeria, in Spain, was the seat of a flourishing manufacture of this stuff in the twelfth century. Comp. 140/37.

53. Comp. 'eall heora neb-wlíte wæron swilce rose and lilie,' *Ælf.*, *Lives* i. 536/780.

55. Comp. 'þær se beorhta beag brogden wundrum | eorcnanstanum eadigra gehwam | hlifað ofer heafde,' *Phoenix* 602.

58. Comp. 'þær ne hægl ne hrim hreosað to foldan | ne windig wolcen, ne þær wæter fealleþ | lyfte gebysgad,' *Phoenix* 60.

60. **uihte**, variance: 'gewindagas,' days of strife, *Phoenix* 612. Comp. also, 'sib butan niþe,' *Christ* 1660; 70/158 note.

61. **teone** ⁊ **treie**: see 24/208.

62. For **Gleobeames**, harps, gleodreames is suggested in *Specimens*, with a reference to *Beowulf*, 3021, 'gamen ⁊ gleo-dream,' sport and social joys. **inouh** goes with **gome**. **liues wil**, joy of life.

63. **long hit puncheð**: comp. 'ne biþ him wynne hyht, | þæt hy þis læne lif long gewunien,' *Phoenix* 480.

64. For **vort**, see 72/179 note.

67. **Swete**: comp. 'Bidde we ure lauedi | swetest alre þinge,' *OEM* 166/81. **icoren**: comp. 'Mildest quene ant best icorn,' *E. E. Lyrics*, ed. Chambers and Sidgwick, 90/41; 'Of þe he makede his moder · vor he þe hedde ycore,' *OEM* 38/22, 88/37. The expression comes from the service books, 'praelecta ut sol,' *York Missal* ii. 20; 'Ista est speciosa e lecta a domino,' *York Brev.* ii. 540.

69. Comp. 'moder unwemmed ⁊ maiden clene | swich in world non oper nis,' *OEH* ii. 255/3; 'Virgene en l'emfantement, | Deuant e apres ensement,' *Adgar* 225/53.

70. **reste**, abode.

71. **were**: see 132/21.

72. **liues welsprung**: apparently suggested by 'quoniam apud te est fons vitae,' *Psalm xxxv.* 10. In the *York Breviary* she is called 'puteus aquarum viventium,' ii. 480.

74. Comp. 'Ki fu refuse u cumfus, | Ki unkes out fiance en uus?' *Adgar* 107/825.

75. A word has dropped out after *soule*. In *Specimens*, *leome* is supplied, in *Zupitza-Schipper*, *liht*, as in l. 5.

79-81. Comp. 'Duze Dame tresimple e coie, | Plein de misericorde e de uertu, | E de grant grace, mere Jhesu; | Mult tost mustrez uostre duzur | A checun dolent pecheur. | Mult se poent en uus fier, | Ki uus uolent merci crier,' *Adgar* 26/243, 38/17, 65/64.

80. of helpe . . . **missen**, fail to obtain help : comp. 'þu hauest ymyst of fayrhede,' ON 581, 825 ; 'Hi wenden to wisse | of here lif to misse,' KH 121 note.

81. **to** : see 124/249. **milce ȝ ore** : comp. 135/102 ; ON 1083, 1404.

82. **agult**, offended ; a transitive use ; the word is usually followed by to, wið, toward, of the person ; comp. 'ne ne warien hwon me agulteð to ou,' AR 186/2.

84. **ȝif þi wille is** : a common tag : comp. 77/60 ; 'ȝef hit were þin wille,' L, MS.O 20815 ; 'ȝef þi deore wil is,' SJ 37/9 ; 'mi swete leuedi, her mi bene | ȝ reu of me, ȝif þi wille is,' OEH ii. 255/7.

85. **gretunge** : the first of the five joys of the Virgin ; see OEM 87/1-8, as l. 87 refers to the greatest of her sorrows : comp. 'Bidde we seinte Marie | for hire milde mode. | For þe teres þat heo wep | for hire sone blode,' OEM 190/93.

93. **loðe** : comp. 46/283. **kunnes** : see 81/80. **dweoluhðe** : also at 136/148 in a similar context, for delusions, deceptions practised by the devil : see AR 224/12, and comp. 'et ideo prae ceteris | volo te precari, | ne sinas me daemonis | dolo defraudari,' Mone, Lat. Hymnen ii. 108/85.

94. **fule fulðe** : comp. 29/33.

95. **to dealen** : comp. Rom. vii. 39.

96. **ilong**, dependent : comp. 135/114 ; 'Þæt wæs swiþost on ðæm gelong þæt Hasterbal swa late fleah,' Orosius 198/26 : 'is seo bot gelong | eal æt þe anum,' Christ 153 : 'On hire is al mi lif ilong,' OEM 158/1 ; 'þ is long on felefelde iuele lastes,' OEH ii. 71/31 : in mod. English, along of. See also 'bilong,' 200/112.

97. **wel ilome** : see 32/47.

98. **þeoudome**, bondage : comp. 'ic em in þine loue bende,' OEH ii. 256/35.

101. **sume siðe**, at one time, in former days : comp. 'giet sume siþe,' Christ 318, yet one day.

102. **fif wunden** : comp. 'Þat we moten to him cume · for his wundes fyue,' OEM 57/696 ; 'He make vs clene and bryhte | for his wundes fyue,' id. 87/23 ; Minot i. 91.

103. **þet** is explained by the noun-clause, l. 104. **wel ȝeorne** and 'ful ȝeorne,' l. 145, appear to mean, very accurately, very well. Mätzner quotes in support, 'Me awaiteð ou, þet wute ȝe ful ȝeorne, wiðuten,' AR 174/15, which might be punctuated otherwise.

105. **stille**, silent : comp. 36/112.

106. **þauh**, and yet.

107. **wreche inumen**, taken vengeance : different is the sentiment in

'Sunful ich am an wrecche. | Awrec þe nu on me leuedi. | Er deþ me honne fecche. | Do nim þe wreche ich am redi,' OEM 162/42.

109. **ȝet**, further, longer.

111. **uallen** &c.: comp. 80/47.

112. **hwon**, since, seeing that. **hine**, household servant: comp. 'Eyez merci, quar en mon vivant | Serroi vostre lige serjaunt,' Lyric Poetry, ed. Wright, 56/13; 'E sa duce mere e chere | Pitusement fist sa preiere, | K'il eussent de sun serf merci,' Adgar 5/44; 'Vne nuit, par auisiun, | Vint la Dame a cel son barun,' id. 56/7; 'swete leuedi of me þu reowe.' ȝ haue merci of þin knicht,' OEH ii. 255/15; 'ic crie þe merci, ic am þi mon,' id. 256/23.

115. **longeð**: impersonal construction, with acc. of person: comp. 'Loð is me þis eorðliche lif. ȝ me longeð to criste,' OEH ii. 149/29.

117. Comp. 'Bi-sih to me lauedi briȝt. | Hwenne ich schal wende heonne,' OEM 160/18; Anglia i. 391/45; and elsewhere.

120. **kare**, anxiety about; practically, fear: comp. 121/150.

123. **þuruh**, tightly. **bunden**: see 81/67.

125. Comp. 'Dame! En uus sule ai ma fiance,' Adgar 101/649; 'Apres Deu ne ai autre refui,' id. 106/818.

126. **lune**, rest, occurs only here in ME.; for the word in modern dialects see EDD *s. v.* lown, quiet, shelter, which is Northern and North Midland: the solitary instance recorded for Hampshire is probably a stray. Dan. luun; OWScand. logn: see Björkman, 250.

127. **þet he me arine**: a clause instead of an infinitive; comp. 126/325; analogous is 151/21.

129. **so** &c., so that whatever happens may ever be the best for me: comp. 'And he þat haueþ þis rym iwryten . beo hwat he beo | God in þisse lyue . hyne lete wel iþeo,' OEM 57/697.

132. **to bote ȝeruh**, ready to make amends: comp. 'sunbote,' 80/58; 'deadbote,' 119/75.

134. **biseon to me**: see 124/249.

136. **swine . . . sor**: comp. 40/194.

140. **spert**: comp. 89/44.

141. **to drawe**: tear in pieces, destroy: comp. 'ichot þe cherl is def, þe del hym to drawe,' Bōddeker, AE. Dicht. 177/34. Morris explains 'entice me (to sin),' referring to the glossary to Hampole, Prick of Conscience, where the word so explained is 'drawe.'

142. **wule**: supply, to-drawn me.

144. Nor that any man that honoureth thee should have gladness: **he** resumes no mon þ þe wurðeð; comp. 77/39, 138/12: similar are, 'þe

wreche peoddare more noise he makeð to 3eien his sope,' AR 66/17: 'þ þe muð ne mei uor scheome þe liht eie spekeð hit,' id. 60/6.

147. **wite** &c.: see 118/50.

148. **dweolðe**: see 134/93.

149. **dest**: supply witen 7 werien.

150. **schalt** can hardly mean, 'shalt give,' as Morris translates: some word such as *delen* has dropped out after me: comp. 'to pore men dalt his dale,' Sir Amadas 43. **auoir dol**, a fair, handsome, portion.

151. Comp. 'De cest e d'el uus frai dreit, | Selunc ceo que uus sui forfait,' Adgar 163/221.

153. **lif . . . heale**: comp. 132/6.

156. **vort**: see 72/179 note.

157, 8. Adgar has similar uses of lovers' language: 'Ne ia, Dame, uus ne larrai; | Kar espuse prise uus ai. | Ja ne larrai uostre amistie, | Ne uostre amur,' Adgar 163/213, 162/178-85.

160. **al so**, even as; not 'as much as,' Morris.

163. The line lost after this may have been something like, and ek mine soule vor þine eadmodnesse.

164, 5. Comp. 'Pur amur de la Dame chere, | Ki nus duinst la seinte Deu grace, | E Deu nus duinst ueer sa face,' Adgar 40/98.

166. **ureondmen**, friends: a rare word, which occurs again in OEH ii. 183/23; CM 20242.

170. **bi**, concerning.

XIX. SAINT JULIANA

Manuscripts: i. Bodleian 34, Oxford (B). ii. Royal 17 A 27, British Museum (R): for descriptions see p. 492. In this life R is abbreviated, as Einkenel shows; the joints are often visible.

Edition: Cockayne, O., *þe Liflade of St. Juliana* (parallel texts with translations). E.E.T.S., O.S. 51.

Literature: Backhaus, O., *Über die Quelle der mittellenglischen Legende von der heiligen Juliane und ihr Verhältnis zu Cynewulfs Juliana*, Halle, 1899; Einkenel, E., see p. 493; Stodte, H., see p. 493; Stratmann, F. H., ES iv. 94 (emendations).

Phonology: This has been sufficiently described at pp. 493-9: a few forms call for comment. (1) in R. **a**: þeauien 102 has *ā*-umlaut. **æ**: awakenin 55 (*āwacenanian*), pal 36, hauene 135, if descended from *hæfen*, have *a* for *æ*; *ea* appears in breas 118, feader 3. **e**: heolen 43, spoken 59, toteoren 63, weolen 54, seotel 114 have *ā*- or *u*-umlaut of *e*; sutelin 98

descends from **swutol** with *u*-umlaut of *i* and loss of **w** as in *suster*; *hatterliche* 91 is elsewhere in SJ *heatterliche*, probably representing *u*-umlaut of **hator*; comp. *hatol*, *hetol*; *unweommet* 28, 120, 133 shows rounding of *e* to [ö] between labials; *bitild* 36, OE. *beteldan*, comp. 'tilden' 82/110, 'bitillen,' L 27852, perhaps owes *i* for *e* to *tilian*; *sulliche* 48 comes from *sylic*. *i*: *neomen* 45 has *a*-umlaut of *i*. *y*: *unduhti* 18 represents *dyhtig*. *ā*: *lechnunge* 23 follows *lācnian*, the OE. noun is *lācnung*. *æ*₁ is *e* in *lefdi* 7, *erndunge* 8, *unmeð* 17, *wreððen* 78, *wreððede* 46, and *a* in *wraðði* 42 instead of the normal *ea*; the adverb *eisweis* 68 (also in SM 13/26, MS. R, but *eanies weis*, MS. B) corresponds to *æniges wēges*. *æ*₂ is exceptionally *ea* in *forreadeð* 96, *reade* 55; *leoten* 63 is imitative of words with umlaut like *beoren*, *eoten* (*Bonner Beiträge*, xv. 128). *ea* before *r* + cons. is *a* in *harmen* 107; the *i*-umlaut is *e* in *merrið* 104, *sumchere* 21 (*cierr*): the *i*-umlaut of *ea* before *l* + cons. is absent in *afal* 137, which is in form *āfeallan*, *fall*, in meaning *āfiellan*, *fell*; for *healden* 118 see 359/7. *eo* before *r* + cons. is *a* in *darc* 122, perhaps the earliest instance of this spelling; the *i*-umlaut is seen in *iðirnd* 34, *firsin* 86 (but see *Bülbring*, § 187 anm. on Anglian *firr*). For *geouen* see 359/34; *geond* is *ɔnt* 35. *ēa* is *e* in *les* 75, but *lease* 135, *e* in *ɜet* 93 descends from *gēt* beside the normal *gēat*; the adverb *gēara* is *ɜare* 83. The *i*-umlaut of *ēo* is seen in *derure* 90; *strupen* 91 descends from **strȳpan*; *hei[e]nde* 17, as if from **hegan*; the Anglian form is *hēan*. *a* + *g*: for *dreihen* 122, see 360/13. *æ* + *g*: in *fehære* 104 (*fægerra*) the spirant is retained; comp. 'fezerest,' L 29485, but *feire* 53. *e* + *g* final: *tintreg* is *tintreow* 98. *sy* 54, with *y* written for *i*, represents *sige*; 'syge' in L 17409. *ȳ* + *g*: *druifot* 137, with *ui* for long *u*. *ea* + *h*: *waxen* 55, *isch* 22. *eo* + *h*: *mix* 96 (Anglian). *ēo* + *g*: *lihide* 7.

duheðe 18 represents *duguð*: *e* is added in *fuheles* 63, *liðeri* 92: *m* is lost in *limel* 67 (*lim mælum*), *f* in *leowinde* 95 (*lēofwende*); *ɜ* occurs often for final *d*, after *mit* for *mid* or *miþ*, *þin* becomes *tin* 52. For the stop *c*, *ch* appears to be written in *senchtest* 137. The loss of *g* in *list* 43 is OE. (*list* for *ligst*). *h* is added in *selhðe* 54; *nest* 129 is Anglian *nēst*, W.S. *nīehst*: *es* 100 has lost initial *h*, so *im* in *ichim* 85.

(2) in B. Many of those noticed in R occur in B also; other forms in B only are, *chearre* 166 (*cierran*), see 359/4: *neolechin* 43 represents a by-form *nēolācan*, while *nehlechen* R 31 comes from the normal *nēah-lācan*: *lattow* 170 is OE. *lāttēow*. *ch* in *wlech* 151 (*wlæc*) is due to the influence of *wlæce* (*Björkman*, 148).

Accidence: (1) of R. *were* 79 has added *e* in the nom. *cun s. d.* 11 is exceptionally without inflection, comp. *cunne* 19. *fetles* 97 is a contracted

plural; OE. *fætels*, *pl. fætelsas*, occasionally *fætels*. *aldrene* 14, *dahene* 117 are weak *pl. gen.* The dual pronoun occurs in inc *pl. d.* 107. *urne* 119 is *pt. s. subj.* from *irnan*. The contracted *þrof* 59, the prepositions *ine* 16, *bimong* 132, for which see 398/97, are characteristic of the group.

(2) Of B. *burhene* 72, *folkene* 57 are possibly weak *pl. genitives*, like *aldrene*, *dahene* above, but they are more probably adjectives formed on the analogy of words in *-en*, like *cristen*, from nouns. For *leoflūkest* 82, see 125/270.

Vocabulary: Scandinavian are *bistaðet bistaðet*, *crokes*, *derf*, *feolahes*, *lahe*, *lufte*, *liðin*, *menske*; probably *ihondsald*, *lustnin*, *truste*; possibly *ʒeien*, *hauene*, *keiser*: in R only, *baðen*, *derfliche*; possibly *trukeneð*: in B only, *feolahscipe*, *ilated*, *menskin*, *witere*. French are *ciclatun*, *furneise*, *leuns liuns*, *maumez mawmez*, *misspelt mawmex* 144/97, *purpre*, *rente*, *seinte*: in R only, *cumseð* (*commencer*), *serui*, *tur* (MS. reading 140/36), *uie*: in B only, *cendals*, *eoli*.

Dialect: See p. 503.

Introduction: For style and authorship see pp. 504-6. The author states, 139/7, that he translated from a Latin source. The *Life of S. Juliana*, printed in *Acta Sanctorum* under Feb. 16th, is pronounced by Backhaus not to be the immediate source of SJ, because when compared with it the English shows considerable omissions, additions, and divergences. Yet SJ stands in about the same relationship to that Latin text as SK does to what is generally regarded as its original and as Sawles Warde does to the treatise of Hugh of S. Victor (p. 493). The author of these pieces is no mere translator, but an adapter who weaves other matter into his free imitation of his originals. He was apparently unacquainted with Cynewulf's *Juliana*. Grau (*Morsbachs Studien*, xxxi. 157) shows that the earlier writer also introduces ideas into his poem which had been used by him in other works.

S. Juliana never attained in England to the popularity of her associates, S. Katherine and S. Margaret, but there is another life in rhymed septenaries printed as an appendix to Cockayne's edition of SJ from MS. Ashmole, no. 43 (c. 1310), and a third in the *Scottish Legendary*, ascribed by the editor to Barbour, the source of which is the *Aurea Legenda*; it is printed in Barbour's *Legendensammlung*, ed. Horstmann, ii. 190.

The references are to B, unless R is prefixed.

3. *feader . . . of frumscheft*: OE. '*fæder frumsceafta*,' Christ, 472.

5. *glideð*, proceeds: comp. '*þe hali gast · þ̅ glit of inc baðen*,' SM 21/33; '*ʒ te hali gast, hare beire luue, | þe lihteð of ham baðe*,' SK 1772. *unagin*: found here only; it appears to mean, without beginning: OE.

unāgunnen with that meaning occurs in 'on unagunnenre Godcundnysse and on ongunnenre menniscnysse,' *Ælf. Hom. Cath.* ii. 292/16: perhaps the ME. form has been influenced by *angin*, beginning. **euch godes ful**, full of every good: contrast 'euches cunnes gode,' 141/58.

6. **lideð ȝ lusteð**: comp. 'Lusteð me . . . ȝ liðeð ane hwile,' SJ 73/14; 'God make alle soon blithe, | Who so wil lystne and lithe,' K. *Alisaunder* 5750.

8. **wið þon þat**, in order that.

R 7. **lif hali**, holy of lif: comp. 'to summe oðre lif-holie monne,' AR 346/4; OEH ii. 51/10, 133/10.

9. **lihnde** is probably a miswriting of *lihide* as in R, lying, deceptive: ME. *lihen*, OE. *lēogan*, but it is possibly a *þp.* of ME. *lihen*, OE. *līgnian*, to deny. **eche**: supply *lif*.

11. **of munne**, commemorate: usually transitive in this sense as, 'þis meiden þe we munnid wes marherete ihaten,' SM 2/13, but comp. 'His deope wounden bledeth fast, | Of hem we ohte munne,' *Lyric Poetry*, ed. Wright, 112/22.

12. **i Nichomedese burh**: 'in civitate Nicomedia': the adjectival termination is Anglo-French -*eis* as in *Hispaneis*, L. *Hispanensis*: the scribe has 'Nichomedesse,' 77/9: 'iþe Nomecuðe burh Nicomede inempnet,' 79/9. In *Sammlung AE. Legenden*, ed. Horstmann, 51/628, *Ianuesse* means Genoa; *Arimminence* 20/784, *Rimini*; *Iponence*, 79/1046, *Hippo*.

13. **heascede**, insulted: comp. OE. *hyscan*.

R 12. **of—deaðe**, more than any other heathen he drew cruelly to death those that were Christians: **ham** represents the real object, 'þeo þ cristene weren': see 136/144: the Latin has, 'qui et ipse erat persecutor Christianorum.'

15. **as þeo þ**, as being one to whom: for **as**, see 128/1; for **þ**=to whom, 46/292. **ilenet**: the ME. texts often confuse *lānen* and *lēven*, to permit.

17. **schupte**: see 2/2. **wealdeð**: comp. 34/84; 'weldinde ȝ wissinde | alle worldliche þing,' SK 933, 1780; L 5279.

R 16. **redegeunge** (= *redeȝunge*) appears to be pres. part. of ME. *rædien*, to discourse (119/81); for ȝ, comp. 'herizinge,' OEH i. 5/1. But it is possibly a miswriting of 'redunge' as in B, which corresponds to L. *lectio*.

19. **Maximien**: see 128/1 note.

20. **heriende ȝ heiende**: a favourite phrase with this writer: comp. 149/180; SJ 41/5, 55/10; SK 459, 1041.

R 18. **unduhti duheðe**, ill-spent splendour; because used for the glorification of idols: probably the original reading. In *Specimens* translated 'unworthy body of retainers.'

23. **riche of rente**, with a large income. **3unge mon of 3eres** : see 129/23.
24. **wel**, on good terms : comp. 138/21.
25. **iunne**, bestowed ; generally said of conferring a favour, but 'þe þe ufel unnen,' L 28117, means, who inflicted harm on thee.
27. **utnumne feire**, exceptional beauty : see 133/30 ; but R 22 means exceptionally beautiful and charming : comp. 123/209 ; 'se unimete feier,' 124/239.
28. **in wið in** : see 130/57.
30. **lechnunge**, healing, medicine : a rare word, found in the Ureisun of God Almihti, OEH i. 202/16.
31. **wið ute longe steuene**, 'without a long tale,' Brock. But it seems preferable to connect the noun with OE. **stefn**, time, giving the sense, without long delay, much the same as 'after lute stounde' : the repetition is quite in the manner of the writer ; comp. 'doð hire biliue to deað buten abade,' SJ 73/3 ; 'Anan þrefter sone com a seli wummon,' id. 77/9.
- R 25. For omission of the subject **ha**, see 6/18. **hire unwilles**, to her sorrow, an adverbial genitive : **unwil** is the opposite of 'wil,' joy, pleasure, 133/62. A similar adv. phrase is **hire unwil** in 141/36 ; comp. 'min unwil hit is,' to don al þ ti wil is,' SM 13/3. For the construction see 10/167, and 165/263.
37. **truked** = **trukeð** from **tru:ien** is the usual form ; see 72/183 : the derivative **trukeneð** R 26 appears to be quite isolated.
38. **daheðes** is apparently genitive of ***daheð**, **dazeð**, noun derivative of ME. **dazien**, to dawn, used adverbially, at dawn. In R 27 **euch deis dei** means at daylight (dawn) of each day : it is apparently without parallel. The Latin has 'per singulos dies.'
39. **reowfulre reames** : see 130/55. **wissede**, would direct : *pt. subjunctive*.
- R 30. **summes weis**, some while, as at 124/236, corresponding to **sumne hwile** in B.
42. **lihten se lahe**, descend so far : comp. 176/20, 199/79, 206/306 ; 'loke þenne her bi hwa se of hire maidenhad lihteð in to wedlac ; bi hu moni degrez ha falleð duneward,' HM 23/24 ; 'liht to ure lare,' SK 1011.
44. **hehest i Rome** : comp. 128/2. **heh reue** : 'praefectus.'
46. **lette** : supply as subject, Keiser.
- R 35. **þ te riche riden in**, and to ride in his domain : an addition necessitated by the mistake in 'tur.' **tuhen** : the subject **heo** is to be supplied.
47. **ouertild**, canopied.

48. **purpres ȝ pelles**, purple cloths and rich stuffs: a frequent combination for gorgeous clothing: comp. 'ischrud ȝ iprud ba wið pel ȝ wið purpre,' SK 1449; here used of a canopy. **cielatuns**: see 133/51. **gendals**: sendal is a thin silken stuff, mostly red.

49. **As þe þ**: comp. 128/1.

50. **rihten ȝ to readen**: comp. 121/141; 147/158.

54. **iswechte** is explained in Specimens as *pp.* wearied, descending from OE. **geswenct**, **geswenced**, *pp.* of **geswencan**: the disappearance of *n* would be difficult to account for; it might be due to the analogy of **þencan**: in any case the word is for **iswecht** + **te**, thyself. **wreaðe** &c.: see 34/86.

56. **leauen þe lahen**: comp. 'ant leaue alle þe lahen þ tu list inne,' SJ 24/3.

57. **folkene froure**: comp. OE. **frōfor-gāst**; 'folkes froure' (of the B.V.M.), OEH ii. 255/2; 'Vroure ȝ hele folkes fader heouenliche drichte,' id. 258/5; 'þe hali gast moncunne froure,' SM 18/18; 'folkes feader,' 149/173, 19/33; 'froure moncunnes,' L 9075. **folkene** as *gen. pl.* appears to be quite isolated; the usual ME. form is **folce**, OE. **folca**.

58. **igret**, magnified: OE. **grēatian**: 'greaten' is in AR 128/1.

59. **windi of**, turned away from, done with: comp. 'windi (wundi R) of wisdom,' devoid of wisdom, SK 376. Comp. MHG. **wendic**, **wendec**.

R 47. **droh him**, put him off, like L. **trahere**: apparently without parallel in this meaning.

61. **Efter þ**, notwithstanding the fact that. In R, it means practically, when.

63. **him**: see 13/34 note.

64. **to wraðer heale**, to perverse fortune: see 130/58, and comp. 145/109; L 29556; 'to ufele hele wes ic iboren,' OEH i. 33/24; 'Godere hele þu hit scalt iseon,' id. 57/44; 'to goderheale þin he hit þoleð,' HM 29/10.

67. For 'fon on,' to handle a matter, to proceed, comp. 143/85, 97; 157/135; 'ȝ he bigon to fon on | þisses weis towart hire,' SK 1863. If the punctuation of the MS. goes for anything, the second **on** is an otiose repetition of the first, and the meaning is, proceeded gently at first to try if &c., as at l. 85. Such repetitions are not uncommon in this group: comp. 126/317; 'Hef up forði, mid treowe bileaue ȝ mid herdie, up þine preo uingres,' AR 290/29; 'sitteð al stille, þ hwon he parted urom ou, þ he ne cunne ower god,' id. 64/20. But in Specimens **on to lokin** are connected, proceeded at first 'fairly (= kindly) to look upon her.'

69. **sy . . . selhðe**: comp. 147/157; SJ 24/13; 'isi ant iselhðe,' SM

23/13. **sy** : OE. **sige**, victory ; in this phrase it must mean something like, prosperity. **weolen** &c. : comp. 121/161.

70. **awakenen** : see 54/24.

R 55. **ino**, fully, quite : see 62/41.

71. **refschipe** : 'praefectura' : at 128/4, the imperial dignity.

72. **liggeð** : see 128/10.

73. **luuie** **ȝ** **leue** : a stock phrase of this group : comp. 142/66, 145/104 ; 'ileueð ȝ luueð,' AR 410/11 ; also 180/135, 194/590.

R 57. **as þeo þat** : see 128/1.

75. **ich** — **is** : comp. 90/73.

76. **for**, before : I call to witness Apollo ; comp. 145/101 : somewhat different is 'for mi lif,' 145/106, upon my life, staking my life on the fulfilment of my promise.

78. **haldest her on**, perseverest in this determination ; comp. 'hald hardiliche | on þ̅ tu hauest bigunnen,' SK 677 ; 'ȝif me hit halt eure forþ in on,' ON 356.

79. **toluken** &c. : comp. 'ȝ leoten toluken þi flesch | þe fuheles of þe lufte,' SK 2092 ; 'þer ase wilde deor limmel to luken ham,' SJ 79/5 ; 34/83.

81. **aȝein þe**, in reply to thee, answering thy oath by Apollo and Diana : the stop after **aȝein** is to be disregarded. **ich swerie** &c., I call Christ to witness : the *acc.* after **swerien** is perhaps without a parallel, but it gives a sense somewhat different from that which would be gained by the insertion of **bi** or **to**.

83. **i leitinde leie**, in flashing flame : comp. 'for al þe cwarterne, of his cume | leitede o leie,' SK 671 ; 'ȝ i þe reade leie, | ȝ i þe leitinde fur,' id. 1360 ; 'ȝ leitinde al on leie,' id. 1651. The full stop after **leie** and the following capital obscure the structure of the sentence—though I be burnt alive, I will not &c.

84. **þe, dat.** : comp. 'buhð him ase he bit,' AR 288/24 ; 'all we sal him bu,' CM 16712 ; 'þe lauerdes leofmon þ̅ (= to whom) alle kinges buheð,' HM 5/24. **her onont**, as regards this matter. **þreate** &c. : see 34/86. **buhe ne beien** : comp. 132/3 ; SJ 27/10, 43/9 ; 'buhsume ȝ beisume,' SK 1787.

86. **leoftede** is translated in Specimens, 'flattered,' and derived from OE. **lyfettan**, which is hardly possible : leotede luueliche, made affectionate gestures, behaved affectionately, would give a known combination : comp. 'wið luueliche lates,' SM 14/4 ; 'ȝif þu makest ei semblaunt, oðer eni luue lates touward unðeauwes,' AR 90/17 ; 'mid leofliche læten,' L 19396 ; 110/273, but the weak forms of **læten** are not elsewhere found before the fifteenth century.

88. *wið þerean þ* is explained in Specimens as for *wið þ þerean*, the last word being taken with *wenden* as, in respect of that matter; but that seems very improbable, though the order of words is often strange enough in this piece. Stratmann suggested that *þerean* is a mistake for *þen*, which does not account for the corrupt form. Possibly the scribe had before him, *wið þē* (= *þen*) *ane þ*, on the sole condition that: see 72/192 note. *wið þ* in R 70 means, on condition that.

89. *do*, join.

91. *To soðe*: see 90/73.

92. *Vnwurð*, despicable: see 26/258.

R 75. *þ . . . to*, to whom: see 1/3.

95. *him*: *dat.* with *lihen*; *acc.* with *leauen*: comp. for the former, 29/2, 191/474; 'Iff iosephus ne legeð me,' GE 1281: the combination is uncommon. *weole* &c.: see 121/161.

96. *wa . . . wontreaðe*: comp. 'wurðe him wurst of wa ȝ of wontreaðe,' SJ 27/12; 'hauest ifunden weanc þrin ȝ wondraðe riue,' HM 9/4; AR 156/4. See also 58/76.

R 77. *wa . . . wunne*: the repetition of the latter word is probably a scribe's mistake for *wæne*: comp. 'ah al þe weane | ȝ te wa wente,' SK 1166, 2104.

R 79. *Me*: a word characteristic of the Katherine-group and frequent in AR, where it has been misunderstood by Morton: it wavers between conjunction and interjection, 'well! but,' and often introduces a question which offers an objection, or applies what has been said, like, 'well then': comp. AR 310/17; SK 325, 589; SM 6/19, 7/22. Its origin is obscure; if another guess may be hazarded, it is perhaps Anglo-French *mes* (F. *mais*, L. *magis*), which was used in contemporary French in much the same way.

98. *þ . . . to*, to whom.

99. *se forð*, so far: comp. 'ert ibrouht so uorð ouer,' AR 294/7; 'to uorð,' too far, id. 294/14: see also 64/85. *letest lutel of*: see 44/260.

100. *þ ich wite*, so far as I know.

103. *lette lif*: see 118/28.

104. *þ me of þuncheð*: see 30/10. *luuie . . . leue*: see 143/73.

105. *as*: see 121/1; similarly 145/108.

106. *laðin* &c., his love shall be hateful to thee: so, 'þ te schal laði þi lif,' HM 9/2.

108. *as on ernesse*, as a foretaste: probably the first occurrence of *ernes*. *besmen*: so, 'beateð hire bare bodi wið bittre besmen,' SM 5/19; 'mid besman swingan,' Orosius 68/11. Before *þ* something like, *þ þe wule of þunchen*, has dropped out. As the reading of R, which means, that it

shall turn to misfortune that you were woman, is plainly an attempt to mend a faulty original, it may be concluded that the omission belongs to an earlier stage of the transmission. For to **wraðerheale** see 141/64.

111. Here the scribe became confused: his original had probably, þ̅ti wil is wurch þu, but he began with *wur*, and erasing it forgot to add it at the end. Then he omitted *het* before **swiðe**, and tried to mend matters by changing *leggen* into **leggeð**, but forgot **strupen**. **bliðeliche**, gladly, is strange.

113. **liðeri**, should be in a lather: comp. 'þ̅ hire leofliche lich | liðerede al o blode,' SK 1542; 'leiden swa luðerliche on hire leofliche lich.' þ̅ hit ... liðerede o blode,' SM 5/20.

115. **beaten** &c.: see 34/86.

118. **fetles**, vessels, i. e. dwellings; comp. 131/83.

119. **heien ne herien**: see 139/20. **teone ne tintreohe**: comp. 'ne schal þe na teone | ne tintreohe trukien,' SK 402, 623, 1503, 1795. With **timbrin** comp. 'to timber trey and tene,' Minot vi. 2 note.

R 101. **allescunnes**: see 81/80 note.

120. **sutelin**, be made plain: comp. 'isuteleð ȝ ischeawed,' AR 154/2; 'sutel ȝ eðcene,' id. 154/22; 'for sutel is ȝ eðsene,' SK 381.

125. **þeauien ȝ þolien**, permit and suffer: comp. 'þauieð ant þolieð,' SM 15/19; 'þatt Godd ne þole nohht | Ne þafe,' Orm i. 188/5456. **mucli**: comp. 'þi lauerd godd it þoleð him to muccli þi mede,' HM 47/16. **muche-lin**, R 102, is a form characteristic of the group. **mede ... murhðe**: comp. 147/157; 'mi murhðe ȝ mi mede,' SK 2350.

126. **eauer se** goes with **mare**.

128. **drehen ... derf**: for the combination, characteristic of the group, comp. 'þ̅ hit ne sem ... þ̅ ich derf drehe,' SM 5/31; 'abeore bliðeliche þe derf þ̅ tu drehest,' HM 17/31; 'hwen ha schulen | þe derf of deað drehen,' SK 2392; 'to deaðe | deruest þing to drehen,' id. 2100.

R 106. **willes**, spontaneously: so, 'willes ȝ woldes,' AR 6/26; 'willes wiðuten neode,' id. 242/19; 'willes ȝ waldes,' HM 27/2.

131. **þet**, because.

134. **bicumen**, arrive, come: comp. 175/434.

135-7. **wei**—forð is a parenthesis (alas for your fates that ye were born in the world and brought forth), and so is **awei**—**weren** in R 111; comp. 'Wa me þære wyrde, þæt min wynn alæg,' Psalter (Thorpe) 373/5. For **se**, which can only mean so, to must be substituted, and if **ȝe schule** is retained, it must be regarded as a mere repetition of the preceding 'ȝe schulen,' due to the parenthesis. **to wraðer heale** in R 111 goes with **sinken**; in B its position is ambiguous: probably in the original it

belonged to the parenthesis, and the right order in R is, to wraðer heale, sinken ow: for the reflexive, see 13/34 note. For **sar . . . sorhe** see 52/374.

141. **ehsihðe**: a word characteristic of the group: comp. SM 17/27; SK 2315; 'eihsihðe,' OEH i. 209/28. In the passage here omitted, Eleusius tries to win her over, but neither suasion nor scourging shake her resolution.

142. **festnin** &c.: comp. 'to festnin ham | in treowe bileaue,' SK 1985; 180/143.

143. **isoðe bileaue**: see 89/28: R 116 without it gives a poor sense. **don . . . ut of dahene**, put out of life: the expression is common: comp. 'þat we haue done him of daghe,' CM 4168.

144. As **brune** is everywhere else a noun (see 119/83), of must have fallen out after it here. **wallinde bres**: comp. 60/103.

145. **healden**, pour, as at 72/197. Brock translates, 'hold.'

148. **þer . . . in**, in which. The writer had in mind the second lection in the Breviary for the feast of S. John ante Portam Latinam (May 6th), 'in olei ferventis dolium missus: ex quo tamen divina se protegente gratia tantum liber exiit a dolore corporis: quantum alienus erat a corruptione carnis,' York Breviary, ii. 277.

149. **liues lauerd**: OE. **lif-frēa**; 'auctorem vitae,' Acts iii. 15. **him**, for himself.

151. **wod þa**, then mad; the text seems defective. With R 121, comp. 'to weden ȝ to wurðen | ut of his ahne witte,' SK 1257; 130/52.

157. **murhðe . . . mede**: comp. 145/125. **sy . . . selhðe**: comp. 143/69. **þ . . . efter**, after whom.

158. **al**, completely, qualifies **bisteaðet ȝ bistonden**, circumstanced and beset; a combination characteristic of the group: comp. 'ich iseo me . . . bistaðed ant bistonden as lomb mit wed wulues,' SM 3/24; AR 264/24. **Riht . . . read**: comp. 121/141.

161. **nestfalde**, nearest: apparently here only. NED compares OE. **nēahfeald**.

162. **mine—hearmen**: 'et inimici hominis domestici eius,' Mic. vii. 6; S. Matt. x. 36. **inhine** does not occur elsewhere, but its meaning, 'household servant,' is assured by the Latin imitated. In R 130 **heanen** makes no sense, perhaps **heanende** is to be read.

163. **anes**: see 74/207 note.

164. **wil cweme** apparently answers to OE. **wel-gecwēme**, which is quoted in B-T. as a gloss on **beneplacitus** in Spelman's Psalter cxviii. 108, cxlvi. 12.

165. **ilated se luðere**, so wickedly mannered, behaved. **ilated** is a new formation from *lat*, usually *pl.* *lates*, looks, manners: see 129/35. In *Spécimens* translated, 'visaged so horribly.'

167. **Al**, if not a mistake for *Als*, goes with **ham**.

168. **wid**, against: see 48/299 note.

169. **wite . . . were**: comp. 118/50 note. **witere**, make wise, teach. In R 134, **ant witen** is to be altered into **ant were**.

170. **liues lattow**, life's guide: OE. *lātpēow*, *lāttēow*.

171. **hauene of heale**: 'salutis portum,' see 5/12 note. In R 135 with **lestinde**, understand **lif**.

173. **ȝ tu**, thou too, even so do thou &c. **folkes feader**: see 141/57.

174. **to drif**, drive away; usually means, drive asunder, dispel.

176. **ȝet** goes with **iseon**.

177. **schrenchen ȝ schunchen**, deceive and terrify: an uncommon combination. **of**, out of, from: comp. 'wrenchen sum rihtwis of þe weie,' SJ 43/5.

178. **wið**, see 82/118, 117/5.

179. **crefti crokes**: see 129/42. **crechen**, scratch; if it be a form of *cracchen*: in NED said to be for *crochen*, catch with hooks or claws, from F. *crocher*: comp. 'crefti crokes,' 129/42; 'crokinde creftes,' 131/87.

180. **iheiet ȝ iheret**: comp. 138/17.

XX. THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE

Manuscripts: i. Jesus College, Oxford, E 29 (J); see p. 285. ii. Cotton Caligula A 9, British Museum (C); see p. 450. They are copies of a common exemplar X, which was probably taken directly from the poet's original. X was written by two scribes; the work of the first is represented in ll. 1-353 of the present selection; that of the second in ll. 354-437; the former was accustomed to French scribal methods. The writer of C was a mechanical copyist and not at home in English, consequently he reproduces X with tolerable accuracy. The scribe of J was more independent (see p. 293).

Facsimile: Of J. *The Owl and the Nightingale*, ed. J. E. Wells.

Editions: Stevenson, J., Roxburghe Club, London, 1838; Wright, T., Percy Society, no. xxxix, London, 1843 (text of C); Stratmann, F. H., Krefeld, 1868 (critical edition); *Wells, J. E., Boston, 1907 (parallel texts with notes); Gadow, W., Palaestra, no. lxxv, Berlin, 1909 (text of C with variants of J).

Literature: Borsch, J., *Ueber Metrik und Poetik der altenglischen Dichtung The Owl and the Nightingale*, Münster, 1883; *Breier, W.,

Eule und Nachtigall, Halle, 1910, completed in Morsbachs Studien, no. xxxix, Halle, 1910; ES xlii. 306, 408; Ebisch, W., Zur Syntax des Verbs im altengl. Gedicht Eule und Nachtigall, Leipzig, 1905; Gadow, W., Eule und Nachtigall, Berlin, 1907 (completed in edition as above); Kenyon, J. S., Journal of English and Germanic Philology, xii. 572-92; Koch, J., Anglia, Beiblatt, xxi. 227-40; Noelle, H., Die Sprache des altengl. Gedichts von der Eule und Nachtigall, Göttingen, 1870; Sherman, L. A., A Grammatical Analysis of the OE. Poem The Owl and the Nightingale, Transactions of the American Philological Association, vi. 1875. Wells, J., Anglia, xxxiii. 252-69; Modern Language Notes, xxv. 108, xxvi. 139-41.

Phonology: (1) of C. The spellings of (a) ll. 1-353 and (b) ll. 354-437 are distinguished, when they show a characteristic difference. Significant rhymes are recorded. Oral **a** is *a*, fare 422, tale 3; **a** before nasals wavers between *a* (10 times) and *o* (14), can 126, vram 119, man 334, mani 399, þan 22, 24, þane 39, wanne 308, bigon 13, con 199, from 154, monnes 254, moni 355, nome 405, þonkes 70, won 240, wone 243, wonne 38, exceptionally þenne (*þænne*); **a** before lengthening groups is *o*, honde 400, onde 297, longe 45, tonge 112, but andsuare 105, answare 55, 277; **and** is and 4, an 7 &c.; **man**, indefinite, me 32; ferden 432 r.w. uerde, descends from *fēran*. **æ** is regularly *a*, bare 56, 106 r.w. answare, glad 312, hadde 275 r.w. iladde, smal 73 r.w. al. **e** is *e*, bet 21, hen 291; before lengthening groups, ende 386, felde 357: (a) suich 283, suiche 134 is from a form in *i*, (b) swucche 354, swuch 374 from one in *y*: a diphthong has developed in imeind 18, 306 (*gemenged*, comp. 451/25). **i** is *i*, bile 79, chirche 339, is 388 r.w. wis, (a) wile 141 r.w. sckile; before lengthening groups, bringe 311, linde 393, but wsome (= ysome) 136, (b) wulle 373, nulleþ 407, wuste 10 r.w. custe, neltu 106 (*nelt*), wolcumeð 318, with *o* written in this text for *u* from *e* by labial influence, comp. wulcume L 8528 &c., grulde 98 (**gryllan*). **o** is *o*, bodi 73, horne 234, word 45, wolde 128, nolde 115, but walde 370 r.w. scholde; þane 414 is L.W.S. *þane*, wan 334, hwan: on *prep.* is reduced to an 239 and often to a 20 &c. **œ**, *i*-umlaut of **o**, still lingers in seorhe ON 1599. **u** is *u*, cumeþ 298, luueþ 188, wunest 254, but *o* in lo'u'ue, where 'u' was possibly meant as a correction of *o*, ouerkome 386, wode 322 r.w. rude, woning 403, in which *o* is associated with *m*, *n*, *w*; **u** before lengthening groups is *u*, dumb 294, tunge 194, but tonge r.w. iþrunge. **y** is *u*, kume 314 (perhaps with [u] from *cuman*), murie 261, vuele 63, stude 410 (*styde*) r.w. mide, muchel 404, muche 413 (*mycel*); before lengthening groups, cunde 88, hurne 14; but unrounded in þincþ 430, þincþe 46, þincþe 262, wirche 340; wrchen 286 is probably French writing for *wurchen*.

ā is regularly *o*, bore 286, hoten 192, swo 76, 381, so 52, 289, 415, o 249, 331, þos 95, but a 45, 104, 112, an 4, 80, Portesham 434, swa ON 1577, wa 425, þeos 413 (*þās*); before two consonants *o*, wostu 334, but axest 325, 329, hattest 191. *æ₁* is regularly *e*, brede 130, ledeþ 216, sprede 315 r.w. mede, þen 386, but þare 28 &c., þan 156 (3); before two consonants *e*, fleshe 83, ileste 257, meshe 84 (**māscan*), neuer 60, but iladde 276, wranne 360. *æ₁* is elsewhere sometimes *ea*, eauer ON 922, deale ON 954, bileau ON 1688. *æ₂* is also *e*, forlete 36, rede 425; before two consonants, oferd 277, but *a* in lat 194 (4), lateþ 372 (3), ofdrad 387, þar 16 &c., þareafter 271, þareuore 210, whar 64, war 392, uareuore 203, 333, these pronominal forms probably come from shortened *æ*: before two consonants, fnast 44, raddest 115, misraddest 116. *ē* is *e*, breme 158, kene 212; before two consonants, dest 49, 237 r.w. preost, spedde 435, but dost 307, dostu 174, 289, doþ 112, 238 with *o* from the plural. *ī* is *i*, wile 155, pipe 22, suiþe ON 376; before two consonants, þriste 127 r.w. liste, wisdom 399, but (a) suþe 2, 12, 111 from *swyþe* with absorption of *w*, comp. such from swuch. *ō* is *o*, brode 93, ilome 49, nopeles 105, but neopeles 357 (15 times in Layamon, see 452/8); before two consonants, blostme 315, softe 6. *ū* is *u*, kuþe 332, tukest 63, hule 4 &c., but houle 428, a French writing. *ȳ* is *u*, hud 120, lutle 356, þuuele 214 r.w. foþle, but litle 419, þe 19, 34, 401, forþe 69, vorþi 65, hwi 407, whi 106, wi 174 (*hwī*).

ea before *r* + cons. is *a*, areþ 285, þare 171 r.w. aiware, hardeliche 280, þaref 146, but eardingstowe 28; the *i*-umlaut before a lengthening group is *e* in uerde 433 r.w. ferden: *cierm* is *chirme* 221 (see Bülb. 187 anm.) but bichermet 215. *ea* before *l* + cons. is *a*, al 8 and the numerous forms of *eall*, hale 2 r.w. dale, schaltu 165; before lengthening groups *o*, which descends from Anglian unbroken lengthened *a*, as in Layamon 452/15, bold 233 (3), boldeliche 279, biholde 71, holde 3 (4), wolde 367, but once belde 358: without umlaut are falt 37, halt 32. *eo* before *r* + cons. is *o*, for 328, vorre 243, horte 37, 43, rorde 227; before a lengthening group, ilorned 172; but daisterre 244 r.w. vorre: forbernest 297 is from *bærnan*; *wyr* words are worse 219 r.w. mershe, worste 10, worþ 283, wrs 34, elsewhere wurs ON 793, wrþ 256, unwrþ 255, elsewhere wurþ ON 769. *eo* before *l* + cons. is seen in sulue 69. The *u*-umlaut of *a* is wanting in hauekes 207 (3). *eo*, *u*-umlaut of *e* gives houene 335, 346 r.w. steuene, 350. *eo*, *ā*-umlaut of *e* is seen in feole 415, but uele 20, and fale 365, auale 410 (*feala*). *eo*, *u*- and *ā*-umlaut of *i* is *o* (for *eo*) in honne 66 r.w. kunne, hore 216 &c., noþerward 100, soþþe 240, but (b) heore 418. *ea* after palatals is *a*, schal 143, þaf 55, 105, aþaf 95, before nasal, schame 50 (3),

but schome 123. *ie* after *g* is *e*, *bizete* 344, *uorȝete* 343, *underȝete* 124, *ȝeueþ* 419, but *ȝiueþ* 416, *ȝiue* 410. *ie* after *sc* is *i* in *schille* 98, 364, *e* in *schelde* 356 r.w. *felde*. *gef*, E. W. S. *gief* is *ȝif* 51 &c., *ȝef* 429. *eo* after *sc* is *o*, *scholde* 371 r.w. *walde*, *sholdest* 54, *short* 73, but *Anglian schulde* 390 r.w. *wule*. *eom* is *Angl. am* 126, 212, *nam* 387, *heom*, *hom* 62, 94.

ēa is regularly *e*, *blete* 57, *dreme* 230; before two consonants, *cheste* 133 r.w. *unwerste*, but *earen* 254, *unneape* ON 1605, *dreim* 21 (a scribal error). The *i*-umlaut is *e*, *grette* 74, *ȝeme* 345, *ihere* 180 r.w. *fere*, *iherde* 2, *ihert* 406, but *ihire* 228. *ēo* is (a) *o*, a French writing, *blo* 108, 319, *bon* 198, 342, *bo* 107 (9), *boþ* 75 (4), *flo* 33 (4), *flon* 106, *floþ* 214, *ho* 19 (13), *hom* 353, *iso* 243, *isoþ* 302, *lof* 159 (3), *oftoned* 190, *so* 34, *swore* 73, *tone* 50, *prostes* 351, *þo* 26, 155, *þos* 41 (4), *holde* 12, *hold* 100, *athold* 270, *bihold* 30, but the corrector has added *e* in *preost* 238 r.w. *dest*, *weode* 236; (b) *eo*, *beo*, *beoþ* 378, 418, *heo* 360 (9), *heom* 407, 408, but *ho* 368. The *i*-umlaut is seen in *atfliþ* 37 (*Angl. flīþ*), *þuster* 154 (3). *gesīene* is *isene* 122, 211 r.w. *kene*; *gīet*, *ȝet* 225. *ēo* from *ō* after *g* is *o* in *ȝomere* 293 r.w. *sumere*, *ēa* from *ā* after *sc*, *e* in *schede* 153.

a + *g* is *aȝ*, *draȝe* 209. *æ* + *g* is *aī*, *dai* 89 &c., *vaire* 15 &c., *mai* 141 (4), *fawre* 138, miswritten for *fayre*, but *eī* in *seide* 9, 289, 424, 265 r.w. *rede*, 325 r.w. *dede*, rhymes which indicate *sede* 33, 173 representing *sæde* as the original form, so *ised* 273 r.w. *red* is *gesæd*. *e* + *g* is *eī*, *aȝein* 431, *pleie* 169, *wei* 224, under this head come *seist* 50 (4) from *segst*, *seīþ* 132 from *segð*, *seie* 173 from *sege*: *aȝen* 7, 314 is *agēn*, *snailles* 87, *snægl*. *i* + *h* is *iȝ*, *adiȝte* 242, *wiȝt* 312, or *iĥ*, *diht* 399; for *iht*, *iſt* is written in *mist* 78: final *ig* is *i*, *bodi* 73. *o* + *g* is *oȝ*, *itoȝen* 368. *u* + *g* is *uȝ*, *fūȝele* 64 r.w. *vuele*, but the spirant has been absorbed in *fueלקunne* 65; *foȝle* 213 r.w. *þuuele*, is a French spelling. *y* + *h* is unrounded in *hiȝte* 208, *hiȝteþ* 314. *ā* + *g* is *oȝ*, *oȝe* 195, *þoȝe* 196. *æ₁* + *g* is *eī* in *eīþer* 9, 141, but *aīþer* 7, *aiware* 172. *æ₂* + *g* is seen in *iseȝe* 303. *ō* + *g* is *oȝ*, *boȝe* 15, *woȝe* 120. *ō* + *h* is *oȝ*, *broȝte* 150, *noȝt* 58 (*nōht*), *roȝte* 305, *þoȝte* 269, but *oĥ* in *brohte* 369. *u* + *h* is *uȝ*, *þuȝte* 21, *ofþuȝte* 275. *ea* + *h* is *eȝ*, *iseȝ* 29, *ouerseȝ* 30; the *i*-umlaut is *iȝ*, *miȝt* 64, 177, *miȝte* 42, 411, *miȝtest* 192, *nīȝt* 89, but *mihte* 392. *eo* + *ht*, *ariȝt* 278, *brīȝter* 108, *viȝte* 128, *riȝt* 76, *riȝte* 120 r.w. *liȝte* 398, but *riht* 379, *unrihtfulnesse* 385; *bituxen* 390 represents WS. *betux*: the *i*-umlaut gives *isīþ* 285, but *isoþ* 302 without umlaut. *ēa* + *g*, *h* is (a) *eȝe* 304 r.w. *iseȝe*, *neȝ* 44, *þeȝ* 48, but *þoȝ* 220, (b) *þeȝ* 367, *þah* 422. *ēo* + *h* is (a) *iȝ*, *liȝte* 119 r.w. *liȝte*, (b) *iĥ*, *lihtlich* 402, 417; the *i*-umlaut is seen in *flīȝst* 89, 183, *flīȝt* 132, 224, *atfliþ* 37: *dīegel* is *dīȝele* 2. *ā* + *w* is *ow*, *crowe* 220, *croweþ* 251, *snov* 308, *asnowe* 291, *owel* 80 (**āwul*), but *nawt* 383; *clawe* 109, 110 is probably *clawe*. *i* + *w*, *howe* 108 (*Anglian*

hēow). *ō* + *w*, bigrowe 27, -stowe 28, but nouþer 375 (nōwþer). *ēa* + *w*, gleu 149, unþeu 150, but sewi 107. *ēo* + *w*, eu 436, ower 379, tro *d.* 316, representing occasional *dat.* trēo.

In bisemar 104 *a* appears for *e*, in svikel- 118, 119 *e* for *o*, in munekes 347 *e* for *u*, in gladur 19, uairur 108, *u* for *e*, but gladdere ON 737. *ā* is *o* in oferd 277, elsewhere aferd 288. *e* has been added in areȝ 285 (earg), areȝþe 282, archþe 359, bareȝ 286, bisemar 104, hardeliche 280, narewe 68, steuene 345, 363, þaref 146, lost in warni 246, as already in OE. *warnian*; houēneriche 335, houēneliȝte 350, represent *heofon-rice*, *heofon-lēoht*, similarly þorneuode 322, þaręuore 210, waręuore 203, 333. The prefix in atschet 44 is *op*; *be-* is regularly *bi-*, bigrede 220, bitelle 199; *a* in adun 164 is *of*; the prefix *ge-* is fully preserved as *i-*; the suffix *-hede*, 118 &c. is **hæd*.

w is written *u* in suiche 134, 283, tuengst 112, but more frequently *v*, sval 7, tosvolle 101; it stands for *wu* in wrchen 286, wrs 34, wrþ 256, unwrþ 255, for *wi* in wle 284, for *uu* in wl 31, wle 35 (fūle); in wole 8, as Breier explains, the original had uuele (yfele), the copyist took *uu* as *w* and read wole (fūle). Metathesis of *r* is seen in unwerste 134; *rr* is simplified in for 328. *n* is lost in þane 39 &c., wane 298, 352, ope 124, on is often reduced to *a*, adwole 420 &c.; *nn* is simplified in hen 291, kun 332. For *f* initial, *f*, *u*, *v* are used indiscriminately, faire 114, vaire 15, fiȝt 132, viȝte 128, for 328, vorre 243, foruorþ 276, for 32, uor 19, vor 43, vram 119, from 62; it is once *w* in waste (fæst), and *w=uu* in wl 31, wle 35; between vowels *f* is regularly *u*, buue 164, auale 410 beside fale 365, touore 371, similarly eure 251, cliure 78 (3), sulue 67, but *v* in eve 41, over 64, *f* in afere 177, aferd 288, ifare 278, oferd 277; in other positions it is commonly *f*, efne 229, stefne 230. *t* is lost in blosme 16 as already in OE. *blōsma*, nel tu 106, doubled in sittest 89; for *t*, *d* is written in ad 241; *tt* is simplified in wit 420. For *d*, *t* is written in ihert 406; *d* is mostly omitted in an 7 &c., beside occasional and 4, 294, also in answare 55, 277, as rarely in OE., but andsuare 105; spene 121 is a new back formation from the *þt.* tense and *pp.* of spend (NED); *dd* is simplified in bed- 240, midel- 349. For *þ*, *d* appears in haued 123, lodlich 32 (3), *t* in witute 139, 200, bigredet 67, biledet 68, hatiet 186, schuniet 185, singet 152, wit 56, 222; dostu 174, 289 is a compendium for dost þu, similarly axestu 329, wenestu 219. *sc* is *sch*, schal 143, schende 210, bischopen 404, schuniet 185, but occasionally *sh*, shal 258, ishote 23, mershe 220, and once *s*, sewi 107. The stop *c* is regularly *k* before *e* and *i*, unker 107, loki 56, also in kon 326, kume 314, kun 332, kunne 144, kuþe 332, and *ck* in eck 130, haueck 219, otherwise *c*, cunne 47, 48, cuþe 360, hauec 223, spac 274: *cc* is *ck*, flockes 216, þicke

17, 308; it is simplified in stoc 25: (b) ah 357 (6) is Anglian **ah**, but (a) ac 83 (6). **cw** is (a) *qu*, quap 143, but (b) cwap 372 (5). **č** is expressed by *ch*, chirche 339, ich 1, swuche 354, unwrenche 125, ilich 232, 234, but ilike 113 r.w. biswike. **čč** is *cch*, recche 60, wrecche 251, but reche 58; **čg** is *gg*, alegge 272, hegge 17, 59 (**hœcg*), legge 164, segge 18. Palatal **g** is written *ȝ*, ȝare 171, ȝaf 105, areȝpe 285, murȝpe 257 (3), areȝ 285, bareȝ 286, folȝeȝ 223, isuolȝe 102, unwroȝen 118, but arehȝe 359, ibolwe 101. **ng** appears in lengȝe 130, strengȝe 129, but strenȝe 356 (Horn, Beiträge, 60). **h** has been added initially in his 404, hunke 376, hure 141, and dropped in abbe 130, is 281. **hr** is *r* in rise 19; **hl**, *l* in lud 6, luste 99; **hw** is *hw* in hwile ON 1591, *wñ* in what 60, but otherwise *w*, aiware 172, wat 141 &c., wan 334, wile 6 (3), wa 425, wo 152, wonne 38, wone 243, won 240, wider 342.

(2) Of J. Mainly a record of divergences from C. **a** is more frequently *o* before nasals, grome 49, lome 375, mon 334, 355, and before lengthening groups, ondsware 105, onsware 55. Beside hwanne 121, 308, hwenne occurs 38 (4). ewel 80 takes its initial vowel from *æ*l. **æ** is *e* in hedde 102 (3), queȝ 372 (3), wes 1 (7). **e**, sweche 354, but such 374, suche 134 (*swyle*). **i** is often written in French fashion *y*, especially in conjunction with *m*, *n*, *u*, *h*, myne 51, ynnē 208, clyures 111, fyht 132; **willap** is wille 373; welcometh 318 has *wel* substituted for **wil**; with cleures 84, 206 comp. 'cleafres,' AR 102/5, 'claires,' Corpus MS. **o**, wolde 370. **u**, tunge 37, vnne 382, but schonȝeȝ 185, vowele 213, a French use. **ā**, hwo 425, no 202, meaning nor, but naȝeles 105, 357. **æ**₁, dayrewe 244, wrenne 360 (3); each 231, euche 151, euych 187 descend from *yle*, comp. 288/8; meysse 84 (**mæscan*), vleysse 83, with **æ** before *sc*, may, in this text, be French spellings, but comp. 428/6. **æ**₂ is with fewer exceptions *e*, efne 239, let 194 (4), leteȝ 372 (3), ofdred 387. **ē**, dome 426 is misspelt for deme. **i**, swipe 2, 12, swyȝe 149. **ȳ**, hwy, with *y* written for *i*. **ea** before *r* + cons. is *e* in erdingstowe 28. **eo** before *r* + cons. is *eo*, veor 328, veorre 243, heorte 37, reorde 227, steorre 244, ileorned 172. **ie**, bichirmeȝ 215. No umlaut in heuene 346 r.w. stefne, heueryche 335, fele 415, but veole 20. **eo**, *u*- and *ā*-umlaut of *i*, heonne 66, heore 216 &c. neperward 100, seȝȝe 240. **ea** after palatal and before nasal, schome 50, 374, schomye 117. **ie** after *g* is regularly *e*, yeue 410, yeueȝ 416, 419. gief is if 283 &c.: heom, heom 62 &c. **ēa**, eren 254, drem 21; the *i*-umlaut, ihere 228. **eo** is mostly preserved, fleo 33, heo 33, heolde 51, leof 159, preostes 351, teone 50, but he 19, holde 12, lesen 267, prest 238, swere 73.

The new diphthongs have reached a more advanced stage in which *w* displaces *ȝ*; *y* is used extensively for *i*. **a** + *g*, drawe 209, mawe 138.

æ + g, day 89, vayre 15, but seyde 9, iseyd 273. e + g, ayeyn 7 (3), pleye 169, seyþ 132, snayles 87, seist 50. i + h, adihte 242, bitwihen 390 (*bētwhih*), myht 78. i + g, unwryen 118. o + g, itowen 368. u + g, vowe 64, fowel 65, muwe 62. ā + g, owe 195, þrowe 196. æ₁ + g, eyþer 9; ihware 172 is OE. *gehwār*. ō + g, bowe 15, wowe 120. ō + h is *ouh*, brouhte 156, 369, þouhte 269, roughthe 305, but þoutest 113. ū + h, þuhte 21, ofþuhte 275. ea + h, iseyh 29, ouerseyh 30; the *i*-umlaut, myhte 42, nyht 252. eo + h, ariht 278, brihter 108, vyhte 128, ryht 76; the *i*-umlaut, isihþ 285. ēa + g, eyen 75, 100, eye 304, neyh 44; þēah appears as þeih 367, þeyh 137 &c., þey 287, þah 422 (stressed), þe 48, 220. ēo + h, lyhte 119, ryhte 120; the *i*-umlaut, flyhst 89, flyhþ 132; *diegel* is *dyele* 2. ā + w, snouh 308, nouht 58, nowiht 256, noht 183. ī + w, hewe 108. ēo + w, eure 379, treo 316.

i is levelled to *e* in *chireche* 339, *clerekes* 340, 347, *mureþe* 257, *murehþe* 336, 343; in *gretture* 74, *u* appears for *e*; *e* is inserted in *bolewe* 101, *swikedom* 119.

w stands for *u* in *hw* 46, 435; it is written for *wu* in *wrche* 340, *wrse* 219, *wrste* 10, *wrþe* 278, and for *we* in *wre* 159; it is *u* in *such* 283. Final *n* is omitted in a 241 &c. *f* is *v* in *ivi* 27. *d* is written for *t* in *bid* 319; it is doubled in *gladdre* 19. For *p*, *t* is written in *wit* 57, *h* in *bihouhte* 155. *sé* is *s*, *sarp* 79, *atset* 44, *sende* 210, *sc*, *biscrycheþ* 67, *scrichest* 179, *scort* 73, *sch*, *schewi* 107, *scholdest* 54, *schulle* 320, *mersche* 220. Beside *sweche* 354 are *such* 374, *suche* 134. Final *c* is written *k* in *spak* 279, 288; *cc* is *kk* in *þikke* 308; *cw* is *qu* in *iqueme* 427. *nyk* 202 (OE. *nið*) is a Midland form, and probably due to Scandinavian influence; *ic* is *ic* 245 (7) beside *ich* 1 &c.; *ilyche* 113 r.w. *biswike*. Palatal *g* is very regularly written *y*, *yaf* 55, 105, *ayaf* 95, *yomere* 293, *voryete* 343. After *l*, *r*, *g* passes into the spirant *w*, *bolewe* 101, *foleweþ* 223, *iswolwe* 102, *amorewe* 310, *morewen-inge* 361, *sorewe* 309, but *arehþe* 282 (*areh* + *þe*). *g* is lost initially in if 260 &c. *h* is lost in *þoutest* 113. *hw* is generally preserved, *hwan* 334, *hwar* 64, *hwi* 204, *hwile* 158, *ihware* 172.

Accidence: (1) of C. Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. In the *s. n. a.* *bile* 79, 205, *griþbruche* 377, *kume* 314 (possibly *d.*), *hete* 123 have their OE. vocalic ending; *songe* 259 is a scribe's mistake for *song*; *bodi* 73 has lost final *g*, *eve* 41, final *n*. *Gen.* -es, *fuzeles* 259, *speres* 355: *d.* -e, *boze* 15, *bore* 286, *daie* 352, *houene* 346, *sumere* 1, 294, *wintere* 293, but *adai* 89 (3), *aniȝt* 89, 175, *awinter* 290; with loss of final consonant, *amorȝe* 310, *eue* 239 (3), *iui* 27; OE. are *blo* 108, 319 (Portes) *hom* 395, *tro* 316; *king* 371 is miswritten for *kinge*. The *pl. n. a.* of masculines ends in -es, *snayles* 87, *tunes* 348, but *cliuers* 111, 206, *fuzele* 64 (see note): *neuters* are *ibere* 178, *þinge* 225, *wiȝte* 87, 160, and with *masc.* termination,

wiztes 309, wordes 134, unwiztis 174. Genitive is *cunne* 20; datives have mostly -e, fo3le 213, rise 19 (3), songe 82, stude 410, þinge 312, 415, þuuele 214, vnwrenche 125, volde 72, worde 114 (7), but craftes 329, cliures 84, toppes 306, bischopen 404. The *fem.* nouns of the strong declension have -e in *s. n. a.*, answare 55, 277, blisse 298, 346, eardingstowe 28, godhede 267, skentinge 324, stefne 233, unrihtfulnesse 385, cheste 133, sor3e 309, but hen 291, insizt 151, woning 227, 403, so ME. grucching, luring 301: þuster 154, 186, 188 is neuter. *Gen.* -e, worlde ON 476: *dat.* -e without exception, blisse 335, brede 130, ME. pipinge 232, 253, see 397. *Pl. d.* is dede 188, 406; *a.* blisse 311, clawe 109, tale 193, tide 26. Nouns of the weak declension have -e throughout, *s. n.* swore 73, mose 69, *d.* deme 426, frogge 85, e3e 304, wise 20, but uo 281, *a.* daisterre 244, grame 49, 3eme 345, but dairim 244, iuo 359: *pl. n.* blosme 16, e3ene 75, *d.* fere 179, but earen 254. Minor declensions: uote *pl. d.* 51; man *s. n.* 210 (3), monnes *s. g.* 254, 304, men *pl. n.* 302, manne *pl. d.* 365, menne 368, men *pl. a.* 246; boke *s. d.* 266; mus *pl. n.* 87; ni3t *s. n.* 250, middelnizte *s. d.* 241, but anizt 89, 175, ni3t *s. a.* 247, 252, niztes *pl. n.* ON 523; childre *pl. d.* 419.

Adjectives which in OE. end in -e have e in all cases, breme 158, grene 18, isene 122, 211, murie 261, þicke 17, riche 413, similarly those in -a, lame 375, unwille 300, but hoked 79 has lost e, while ope 124 has vocalic ending by loss of n, and fastrede *s. n. m. st.*, r.w. unrede, has added e. Those in -ig lose g, holi 339. Otherwise the *nom.* is unchanged. Datives have -e in all genders, *str.*, gode 223, rizte 170, 200, 212, *wk.* faire 317, 319, fule 93, 295, olde 163, so *acc. m. f. str.* stronge 205, vaire 15, holde 288, schille 98, 364, but stif 205, lodlich 32 before vowels, unwrþ 255, *wk.* gode 414, longe 247, but ful 94: wrecche *s. a. m. wk.* 251 has taken the form of wrecca sb. (Breier). The *acc. neut.* is uninflected, god 131; wole 8 is corrupt. mycel is *s. n.* muchel 404, *s. d.* mucle ON 1217: agen has lost n in o3e 195. The *pl.* of all adjectives ends in -e, *n.* brode 75, isome 378, *d.* belde 358, smale 213, *a.* gode 206, scharpe 109, but scharp 206 before a vowel. OE. ān is *s. n. m.* on 25, 238 before vowel, 82, 330 (pronominal), o 331 (num. adj.), *f. a.* 112, an 80 before vowel, *s. d. m.* one 2, 15, &c., *f. ore* 17, 393, 397, one 14, 235, *neut.* one 1, 236, *s. a. m.* one 102, a 94, o 249 (num. adj.), *f. one* 4, 155, 324, an 4, one 403 (num. adj.), *neut.* a 45, 104. nān is *s. n. m.* no 210, *f.* 146, *s. d. m.* none 168, 387; as adv. na more 169 (3). Adjectives used as nouns are wise *s. n. m.* 132, *pl. d.* 181, bare *s. d.* 106, *s. a.* 56, gode *s. d.* 338, ille 299, longe 45, vuele, wrope 63 (see note), blete *s. a.* 57, wo3e 120, 154, worste 10, but god 245. Comparatives have -e, betere 330 (3), grettere 74, mildre 418, worse 219, but bri3ter 108, gladur 19, icundur 85, uairur 108.

The personal pronouns are *ich*, *i* 353, *me*, *unker dual g.*, of *us* two 107, *we*, *hure pl. g.*, of *us* 141, *us*, *þu*, (*speddes*) *tu* 125, *þe*, *hunke* 376 (see note), *þe*, *eu*. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n.* *he m.* 21 &c., *ho f.* 19, 368, *heo* 360, 372 &c., *he* 97, 274, 279, *hi* 141, *hit neut.* 28, *d.* *him m.* 167, *hire f.* 104, *him neut.* ON 682, *a.* *hine m.* 392, *hi f.* 29, 30, 32, *hit neut.* 92, *pl. n.* *hi* 10 &c., *ho* 66, 76, *heo* 418, 434, 435, *d.* *hom* 94, *heom* 408, *a.* *hi* 420, *hom* 62 (possibly *d.*), *heom* ON 930: reflexive are *hi* 155, *heom* 407; definitive, *sulue* 69. Possessives are *s. n.* *mi*, before vowel or pronom. *h*, *min*, *d.* *mine m.* 46, *mire f.* 384, *mine* 59, 245, *neut.* 83, 218, *a. m.* 36, 242, *f.* 196; *pl.* *mine*; *s. n.* *þi*, before vowel or *h*, *þin*, *d.* *þine m.* 58, *þin* 117, *þire f.* 307, 383, *þine* 40 (6), *neut.* 88, *a. m.* 119 &c., *þin* 249, *þine f.* 194, *þin neut.* 121 (before vowel), *þi* ON 104; *pl.* *þine*, but *þin pl. n.* 75, 113 before vowel; *his* 188, *is* 281, *his neut.* 267; *hire* 26; *ure* 298; *ower* 379; *hore* 216, *heore* 418; *unker* 423, 425, 426. The definite article is *s. n.* *þe m.* 132, *þo f.* 26, 155, *þe* 13, 29 &c., *þat neut.* 10 &c., *þe* 352, *g.* *þas m.* 254, *þare f.* 28, *d.* *þan m.* ON 125, *þen* 386, *þe* 322, 371, *þare f.* 31, 397, *þe* ON 96, *þan neut.* ON 133, *þe* 56, *a.* *þane m.* 414, *þe f.* 13, *þat neut.* 8, 10; *pl. n.* *þe* 315. The article is also used demonstratively as *adj.* *þat* 5, 8 &c., *þare* 96, as pronoun, *þat* 82, *þan* 156, 405. The compound demonstrative is *s. n.* *þes m.* 195, *þos f.* 41 (3), *þeos* ON 1667, 1707, *d.* *þis neut.* 437 (the metre requires *þisse*), *a.* *þos f.* 133, *þis neut.* 156 (4); *pl. n.* *þos* 348, *þeos* 413, *d.* *þisse* 432, *a.* *þos* 95, *þeos* ON 1653. The relatives are *þe* ON 1346, *þat* 10, 144; meaning to which 187, that which 78, 115, 174. Interrogatives are *wa* 425, *wo* 152, *wat* 141, 271, 353, *what* 60, (to) *wan* 334, *wuch* ON 1378 and the correlative *suich n. s. m.* 283, *swuch s. a. f.* 374, *suiche pl. n.* 134, *swucche pl. d.* 354. *gelīe* is *ilich s. n. m.* 232, 234; *gelīca*, *ilike pl. n.* 113. Indefinites are *me* 32 &c., *man* 341; *sum s. a. f.* 6, *summe pl. n.* ON 1648; *eīþer* 9, 141, *aīþer* 7; *oþer s. d. f.* 54, *s. a. 7*, *s. a. f.* 326, *oþeres s. g.* 9, *oþer pl. n.* 160, *pl. a.* 225; *ech s. n. m.* 231, *neut.* 312, *eche s. d. m.* 151; *eurich s. n. m.* 150, *f.* 257, *neut.* 185, *g. m.* 304; *enī s. a. f.* 326, *neut.* 338; *moni s. n. m.* 355, *manī s. a. m.* 399, *manīe* 398, *monīe pl. d.* 72, *a.* 193; *uale s. d. m.* 410, *uele pl. g.* 20, *fale pl. d.* 365, *feole* 415; *al s.* throughout, except *all s. d. f.* 129, *alle s. a. f.* 247; *alle pl.*, except *alre g.* 10.

The infinitive ends in *-e*, *singe* 39 (5), *wirche* 340 and 40 other instances; exceptions in *-en* are *losen* 267, *singen* 327 before vowel or *h*, *abiten* 77, *smiten* 78 at end of line, *hoten* 192, *speten* 39, *wrchen* 286; the second weak conjugation has *-i*, *likī* 258, *sewī* 107; contract verbs are *flo* 284, 319, *flon* 106 before vowel. The *dat. inf.* is not inflected, to *biholde* 71, for *teche* 408, [for] *þiue* 410, to *seche* 402 (virtual nominative): no examples in *-en*. Presents are *s. i.* *abbe* 130, *adiþte* 242, *kep (ich)* 110; of second

wk. conj. warni 246, wndri 184; of contract verbs, iso 243, so 34; 2. axest 325, singest 247 (3), passive, hattest 191, axestu 329, wenestu 219, ME. clackes 81; with -ist, singist 175, wenist 231; seist 50 (4) represents *segst*; syncopated forms are telst 226, tuengst 112, wenst 47, the metre requires woldest 84, hauest 109; a contract verb is flizst 89, 183, flizst(e) 283; 3. blisseþ 313, croweþ 251 and 17 others, singet 152, schuniet 185; syncopated forms are numerous, abid 421, berþ 281, bit 319, 323, demþ 420, diht 399, falt 37, fiȝt 132, halt 32, helpþ 127, lat 224, liþ 308, lust 168, 169, singþ 339, telþ 256, þincþ 430, worþ 283, writ 399, þincþe 46 (= þincþ þe); seiþ 132 represents *segð*; contract verbs are atfliþ 37, flizt 132, 224, isiþ 285, isoþ 302; *pl.* 3. bigredeþ 215, habbeþ 309, 406, bigredet 67, biledet 68, haued 123, floþ 214: *subjunctive s.* 1. holde 59, schilde 57; second wk. conj., loki 56; 2. clawe 110, wepe 182; 3. bitide 52, uorȝete 343; *pl.* 1. lete 133, ute 422, fo 135; 3. bigrede 220; *imperative s.* 2. hud 120, stond 431, loke 122, schamie 117, seie 173, flo 33; *pl.* 2. fareþ 379, lateþ 372 (3), lusteþ 372. Past of Strong Verbs: I a. s. 3. aȝaf 95, ȝaf 55, 105, iseȝ 29, ouerseȝ 30, quap 143, 145, sat 15, 101, spac 274, 288; *pl.* 3. seten ON 1102; *subj. s.* 3. iseȝe 303: I b. s. 3. com 361; *pl.* 3. bicom 434: I c. s. 3. bigon 13, song 20 (4), sȳal 7, warp 45; *subj. s.* 3. wrþe 278: II. s. 3. abod 41: III. s. 3. atschet 44: IV. s. 3. stod 25: V. s. 3. athold 270, bihold 30, hold 100, let 8; *pl.* 3. holde 12; *subj. s.* 1. holde 51. Participles past: I a. awreke 198, bispeke 381, underȝete 124: I b. ibore 334: I c. ibolwe 101, ibred 367 (*breden*), isuolȝe 102, iþrunge 38, tosvolle 101: II. itoȝen 368: II, III. vnwroȝen 118: III. ishote 23: IV. ifare 278: V. bigrowe 27, bihote 388, iholde 366, ofdrad 387. Past of Weak Verbs: s. 1. iherde 3; 2. raddest 115 (weak form), þoȝtest 113, speddestu 125; 3. broȝte 156, hadde 102, sede 33, seide 9; *pl.* 3. spedde 435, ferd 432: *subj. s.* 3. roȝte 305. Participles past: acoled 161, aferd 288, ihert 406, iladde 276 (*lædded*), ilorned 172, imeind 18, 306, ised 273, oferd 277, oftomed 190. Minor Groups: an I *pr. s.* 382; can I *pr. s.* 126, 436, con 199, kon 326, con *pr. s.* 415, cunne I *pr. s.* *subj.* 47, kunne *pr. s.* *subj.* 144, kuþe *pt. s.* 332, cuþe 360; þaref *pr. s.* 146; wot I *pr. s.* 61, wostu 2 *pr. s.* 334, wot *pr. s.* 151, ? wte 2 *pr. s.* *subj.* 318, wiste *pt. s.* 103, wuste *pt. pl.* 10, nuȝte ȝe 2 *pt. pl.* 394; schaltu 2 *pr. s.* 165, schal *pr. s.* 143, shal 258, shulle I *pr. s.* *subj.* 320, 323, sholdest 2 *pt. s.* 54, scholde *pt. s.* 371, schulde 390; mai I *pr. s.* 184, miȝt 2 *pr. s.* 64 (3), mist 78, mai *pr. s.* 141, muȝe I *pr. pl.* 138, *pr. pl. subj.* 62, miȝtest 2 *pt. s.* 192, miȝte *pt. s.* 42, mihte we I *pt. pl.* 392, miȝte *pt. s.* *subj.* 411; mote I *pr. s.* *subj.* 52; bon *inf.* 198, bo 146, beo 378, ? be 296, am I *pr. s.* 212, icham 126, nam 387, art 2 *pr. s.* 38, nart 285, is *pr. s.* 34, his 404, nis 162, boþ *pr. pl.* 75 (5), beoþ 418, bo 2 *pr. s.* *subj.* 127,

pr. s. subj. 107 (4), *bo* 1 *pr. pl. subj.* 137, 2 *s. imp.* 197, *beoþ* 2 *pl. imp.* 378; *was* 1 *pt. s.* 1, *were* *pt. pl.* 16, *pt. s. subj.* 21, *nere* 22, *weren* *pt. pl. subj.* 76, *were* 305; *wille* 1 *pr. s.* 198, *wilt* 2 *pr. s.* 121, *nel tu* 106, *wile* *pr. s.* 170, *wle* 284, *wulle* 3e 2 *pr. pl.* 373, *nulleþ* *pr. pl.* 407, *wille* 2 *pr. s. subj.* 77, *pr. s. subj.* 144, *wile* 141, *wille* *pr. pl. subj.* 222, *wolde* 1 *pt. s.* 128, *molde* 115, *woldest* 2 *pt. s.* 84, *wolde* *pt. s.* 70, *walde* 370; *don inf.* 115, *do* 374, 1 *pr. s.* 245, *dest* 2 *pr. s.* 49, 237, *dost* 307, *dostu* 174, 289, *deþ* *pr. s.* 359, *doþ* 112, 2 *pr. pl.* 377, *pr. pl.* 113, *misdoð* 413, *do we* 1 *pr. pl. subj.* 424, *do* 2 *s. imp.* 431; *gon inf.* 170, *goþ* *pr. pl.* 221.

The adverb *aiware* 172, widely, OE. *æghwær* has added *e*; B-T. quotes *æghwære* from Lyc. Adverbs and prepositions in *-an* have *-e*, *abute* 16, *bute* 403, *buue* 164, *honne* 66 (*heonane*), *soþþe* 240, *vorre* 243, *ine* (*innan*) 266 (3), *upe* (*uppan*) 351, *tuore* 426, *witute* 139, *but bituxen* 390: *mid* 18 (4) and *mide* 411, *oft* 36 and *ofte* 81 occur.

(2) Of J. The few divergences are briefly indicated. Nouns: *eyen pl. n.* 75, *song s. n.* 259; adjectives: *vuele s. a. neut. wk.* 8, *iliche s. n. f. str.* 235, *o a. s. f.* 403, *non s. d. m.* 168, *icundere s. n. neut.* 85 (unmetrical), *beter s. n. m. str.* 330, 331. The pronoun of the first person is often *ic* 245, 385; *vr pl. g.* 141; *heo s. n. m.* 23, 280, 375, 394, *he s. n. f.* 19, *hi pl. n.* 76, *my s. a. m.* 36, *þi s. a. m.* 264, *þin s. d. m.* 125, *þine s. d. f.* 383, *eure s. d. m.* 379; *þe s. n. f.* 26, *þon s. d. neut.* 350; *þisse s. d. neut.* 437, *þeos s. a. f.* 133; *opres s. g.* 9, 11. *Tellest* 226, *biholdeð* 30, *helpeð* 127 are not syncopated; *wenest* 231, *hateþ*, *luuyep* 186, *abit* 421; *wite* 2 *pr. s. subj.* 318, *unwryen pp.* 118 (*wrigen*), *ynne* 1 *pr. s.* 382, *beo inf.* 198; *beon pr. pl. subj.* 137. Noteworthy are *muchele adv.* 413, *ne conjunction* 74, *than*.

Vocabulary: French are *acorde* 137, *afoled* 162, *castel* 131, *certes* 412, *clerkes clerekes* 340, 347, *fals* 166, *gente* 160, *granti graunti* 157 (the latter Anglo-French), *grucching* 301, *ipeint* 76, *kanunes* 347, *maister maistre* 147, 421, *pes pays* 373 (the former phonetic, the latter traditional spelling), *plait plaid* 5, 380, *plaidi* 140, *plaiding* 12, *rente* 410, *schirme* 222, possibly *crei* 251. Scandinavian are *ilete lete* 281, 358, 35, *ille* 299, *lah* (fulnesse) 384, *nai* 202, *skenting* 324, *skile* 142, *þo* 220, *wronge* 152, possibly *wailawai* 176 and *wise* 54, if it means song. Noteworthy is the large number of expressive words bearing a popular stamp, such as *clackes*, *clechest*, *crempe*, *galegale*, *misrempe*, *snepe*, *spale*, *totose*, *zollest*, *zoze-linge*.

Dialect: The poem was presumably written in Dorsetshire and so in the dialect of the Middle South; the evidence of the rhymes confirms this. But in its present form there are considerable traces of Anglian influence, and these, as appearing equally in both manuscripts, may be set down

to the transcriber of their common exemplar or to one of his predecessors.

Metre: The short rhymed couplet, in its original French form, has regularly eight syllables, with masculine ending or nine with feminine ending. But the Anglo-French poets, like Chardry, whose *Petit Plet*, 'estриф mut delitus' is in both our manuscripts, allow themselves more freedom, and the form of the verse in ON is varied by all the licences of native English prosody. The types are i. masculine ending, eight syllables, four stresses, iambic rhythm, as, þat plaít | was stíf | and stárc | and stróng 5; so 7, 8, 29, 30, 43, 44, 174, 176, 183-185, 248, 250, 252, 256, 260, 338, 353, 394: i a. the same, but with trochaic beginning, as, Mé is | þe wúrs | þat ích | þe só 34, 149, 319: i b. seven syllables with light syllable wanting in first foot, as, þíd|er fúnd|eþ eúr|ich mán 337: ii. feminine ending, nine syllables, four stresses, iambic rhythm, as, þat ál|re wórst|e þát | hi wúste 10, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20, 27, 35, 36, 40, 45, 46, 55, 56, 67, 69, 72, 82, 93, 95, 96, 99, 105 and 104 other lines: ii a. the same with trochaic beginning, as, wénst þu | þat ích | ne cún|ne sínge 47, 38, 52, 78, 80, 98, 121, 122, 215, 222, 225, 244, 295, 302, 304, 318, 325, 334, 342, 349, 352, 406, 417, 424: ii b. eight syllables with light syllable wanting in first foot, as, ánd | me schíld|e wít | þe bléte 57, 70, 71, 87, 91, 110, 117, 131, 147, 148, 217, 378. The unstressed element in a foot is doubled in i. þi bód|i is shórt | þi swór|e is smál 73, þu chát|erest so dóp | on ír|ish préost 238, Hit lúu|eþ þúst|er and hát|iet lízt 186, þat þín|e píþ|inge nís | íl|ch 232: i a. Grétter|e is þín héu|ed þán | þu ál 74, Cértes | cwap þe húl|e þát | is sóð 412: i b. þát | ho sóng | hirē a bís|emár 104: ii. Eurich þíng | mai lós|en hís | godhéde 267, Me lúst|e bet spét|en þán|e sínge 39, 62, 317, and þúz|te wel uúl | of þár|e húle 31, 425, þoʒ crów|e bigréd|e him bí | þe mérshe 220, þe nízt | íngál|e bigón | þe spéche 13, 116, 154, 187, 253, 262, 266, 354, þe wér|e icúnd|ur to ón|e frógge 85, alsó | ho hád|ðe one frógg|e isuól|e 102, Þo quáp | þe húl|e wo schál | us séme 143: ii a. wénes | tu þat háu|eck bó|þe wórse 219, álle | þat íhér|eþ þín|e íbére 178, Schíld þín|e svík|eldom vrám | þe lízte 119, 234, 359; ii b. Hó | ne mízt|e no léng | biléue 42, 264, 347, þár | þo v|le sóng | hire tíde 26. The light syllable is missing in i. and mák|est þine sóng | só | unwúrþ 255, He wún|eþ át | pórt | es hóm 395, Ich síngle bét | þan þú | dést 237, vor suích | worþ bóld | þif þú | flízt 283, 284: ii. On mé | hít | is wél | iséne 211, Ich wót | þat þú | árt | unmíld 61, 303, 390, wel flízt | þat wel flízt | seíp | þe wíse 132, werē aférd | ho spác | bóld|e tále 288, Bet þúz|te þe dreím | þat hé | wére 21: ii a. Nís he | vor þé | nózt | afóled 162, Bít me | þat ích | shúll|e sínge

323. Inversion of the accent is fairly frequent, as i. Þat ích shúlle 'to hire 86 320, An dít and wrít máni wísdom 399, He náueþ búte óne wóning 403: ii. Ne héipp nójt þat þu bó to þríst 127, 392, 408, 425, Þo stóð on öld 'stóð þar | bisíde 25, 32, 199, 372, 381, 422, vor hín línue óne skentíng 324, 396. Synizesis takes place in moníe 72, 199, 392 (pronounce monye), schamíe 117, schuníet 185, hatíet 186, muríe 261, unmuríe 262, líle 317. The e of a middle syllable after the stress in a trisyllabic word suffers syncope; certain instances are, sumere 1, 327, dígele 2, opere 9, 11, vuēle 63, fuēle 64, hauēkes 207, chatērest 238, winēre, zomēre 293, sumēre 294, betēre 330, 331, 401, steuēne 345, 363, hōuēne 346, 350, also wareuore 333, morezeninge 361, probable are rarewe 68, ezene 75, swikedom 123, as avoiding a three syllable foot. With regard to -est, -eþ of the *sing. present*, the only certain examples of syncope are woldest 84, cumēþ 298, in all other possible cases there is the alternative of a three syllable foot. But taking into account the preponderance of forms syncopated by spelling, and the dissyllabic norm of the foot in the French verse which served as model, it seems more likely that the poet scanned pretest 83, hauēst 109, speddeþstu 125, schirchest. 301, 179, mizteþ 192, wenēst 195, bicumēþ 207, wenīst 231, singest 247, 310, 175, crowēþ 251, singēþ 292, forberneþ 297, cumēþ 298, hauēþ 356, nulleþ 407: similarly werēn 76, over 64, euē 421 are probable. What has been said about syncope applies also to the relative spheres of elision and hiatus. The letter which suffers elision is weak, mostly inflectional, final e before an initial vowel or pronominal h, presumably also before an inorganic h as in hule; there is no elision in the case of such words as me 38, 164, we 133, he 303, ope 124. It certainly takes place in Bet þúte þát | he wēre ishóte 23, and in the same position in 50, 63, 75, 77, 81, 123, 125, 137, 160, 161, 168, 177, 178, 181, 236, 257, 277, 281, 308, 315, 336, 346, 364, 397, 428, alsó | ho hád'de one frógg'e isuólge 102, þát | ho sōng | hire a bí | semár 104, Þo húl | e one wíl'e hí bipózte 155. Hiatus, which is the maintenance of e under the same conditions, is certain in ll. 28, 31, 92, 140, 163, 168, 173, 227, 268, þat þe húl'e hád'de hír'e iséd 273, 289, 305, 344, 386, 409, 418, 425. In all other cases the choice lies between a three syllable foot with hiatus and a two syllable foot with elision; the latter is probably to be preferred.

The few lines which are metrically faulty are easily amended, Ilóm'e þu dést | me múch'le gráme 49, þu cúplest þát | þu árt | unwízt 90, þu fédest on hóm | a fúl'ne fóde 94, 107 MS. J is correct, þan þú | mīd álle þín'e stréngpe 129, 164 MS. J is correct, þat hé | for þé | fálse | dom déme 166, Ne maí | no mán | þareuór'e me schénde 210, vor þí | ich

lóþ | am smál|e fózle 213, 235 MS. J is correct, Ích | do gód|e mid mín|e þróte 245, and éu|re seíst | þin ón|e sóng 249, Ac nó|þeles spác | he bold|elíche 279, þu fár|est ál|so dóþ|þe ílle 299, To uór|e þe kíng|e þáh | heo schólde 371, An dó | þan kíng|e swúch|e scháme 374, þeos rích|e mén | múchel | misdóð 413, 437 MS. J is correct. Peculiar in rhythm are, and mák|est þine sóng | só | unwúrþ 255, þat he mýt|e héom illóme | be míde 411. The rhymes are generally correct, but kunne : honne 65, cunde : schende 209, fózle : þuuele 213, 3omere : sumere 293, stude : mide 410 are inexact. The poet was all the same a very skilful metrist.

Introduction: There has been a wide difference of opinion as to the time when ON was written, but the weight of recent authority is in favour of a date somewhere about A.D. 1220. The references in the poem to passing events are mostly vague or obscure; only the passage 'þe king Henri | Jesus his soule do merci', ON 1091, 2, which can refer to no other than Henry the Second, fixes a superior limit of A.D. 1189. It would equally appear to exclude the reign of Henry the Third, for, as ten Brink concedes, such an indefinite expression would hardly be used when another Henry was on the throne. It is further arguable that its use points to a time when the death of the king was recent. Again such a reference as that to the minstrel go-between saved by the intervention of King Henry the Second from the vengeance of a wronged husband would be to a recent event. Furthermore, it would give point to the expression, '3et nis he (i. e. the king) nouþer ded ne lame', 171/375, if it were referred to the good peace kept by the Justiciar Hubert Walter, during Richard the First's absence from England in A.D. 1194-8. These external considerations, slight though they be, are in favour of the end of that reign as the date of the composition of the poem. The stage of development reached by the language may be held to support this view. Our manuscripts are copies of a copy, probably not far removed from the original poem. That copy is primitive in the fullness of the inflections, the extensive preservation of grammatical gender and the form of the new diphthongs.

Of the author nothing is known. A certain Johan of Guldeuorde is recorded in a copied note in MS. J as declining to sing more, but any connexion of his with ON cannot be determined. If the author were the Nicholas de Guldeuorde mentioned in the poem, it would lend a characteristic spice of humour to the excellent testimonial which he gives himself (157/147-170, 173/389-401). His name indicates that he was a native either of Guildford in Surrey or of Guldeford near Rye in Sussex.

What sort of court he presided over cannot be determined; he may have been bailiff of the hundred court, or steward of a manor, or commissary for the neighbouring Abbotsbury. The attempt made by Gadow to identify him with a certain Nicholaus Capellanus, who appears in the diocese of Salisbury in A. D. 1209, 1220, is not convincing.

The poem is in the favourite *débat* form of the contemporary French literature. The Owl is the Cleric, living a secluded life under a strict rule, the Nightingale is the Minstrel, amateur of the open air and vagabond freedom, the Wren is a poet, like Philippe de Thäin, who has gained a secure place at Court. Though he tries to hold the balance even, the author's secret sympathies are with the Nightingale; he had been himself sometime a wandering scholar.

Read 150/16 þat, 152/57 wit, 154/104 bysemar, 160/183 nyht, 160/186 vych, 160/191 quaþ, 166/289, 167/289 þule, 167/310 eue, 168/336 Murehþe ilyche, 168/339 holy.

The references are to C, unless J is prefixed.

1. **sumere**, summer, *adj. s. d.* agreeing with dale; a summer valley. Gadow compares OE. **sumer-lida** and similar compounds. But Stratmann explains it as *s. d. f.* of sum, certain.

2. **diȝele**: comp. 'on ænne swiðe faire stude. | in ane dale deope.' **diȝelen bihælues**, L 26933. 'North of Portisham is a valley now called Mystecomb, formed by Hampton and Ridge Hills, and on the east side of the former are some pits, where the hundred courts were formerly held and hundred silver paid,' Hutchins, Dorsetshire, i. 556. Was this the scene of the 'plait'?

5. **starc**: comp. 'þat fiht was swiþe strong.' swiþe starc and swiþe lang, L. 4170, MS. O.

6. **among**, at intervals, at times: comp. 152/81; 'þar was weping strong.' þar was greðinge among, L 23563, MS. O, and see KH 1527 note. Similarly 'bitweonen', 132/28; 'And also cussed his feet amyð', CM 14015, MS. T.

7. **sval**, was puffed out with anger, like L. tumeo. Rare in this absolute use; for a common expression comp. 'þin heorte in wið þe swelleð of sar grome,' HM 31/27: see also 155/101.

11. **hure and hure**: see 15/91 note.

J 13. **þo speke**, then to speak: the scribe had before him þo speche, the speech, þo representing OE. **þā**, *s. acc. f.* of **se**, usually þe in these texts. Mistaking þo for the adverb, meaning then, he altered speche into speke, spoiling the rhyme. (Breier, 125.)

14. **breche** probably represents OE. **bræc**, **brec**, which occurs in the

boundaries of charters and appears to mean land left untilled among cultivated fields, such as would be covered with underwood; it would go well with **hurne** in its dialectal meaning of 'a nook of land projecting into another parish, district or field.' The phrase would then mean, in a corner of a spinney, just the position where the nightingale would feel safe; see 153/59, 60. Mätzner takes the word to mean fallowland; there is a dialectic **breck**, mostly northern and not recorded for the south and a literary word **break**, given in NED under date 1674, with that meaning. **beche** in J is generally identified with Layamon's **bach**, **bæch**, valley, but Kenyon holds that it represents OE. **bēce**, beech, if so, **hurne** must have its secondary sense of hiding place.

J 16. **pat**: a scribe's mistake for **par**.

17. **ore**: OE. **ānre**, *s. d. f.*: **hegge** is descended from a strong fem. ***hecg**, but it is treated as masc. at l. 59, perhaps by confusion with OE. **hege**. **waste**: written for **vaste**, that is, **faste** (comp. ON, J 796), which Breier takes for an adverb qualifying **þicke**, very thick. But there is no evidence in ME. for the adverb, except with verbs and participles. It is an adjective, secure, safe, as in 'wel he makede his castles.' **treowe** J **swiðe** **uæste**, L 11897; comp. 153/53, 56-60, 157/130, 131, or possibly, **dense**.

18. Tall grasses and green flag plants grew up through the hedge.

19. **rise**, boughs; comp. 'blisse was among þe rise,' ON 1664.

20. **auelø**: see 132/9 note.

21. **he**: see 135/127 note.

22. **þan**, than that.

26. **hire tide**, her hours; see 163/230 note, and comp. 'Gif preost on gesetne timan tida ne ringe oððe tida ne singe, gebete þæt,' Liebermann, *Gesetze*, i. 382/36.

27. J: comp. 81/82 note. **bigrowe**, overgrown: comp. 'mid iui grene al bi-growe,' ON 617.

30. **ouerseȝ**, looked down at from her higher position: comp. 34/75.

31. **puȝte**: impersonal; supply **hire** from the subject of the preceding sentence: **wl** is predicative adjective.

35. **lete**, behaviour, i.e. hooting: comp. 165/281, 171/358.

37. **atflip**, takes flight, deserts me: comp. 'expavit cor meum et emotum est de loco suo,' Job xxxvii. 1. Mostly with *acc.*, but comp. 'leste þe heorte etfleo J wende ut,' AR 50/19. **falt**, folds, collapses: comp. 'and þi tunge foldet,' PRL 250/3, 249/2; OEM 101/4 and see 2/19 note.

38. when you thrust yourself on me. Comp. 'Bruttes him þrunge to þærfliche swiðe,' L 27796.

39. **Me luste bet**, it would please me better.

40. **of**, by reason of, as the result of.

41. **fort**: comp. 163/248 and see 72/179 note. **for** in J is due to the scribe who avoids the unusual word; comp. 162/248, 166/310.

42. **bileue**, hold in, keep still; a somewhat forced sense.

44. **atschet**, shot out, drove out of her body; its subject and that of **warp** in the next line is **heo**, contained in the preceding **hire**: comp. 98/71. The editors, however, treat **fnast** as the subject, but in the only other place where the verb occurs, 'Ah þah mi lif me beo at-schote,' ON 1623 it is transitive.

45. **warp**, sent forth; see 13/45.

48. **writelinge**, 'trilling, singing in shakes and flourishes,' Specimens; a meaning apparently deduced from the context here and ON 914, the only places where the word occurs. It may be a miswriting of **wrixelinge** or **wriselinge**; OE. **wrixlian**, to modulate, vary the voice, as in 'Ic þurh muþ sprece monzum reordum. | wrencum singe, wrixle ȝeneahhe | heafodwope, hlude cirme,' Riddle ix (by some interpreted of the nightingale), Grein, iii. 189/1, to which Toller parallels 'Vox mea diversis variatur pulcra figuris,' Aldhelm, 252/27; 'wrixleð woðcræfte . . . | beorhtan reorde,' Phoenix 127.

49, 50. **grame . . . tone . . . schame**: comp. 40/165 note.

51. **on**, within the compass of, under.

52. May it so happen that I have the opportunity, a parenthesis; J in the next line is equivalent to and if.

54. **wise** may mean, song.

56. **loki**—bare, guard myself against the open, i. e. keep in my thicket, as at l. 59, 155/106. Other adjectives used as nouns are **blete**, l. 57, unsheltered place; **woȝe** ll. 120, 154, crooked conduct; **harde**, ON 459, 527, bitter weather, 703, difficulty; **toȝte** 703, puzzling situation. **loki wit** appears to be without parallel, but **wiþ** is common in conjunction with similar verbs, see 48/299 note; from is usual, 149/77 as with **schilde**, 153/62, 157/119.

63. **tukest**: the usual construction of this verb in OE. and ME. is seen in, 'þa halgan . . . to ealre yrmðe tuode,' Ælf. Lives, i. 494/106 (afflicted the Saints with every kind of misery); 'ha tukeð ure godes to balewe J to bismere,' SK 551. Whether **to** is to be inserted, or **wrope** (which is a noun, ON 944) and **vuele** are to be regarded as adverbs, in any case the verb must have a direct object; **over** is probably a misreading of the common original MS. for **oper**; comp. ON 1524 where J has correctly **oper** and C **over**. The mistake would lead to the omission of **to** before **wrope**.

The sense then is, thou dost harass with evil and harm other small birds wherever thou canst. *fugole* as *pl. acc.* in rhyme can be supported by *bridde* : *amidde*, ON 123 ; *wrenche* : *atprenche*, id. 813.

67. *bischricheþ*, screech at ; apparently only here. Comp. 160/215.

68. *narewe*, strictly, harshly ; comp. 74/203 note. *biledet*, treat, like *L. afficere* ; comp. 'He iseyh hw ihesu crist. wes vuele biled,' OEM 45/278 ; 'And luþre heom biledēþ | Mid pykes and myd eaule,' id. 83/329. The word appears to descend as to form from OE. *belædan*, to lead (astray), and as to meaning from OE. *beleggan*, to treat (ill), afflict, through the intermediary of their common *þp.* *belēd*. The expression is somewhat like 'mettre à l'estroict, to put vnto the pinch,' Cotgrave.

70. *Hire þonkes*, gladly ; see 10/167 note.

72. *in monie volde*, lit., in many folds, that is, in many respects. The phrase seems to be a mistaken resolution of some such adverbial expression as **on manigfealdum* ; in ME. *on manyfolde*, *bi manifold* are found, as well as many a *folde*. A natural extension is seen in, 'ne uint he red in one (none J) uolde,' ON 696.

76. *Riȝt swo*, just as if ; comp. 155/98, 163/222.

78. *cliure*, claw : six times in ON, only once again in ME., see ES xxxi. 7, 17. '*clifra, unglarum*,' OE. Glosses, ed. Napier, 135/5341, 148/458.

80. *owel* : see 58/67 note.

J 81. *euer among* : see 148/6 note.

83. *to* : the construction appears to be quite isolated, for *præatian*, *preatien* take the *acc.* of the person or thing threatened. The simple *dat.* is seen in, 'swiþe hii gonne þretie,' Arthur þan kinge,' L 20341, MS. O. Comp. 'escade to,' 77/44 note.

85. Lit. It would be more natural to thee in respect of a frog, i.e. A frog would suit you better. *to one frogge* is the virtual subject of *were*. The same construction is implied in 'Ov nas neuer icunde þarto,' ON 114. Different is 'Ne lust him nu to none unrede,' 159/168, for *lusten* has a prepositional construction (see 52/383 note), while *icunde* has not. For the usual construction of *icunde*, see 3/32 note.

86. *cogge* : probably for *cog-stone*, a stone propped up at the edge.

88. *cunde . . . riȝte* : datives singular.

90. *on* should be omitted, it is unmetrical and, no doubt, due to *un-* in the following word. *unwiȝt*, hideous.

92. *Bi*, with reference to ; see 4/30, 13/18, and comp. the similar use of 'on' in l. 94.

94. In them (i.e. in their case) thou rearest a very foul brood. For *on hom* comp. 161/211 note.

100. **noþerward**, downward: comp. 56/51.

101. **to svolle** &c.: comp. 149/7; 'heorte to-bollen ȝ to-swollen,' AR 282/8.

104. **a bisemar**, a mockery, but 'a bisemere,' ON 1311 means in mockery.

106. **bare**: see 152/56.

107. **pare**: so the MS.; Wells thinks it a scribe's mistake for ware representing **hwæper**, but C has elsewhere only **hwaþer**, **wather**, **hweþer**, **weþer**, and the interrogative pronoun is apparently not contracted. Probably the scribe has left out the first syllable and has been influenced in writing the second by bare in the preceding line.

109. The nightingale answers.

110. **Nē kepich noȝt** &c., Nor do I care for your clawing me, i. e. I would rather that you did not claw me.

112. **tonge**, pair of tongs.

113. **so**—ilike, as those like you do, after the manner of your kind.

118. **svikelhede**, attempt at deception: apparently only here and at ON 838.

120. And conceal your wickedness beneath an appearance of righteousness. For the combination comp. 'myd wowe ne myd ryhte,' OEM 49/412; 'þat is woh ȝ na wiht riht,' L 4333, 5043, 6373; 'Man mai þer of et inoȝ | Al wiþ riȝt and noȝt wiþ woȝ,' Heuser, Kildare-Gedichte, 146/62.

ȝ 121. The second **þu** is a scribe's mistake for **þin**.

125. **unwrenche**, evil tricks; comp. 'For þine fule sunnen | ȝ for þin uniwrenche,' OEM 174/93, and for the rhyme 29/2.

127. **to þriste**: see 30/17.

128. **liste . . . strengþe** are often contrasted, 'Betere is liste þen luðer strenče', AR 268/27; 'hit wes ȝare iqueðen | þat betere is liste.' þene ufel strenče. | for mid liste me mai ihalden.' þat strengče ne mai iwalden,' L 17209.

130. **on brede . . . lengþe** goes with **god**, good in all dimensions, in every respect: comp. 'A fairer child neuer i ne siȝ, | Neip̃er a lingþe ne on brade,' Sir Beues 536, with Kölbing's note.

132. 'Wel fyht þat wel flyþ,' Hendyng, Bōddeker, Æ. Dicht. 291/77; 'Mieuz vaut bone fuie que mauuaise atente,' Li Proverbe au Vilain, no. 64; 'þu most turne þe rug ȝif þu wult ouercumen ȝ wið fluht fehten,' HM 17/28.

133. **lete awei**, give up, drop; comp. 50/348 note.

135. **fo we on**, let us proceed; comp. 143/67.

136. **wsome**: miswritten for **ysome**, concordant, peaceable, which is *adj.* as at 171/378: Kenyon points out that the word-order is idiomatic. In J, **some**, concord, is a noun; comp. 70/158 note.

137. **at one acorde**: the phrases at accord, in accord and with one accord are all found, but this combination is at any rate rare: a similar tautology is seen in 'Two dogges and one bone | Maye never accorde in one,' Rel. Ant. i. 233.

140. **fo3e**, fitness, decency: OE. **fōg**, a joint. Kock (Anglia, xxv. 323) translates, 'reason, reasonableness, justice and moderation.' Wells compares G. mit Fug und Recht. The word does not occur elsewhere in ME.; sope in J is a substitute for a word not known to the scribe.

143. **us seme**, reconcile us, settle our dispute. OE. **sēman**.

148, 149. Comp. 18/16, 30. In J 149, **worde** is faultily repeated from l. 148.

151. **wot insi3t in**, has skill in: the usual verb is seen in 'insiht he cu3e.' a winde and a mone,' L 30497.

153, 154. Comp. 157/120 and 161/186.

J 155. **bihouhte** appears to be a scribal error for **bipouhte**, which occurs in the same text in a similar line, 'Ful wel myd rede hire bipouhte,' l. 704. It can hardly represent OE. ***behogode** or ***behogde**, pasts of **behogian**, **behycgan**.

158. **wile**, at one time.

161. **supe acoled**, made cold or grown cold. In J, **nu 3e** may mean now for thee; Skeat takes it for **nu3e**, now: but the scribe had probably **supe** in his original.

164. Should condemn me and give you the upper hand: **legge** goes better with **adun** than with **buue**. Comp. 'That brynges me vnder 3 not above,' Ipomedon 43/1428, 106/3681; 'who so . . . may not come to his above,' id. 1/5 with Kölbing's note; 'Leve thy resoun and bileve in the wondir | For feith is aboven, and reson is undir,' Rel. Ant. i. 127.

167. **him**: see 13/34 and add '3e ston hym hys of swiche grace,' KH. MS. O. 585; 'For horn hym was so longe,' id. 977. **fastrede**, steadfast of purpose.

168. **to**: comp. 52/383.

170. **a**, on.

171. **zare**, J **ware**: the same variation occurs ON 488, 860. **zare** is the better reading.

181. **pinchest**: a scribe's mistake for **pinche3**. **snepe**, foolish; apparently only here: now a Lincolnshire dialect word.

184. **3ar of**: comp. '3es meiden wes awundret swi3e of 3es wordes,'

SJ 37/1; 'þe sunne wundrieð of faire,' OEH ii. 19/29. For of = at, see 121/132.

186. Comp. 159/154.

187. þat, to which: see 44/250, 257 note, 46/292 note.

188. to his dede, as accompaniment of his actions.

194. Let thy tongue have a holiday. **spale**: OE. **spala**, a substitute, **spelian**, to take the place of another, ME. **spelian** mostly means to use sparingly. A related word is **spell**, a neutral word with meaning like *proze* l. 196, a stretch of time; so a spell of work, a spell of rest: in Somerset dialect it means relaxation, in Australia, cessation from labour.

200. **riȝte soþe**: comp. 156/140. **spelle**, long story; comp. 175/437.

202. **nich ne nay**, not I nor nay.

203. **lust**: imperative, as at l. 199; but Skeat, 'I am pleased to tell,' which would require me **lust**.

208. **wune**: miswritten for **wunne** as the rhyme shows. The original probably had **þunne**, which the scribe of J copied as **ynne**.

209. **mē draȝe to**, incline towards, act in accordance with. The physical sense, betake oneself, is seen in 'þes duc mid his drihte' to þare sæ him droh,' L 92, and intransitively at 32/47. Comp. also 'heald þin cunde,' follow thy nature, OEH ii. 31/6.

210. **me**, as in J, seems necessary as the object of **schende**, immediately before which it should be inserted.

211 is formal; comp. 'on me hit is isene,' ON 367; 'On þe hit is wel eþ sene,' OEH ii. 255/5; Minot viii. 79 note. **on me**, in my case; for this use of **on**, comp. 155/94; similar is **bi**, 4/30. **hit** represents l. 212.

212. **vor riȝte cunde**, it is purely because of my nature that I am so keen.

215, 216. Comp. 153/67, 68. to **mē ledeþ**, lead against me, bring to attack me; comp. 'Me þinkþ þu ledest ferde to me,' ON 1672.

220. **bi**, near.

221. **gop**: go might have been expected, as **bigrede** is subjunctive.

222. **Riȝt so**: comp. 153/76.

223. **rede**: dative.

225. **me** . . . of, about me; comp. 1/3. **þet** in J is a mistake for **ȝet**.

227. **woning**: comp. 159/176, 182.

228. to **ihiere**, to be heard, to listen to; comp. 159/180.

229. **efne**, uniformly, without trillings; comp. 153/48.

230. **Mid fulle dreme**, with good round volume of sound, in contrast with the nightingale's thin shrill pipe, ll. 235, 236.

236. **weode unripe**, half-grown weed, like Milton's 'scrannel pipes of wretched straw.'

239-246. **a riȝte time**. The owl takes credit for singing, not all night like the nightingale, l. 247, but only to call the religious to their hours, **an eue**, Vespers (*æfen-sang*); **bedtime**, Compline (*niht-sang*); **ad middelnȝte**, Mattins with Lauds (*ūht-sang*); **dairim**, Prime (*prīm-sang*), 'þærrihthe upasprungenum dægriðan dægredsang sy begunnen,' Benedictine Rule, ed. Schröer, 32/22. S. Brendan in his wanderings came to the bird's paradise where 'þe foweles sunge ek here matyns: wel riȝt, þo hit was tyme, | ȝ of þe sauter seide þe uers: ȝ siþþe also prime, | ȝ vnderne siþþe ȝ middai: ȝ afterwardes non, | ȝ eche tyde songen of þe dai: as cristene men scholde don,' *Legendary*, ed. Horstman, 225/223. **note**, employment, here divine service; comp. 74/210. The nightingale claims her share in this at ll. 347-353.

248. **fort**: see 72/179 note.

251. **crei**: found here only; it has been explained as crowing, or crying, it can hardly be connected with F. *cri*, but it may possibly be, as Breier suggests, connected with OE. *crāwan*. More likely it is an imitative word invented by the writer.

252. **þat**, so that.

256. A mixed construction combining (i) that one esteems nothing of thy song, values thy song at nothing, and (ii) thy song is worth nothing; with the latter comp. 'nis noht wurð þratte.' *buten þer beo dede æt*, L 26555, with the former 124/265 note; 'Thei tolde riȝt nauȝt of thyn awe,' *Laud Troy Book*, 2178. **of þar**, thereof, of thy song.

258. **wel unwreste**, right feebly.

261. Be the song pleasing beyond all measure, ever so pleasing. **ne** does not negative the verb, but goes with and strengthens *neuer*; comp. 'Ne beo he nefre swa riche, forð he scal þenne is dei cumeð,' OEH 35/21; similarly 23/168, 43/225; 'treouche nefde he nane.' to *nauer nane monne*, L 25471.

262. **þat** is not the correlative of *so* in the preceding line, which is a conditional clause; it is an illogical repetition of 'þat' in ll. 256, 258: the sense is, though the song be ever so pleasing, it must appear unpleasing, if it continues &c. For **ne**, see 25/240.

263. **ouer unwille**, 'beyond what is desirable,' *Specimens*, but in the glossary *unwille* is translated, *displeasure*. Wells takes *unwille* as an adverb qualified by *ouer*, 'too unpleasantly.' Probably **ouer** is written for *ower* which with *unwille* would form an adverbial phrase, against your will, or pleasure, representing OE. *ūrum unwillum*, the latter

element being *pl. d.* of **unwilla**; comp. 'ure gast biþ swiþe wide farende urum unwillum,' Boethius 152/4. Similar combinations descending from OE. **unwill** are seen in 'þe man . . . here wuneð on wanrede 7 þoleð his unwille hwile druie, 7 hwile wete,' OEH ii. 123/5; 'hire unwilles,' 140/25; 'hire unwil,' 141/136, HM 31/32; 'min unwil,' SM 13/3; see 140/25 note.

264. **aspille**, waste.

268. **unmeþe**: comp. 118/47.

276. **so foruorþ iladde**, carried so far, i.e. she had said so much. **foruorþ**, lit. far onwards; but **forþ** comes to mean simply, far; comp. 'uorþ ase 3e muwen,' AR 46/10; 'ouer al ase forð as imei,' SJ 47/6. With **iladde** comp. 'Of ðis kinge wil we leden song,' GE 699; 'talewise men þe speches driuen,' OEH ii. 193/27.

278. **ifare**, 'conveyed,' Specimens, as if a strong *þþ.* from the weak verb **ferian**. But the writer has elsewhere (l. 1709) **ifare** as *þþ.* of **faran**, and the sense yielded, 'should not be presented, conveyed, aright,' does not suit the context. **Weorðan**, **wurðen** are sometimes used with past participles of intransitive verbs, 'Denum eallum wearð | æfter þam wæl-ræse willa gelumpen,' Beowulf 823; 'swa hit agangen wearð | eorla manegum,' id. 1234; 'þa þat forme 3er.' wharð forð igan,' L 4942; and similarly 'þe arcebiscop ongan to tellende . . . hu hit gefaran wes,' AS. Chron. ed. Plummer, i. 130/30: the natural meaning of **ariht faran** is, to fare well, to prosper, and the present phrase may well mean, that her answer might not turn out prospered, well.

281. **berþ grete ilete**, assumes a haughty bearing; comp. 151/35, 171/358, and for *pl.* 110/273, 129/35.

282. So that he do not, through cowardice, give up his case, give way. **hit** is a vague object; comp. 42/214 note.

284. **svicst**: see footnote: Wells adopts the correction of the MS. and reads **vicst**, **fighst**, and Breier thinks the original had **fhst**; in Specimens **niswicst** is read without reference, and explained, 'ceasest not.' The readings of the MSS. may be accounted for thus. The author probably wrote **biswicst** (comp. 155/114, ON 930), deludest by a show of fight; the copyist of the exemplar common to CJ, with **iswiken** (**geswican**), cease, in his mind, altered to **iswicst**; C copied that, but noting its unfitness emended it to **vicst**, spoiling the rhythm, while J rejected i and adopted **swykst**, **deceivest**.

286. He will make a barrow-pig of a boar, i.e. he will climb down, from a fierce animal he will become quite tame. The boar is typically fierce, 'brem as a bare,' Sir Degrevant, 1240.

298. **cumeþ to londe**, comes to dwell with us, like 'þa æstre wes a3eonge.' and **sumer com to londe**, L 24241 ('to tounē,' Ms. O). See KH 153 note.

299. **þe ille**, the evil one, the devil; in modern dialect, the ill man, the ill thief: comp. 'wurse' 98/81. Wells says 'the evil man.'

305, 306. Nor would he mind though flocks (coarse felted stuff made of refuse of wool and cotton) were muddled up with fine carded wool and hair, that is, he would take a perverse delight in a confusion which would be troublesome to sort out. **rozte**: *pt. s. subj.* appears to owe its time to **wolde**. With **flokkes** comp. 'xv capella nigra . . . falsi operis et mixti de lana et flokkes,' Munim. Gildh. Lond. iii. 433 (quoted in NED, *s. v.* flock²). **Imeind bi: mengan**, **mengen** mostly take wip, ON 131 or mid, 151/18, 38/142, ON 870; **bi** appears to be quite isolated.

310. **fort**: see 72/179.

312. for mine **þinge**, on my account: comp. 'Ða ic þas stemne gehyrde and for minum þingum ongeat beon geclypode,' Ælf. Lives ii. 32/485; 'þat ich for þine þinge.' mid sæxe me of-stinge,' L 5033.

313. **blisseþ hit** can mean only, causes it to rejoice, comp. 14/50, 52. Alteration to hine would give a common reflexive use, rejoices; comp. 'Ne mei nan mon . . . blissien him mid þisse wordle,' OEH i. 33/29: hine would go with **hizteþ** also, as in 'hyhte me myd my skentingē,' ON 532; 'ic . . . | ellen wylle | habban ȝ hlyhhan | ȝ me hyhtan to,' Cod. Exon. ed. Thorpe, 456/19. **J** means, blesses my coming.

318. **þat**—**wte** may mean, that thou mayest know, but the reading of **J** gives a better sense, though you find fault with her action, and **þat** is probably a scribe's mistake for **þah**.

320, 323. **shulle**: the ordinary construction of **biddan** where its object is expressed by a clause is **þat** with the subjunctive of the verb, as at 77/60, 141/39; 'þa bæd he eačmodlice þæt he hiene ne sende,' Cura Past., 48/6; the insertion of **shulle**, which apparently does not alter the sense, is new; comp. 'Ðeo apostles hine beden þ he scalde suggen hwet þeo sa3e bičweðe,' OEH 133/23.

327. **sume**: a mistake of the common exemplar for **sumere**, as Mätzner pointed out: comp. 'vor sumeres tide is al to wlonc,' ON 489.

328. Comp. 'eorlum bringe | blisse in burgum,' Grein, Poesie, iii. 189.

333. Comp. 161/203.

334. to **wan**, to what end, for what purpose: OE. **tō hwan** (**hwon**).

340. **ginneþ . . . wurchē**, do compose, or, sing: for the periphrasis see KH 1277 note, Anglia xxix. 129. But Sweet translates 'anginnað ðonne oftrædlice mare secggean,' Cura Past. 66/3 'often try to speak more.'

341. **bi**, through the agency of.
342. Comp. 42/210, 48/326, 327. **shal**, must go: comp. 2/2 note. **bon**: *inf.* depending on **shal**.
345. And note from the church song.
348. **wicke tunes**, monasteries and other religious houses: OE. **wietūn**, which translates L. *atria*, 'introite in atria ejus,' 'ingangað on his wic-tunas,' Ps. xcv. 8, xcix. 3: in form the ME. word is possibly influenced by **wice**, office; **wike** occurs three times in ON.
349. **to**, at; see 163/241.
351. **prostes**: that is, seculars, **upe londe**, in their parishes, as distinguished from the clerks (l. 347), who are either monks or canons.
353. Repeated from ON 484. **wat** (hwat), as far as; an adverbial *acc.* of extent: comp. 'wet we on þisse middelerd liuien,' OEH 11/2, as long as; 'also wat se we sinegen,' OEH ii. 101/29, as soon as; 'also wat swo þe þridde dageð,' id. 103/26: see 'alwat,' 15/84, 215/26.
- 354 begins a paragraph with large initial in both MSS., but it goes with the preceding line 'heo walde neopeles 3efe answerē.' The owl's language was threatening. Comp. 'þe ni3tingale at þisse worde, | mid sworde an mid speres orde, | 3if ho mon were, wolde fi3te,' ON 1067; 'men weorreð mid þreo kunne wepnen, mid scheotunge, mid speres ord 7 mid sweordes egge,' AR 60/14.
356. 7—**schelde** goes with orde.
358. **ilete**: see 165/281.
363. **þah**, not in J, is necessary to the sense.
365. **awille**, to their pleasure.
367. Added at bottom of leaf. **awolde**, in the woodland; for though by her place of birth she was weak in woodcraft, she had learnt wisdom from the men among whom she had been brought up.
369. **þenne**, thence.
371. Even if she had to speak in the king's presence. **Touore** takes a dative: see 102/144 and read kinge with J.
373. **Hwat**: an exclamation, What!
374. **þan kinge**: correction by Stratmann: perhaps his is to be read for **þis** in the preceding line: comp. l. 377.
375. **lame**, crippled, unable to act: comp. 'Debilis uel eneruatus lame,' Wright-Wülcker, Vocab. 162/1.
376. **Hunke**: strange in form, as in meaning: we should expect inc, as Wells points out: we, J 377 is more consistent.
378. **Lateþ beo**, cease from your strife.
384. **do** obviates the repetition of an: comp. 122/185. **lahfulnessse**,

loyal holding to her offer, ll. 145-147, contrasted with **unrihtfulnesse**, l. 385.

J 390. **eu** is, of course, a mistake for **us**.

391. **An 3ef** is clearly wrong, while **3et** in J, meaning moreover, gives a poor sense. The original may have been, **3if, als ich wene, þat he wolde**, if, as I think, he would be willing to act as umpire. **3if þat**, if, occurs in 'ac 3if þat he forlost his wit,' ON 693, where J rejects **þat** and spoils the metre: perhaps the avoidance of the construction has caused the corruption of the text.

394. **nuzte**: in all probability the original had **nuste**. The scribes, being acquainted with the graph **st** for **3t**, **ht** (see KH 249 note), mechanically substituted the latter here. C, starting correctly from **nuste**, wrote **nuzte**; J read the original as **miste**, which for him meant **myhte**. There is a similar trouble in the text of ON 1300, where for **nustest** C has **miztest** or **mistest** and J **nustest**, 'very like **mistest**,' Wells.

397. **utlete**: the passage to the sea, now represented by the Fleet between the Chesil Bank and the mainland. Portisham is now about three miles inland, near Abbotsbury, to the monastery in which place it formerly belonged (Dugdale, Monast. iii. 52).

400. **purh &c.**: by his delivered judgements and by his writings; that they righted matters as far as Scotland is a playful exaggeration.

407. Why will they not betake themselves to counsel, that is, take counsel: comp. 'þe traytours of Scotlond token hem to rede, | þe barouns of engelond to brynge to dede,' Bödd. AE. Dicht. 133/225; 'þe Irise oft tok hem to red, | To ston þat douhti kni3t to ded,' Horn Childe, 214; 'Cnihtes eoden to ræde,' L 19238; Minot vi. 68 note.

409. **for teche**: see 40/180.

410. **rente**, income of any sort, here probably from church preferments. **a uale stude**, in many a place; another playful touch.

413. **riche men**, men in high place.

414. **leteþ**, neglect.

415. **of . . . con**: comp. 'He coupe of wode ȝ of ryuere,' R. of Brunne, Chron. 4006, and contrast 'Brennes cuþe on hundes,' Brennes cuþe an hauekes,' L 4895.

417. See 44/260 note.

418. **litle childre**: the appointment of well-connected boys to valuable preferments was an abuse of that time. Comp. 'Si nepotibus suis paruulis [prelati] mille animas strangulandas tradiderint et dixerint adulatores quod bene faciunt, tales in curiis laudantur,' Eudes de Cheriton, p. 262. It is frequently referred to in Grosseteste's letters, as no. 17, 19, 26, 30 &c.

420. In this way their wit adjudges them in error, namely, inasmuch as Master Nicholas continues to endure such neglect. *swo* is explained by the clause which begins with *þat*. Wells translates, 'So they condemn their intelligence [as] in error (foolish),' but that is against the order of the words and syncopated *pres. plurals* are rare.

423. In J, *þat* is a mistake for *þar*.

425. *rede*, present, report.

428. *al*: *acc.* after *telle*. *ende of orde*, end from beginning, that is, from beginning to end; a strange expression, but not more so than 'ord fram þan ende,' L 15770, 22983. In OE. as now, 'from ord oð ende forð,' Elene, 590; 'ord and ende,' Ælf. Hom. ii. 220/34.

430. *misrempe*: only here and in 'misrempe ȝ misdo,' ON 1353, where J substitutes 'misnyme,' and the scribe of C adds in the margin 'steppe' as a gloss on *rempe*. The simple verb occurs twice, 'Oft mon biþ suiðe rempende,' Cura Past. 149/12, corresponding to 'praecipitata actio' of the Latin original, and 'þe Bretons sawe þer syde ȝede lowe | þey rempede þem to reste a þrowe,' R. of Brunne, 3491, where Wace has 'a une part se sont retret,' 3160. The root of the word, as of OHG. *rîmpfan*, G. *rümpfen*, F. *rampe*, a slope, OE. **hrimpan*, Gk. *κράμβος*, Eng. *rimple*, *rumple*, appears to mean, crooked, out of straight, hence 'rempende' said of headlong action, 'rempede,' drew aside, 'misrempe,' to go crooked, out of the straight path, in this place, to act on the cross, be dishonest.

431. *crempe*, restrain, check; only here and in the compound *forcrempeþ*, ON 510: related to *cramp*, and ultimately to the word with which it here rhymes.

433. Absolutely without army or following; comp. 'Ne scalt þu neuere þider faren ⁊ bute mochelere ferde,' L 3678.

434. *þ*: *þat*, until; comp. 72/179 note; 'æuere heo uerden alle niht ⁊ þat hit wes dæi-liht,' L 19200; KH 123 note. *þer* in J may mean where, but it is more probably a mistaken expansion of the original. For *bi come* see 147/134.

XXI. THE BESTIARY

Manuscript: Arundel 292, British Museum: on vellum, 200 × 130 mm.: late thirteenth century. Its miscellaneous contents, English, Anglo-French, and Latin, are described in *Altdeutsche Blätter*, ii. 141–148. The Bestiary is written continuously, but the initials of the lines and, in the long metres, of the half lines are mostly rubricated. In most cases the long lines are

divided into half lines by a space and a stop, sometimes one or both are missing. At ll. 439, 493, two words are carried below the last full line of the folio. Final g of ll. 42, 43, 316, 317, 332, 333, 338, 339, 358, 359, 463, 464, 475, 476, 477, 478, 542, 543, 662 has a stroke or hook added, which appears to be merely ornamental: similarly the g of *wrengðe* 69, among 147, *ðing* 392, *strong* 509; h and b are much alike; p is open at the top as in Genesis and Exodus. Latin headings are in red, some are on the margin, the others at the head of their sections. As will be seen from the footnotes, the manuscript was much corrected or altered over erasures, and that after it was finished, for the substituted words do not always fill the gaps left by the scraper. The first leaves of the exemplar were probably damaged at the lower margin, since defective or difficult passages occur at regular intervals, so l. 32, ll. 89-92, 120, 121, 143, 144, 173, 200, 201.

Editions: Wright, T., *Altdeutsche Blätter*, Leipzig, 1836, 1840, ii. 99-120; *Reliquiae Antiquae*, London, 1841, i. 208-27. Mätzner, E., *Altenglische Sprachproben*, Berlin, 1867, i. 55-75. Morris, R., *An Old English Miscellany*, 1872, 1-25.

Literature: (1) of the English Bestiary. Hallbeck, E., *The Language of the M. E. Bestiary*, Lund, 1905. Holthausen, F., *Archiv*, lxxxviii. 365-9 (emendations). (2) of the Bestiaries in general. A detailed bibliography will be found in *Anglia*, Beiblatt, x. 274-87, xii. 13-23, xiii. 18, 19, 236-9. The following will provide an introduction to the subject: Ahrens, K., *Zur Geschichte des sogenannten Physiologus*, Ploen, 1885; Carus, J. V., *Geschichte der Zoologie*, München, 1872; Land, J. N. P., *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. *Physiologus*; Lauchert, F., *Geschichte des Physiologus*, Strassburg, 1889; Mann, M. F., *Französische Studien*, vi. Heft 2, Heilbronn, 1888; Peters, E., *Der Griechische Physiologus und seine orientalischen Uebersetzungen*, Berlin, 1898.

Source: With the exception of the last section, the English poem is generally an adaptation of the Latin *Physiologus*, written in a variety of verse forms as the concluding line informs us, by one Tebaldus or Thetbaldus, who is variously described in the headings as *Italicus*, *Senensis*, *Placentinus episcopus*, and is identified by some with the Abbot Theobald who presided over Monte Cassino from 1022 to 1035. The poem is extant in a large number of manuscripts and early printed editions, the first of which latter with place and date is that of Antwerp, 1487. It will be found printed in *Hildeberti Turonensis Archiepiscopi Opera*, ed. D. A. Beaugendre, Paris, 1708, p. 1174, from which it is repeated in Migne, P. L., tom. 171, p. 1218, and also as Appendix i,

p. 201 in *An Old English Miscellany*, ed. Morris. The text is very unsettled, apparently scribes and editors felt themselves free to rewrite it on occasion. The passages where the English adapter notably departs from his original are pointed out in the notes. He was, no doubt, acquainted with one of the older Latin prose versions of *Physiologus* enumerated by M. F. Mann in *Anglia* vii. 443-6; there is no positive evidence that he knew the *Bestiary* of Philippe de Thaün.

Phonology: Oral **a** is *a*, dareð 310, late 453; **a** before nasals is *a*, bane 370, man 194, ðan 157, ðanne 13, wan 386, wanne 10, wankel 446; **a** before lengthening groups is *o*, among 147, folde 33, fondeð 532, stonden 497, but gangen 110 (3 times), gangeð 153, 177, gangande 530, standen 531 with Anglian shortening; in gandre 532 *a* is inorganic; funt 93 (OE. *fant*) descends from OE. **funt*, its use here possibly influenced by Anglo-Fr. *funt*. **æ** is mostly *a* (82 times), barlic 192, fast 161, fasteð 109, qual 598 r.w. *al*, togaddre 482, 525, ðat 3 &c., was 26 &c.; the exceptions mostly descend from OE. forms in **e**, or are due to analogy, ðeðte 23 (*gedeftan*), dele 4 (comp. *dell*), festeð 438, festen 417, feste 143, 160 (comp. *feste adv.*, Scandinavian influence is also possible), heruest 177 (*herfest*), meche 586 r.w. *reche* (*gemečča*, but make 574, 576, 578, *gemaca*), nese 3, 223 (*næs-*), resteð 178, 504 (*restan*), steppes 6 (*steppan*), steppes 5 (*stepe*), weder 270, 521 (*hweper*): togiddre 282 has *e* raised to *i* before a dental, was 628 is **hwās* with vowel from *hwā*. **e** is *e*, be 588, fel 109; before lengthening groups, felde 307, lengðe 437, trendled 606, but bi 4, 24 (*bi*); wilc 4, swilc 248, swilk 338, sille 449 (*sylliē*) r.w. *ille*, represent forms with **y**; tetireð 318 (*to-teran*) has *i* from Fr. *tirer*, as in tireð 336, possibly helped by the contracted sing. 3, *tyrþ*; seie 613 (4) r.w. *haliweie*, seien 385 imitate other parts of the verb without *a*, similarly leigeð 272. **i** is *i*, biddan 101, is 384, 414 r.w. *fi*s, 509 r.w. *fuligewis*, mirke 80 r.w. *kirke*, wile 71 r.w. *bile*, wille 607 r.w. *stille*; before lengthening groups *i*, finden 7, singeð 448, but es 183 r.w. *gres*, nes 518, merk 341 r.w. *werk* (due to labial influence), wulle 634, wullen 314. **o** is *o*, bodes 136, nos 303 r.w. *gōs*; before lengthening groups, hornes 236, sorgeden 559 (without *i*-umlaut), word 35, but forwurden 108, wulde 74 (4), wuldest 385 by consonant influence; ouese 362, eaves, is without *i*-umlaut, comp. *ofesc*, *owisc* and modern Essex dialectal *oavis*, but in Layamon *eouesen*. **u** is *u*, cumeð 40 &c., dure 134, wude 181, wune 281; before lengthening groups, bunden 443, hunger 306, but towrong 42 r.w. *strong*, with *o* before *n*, ðrist 231, 428 r.w. *list* (analogy of *þyrstan*, *þyrstig*). **y** is *i*, dine 646 r.w. *wiðerwine*, fille 373 r.w. *stille*, mankin 168, 243 r.w. *win*, 569 r.w. *dim*, pit 624 r.w. *offrigt*,

stireð 11 (4), unride 389, 507 r.w. wide, 522 r.w. side, wirm 106 (4); before lengthening groups, birdene 289, minde 263 (3); but dede 171, elp 522 (3) (comp. OE. *elpend*), stereð 309, furg *dat.* with *u* from the nominative, hungren 428, hungreð 390 (analogy of *hungor*), sundren 577 (analogy of *sundor*), tunder 419 r.w. wunder (once 'tunderi,' OE Texts 570; comp. also OWScand. *tundr*), vuemest 639 (*ufemest*), come 664 r.w. nome. *ā* is regularly *o*, cof 124, invariably non 494 r.w. bon, no 148, on 490 (7) r.w. gon, 635 r.w. bon, one (*āna*) 579 (3), ston 66 r.w. on; before two consonants, bitokneð 152, golsipe 245, gost 214; but *a*, an frequently, anoðer 262 (unstressed shortened *ā*), atter 121, 241 with shortened *ā* extending from the oblique cases (Bülbring § 344), gast 435 r.w. stedefast, 640 r.w. vuemest, which Morsbach, ME. Gr., § 135, anm. 8 deduces from shortened *a*, nummore 208, 455, through loss of stress, comp. 'wumme' 235/21, 121/133. *æ*₁ is *e*, hete 56 r.w. wete, mene 248 r.w. ouerwene, rede 38 r.w. guðhede, stel 419 (*stæli*), wete 190, 209; before two consonants, fles 114, 435, eure 402, neure 16, but haliweie 612, through association with *hālig*, most 501, moste 384 from *māst*, goð 66 (5) with *o* from the plural, oni 378 from *ānig*, ilk 82 (4), ilc 256, ilkines 180 from *yle*. *æ*₂ is also *e*, dede 82 r.w. mede, forleteð 191, leteð 114, 658, let 156, sed 180 r.w. wed, 658 r.w. ned, slepen 452 r.w. waken, ðer 19 (17), ðere 207, 369, were 61 (8), weren 80 (4), wete 57 r.w. hete, 615 r.w. swete; before two consonants, neddre 107 (3), but lat 327, 328, lateð 271 r.w. wadeð, ðar 8 (7), ðore 81, 88 r.w. lore (*pāra*), wor 514 (5) from *hwāra*, wore 578 r.w. more, broken 242 in both of which *o* represents *ā*. *ē* is *e*, let 642, mede 84 r.w. dede, swetnesse 613; boke *dat.* 665 has the vowel of the nominative, doð 141 (8) the vowel of the plural. *ī* is *i* without exception. *ō* is *o*, but kam 29, 352, cam 564, te 107. *ū* is *u* without exception. *ȳ* is *i*, briche 293, 592 r.w. heuenriche, fir 123, ðirl 112; before two consonants, filðe 156, wissing 246.

ea before *r* + cons. is *a*, art 139, dar 647, narwe 113, sarpe 318; before lengthening groups, harde 499 (4), forðward 160, but *e* in ern 73, ernes 37, flerd 351, middelerd 352 and *u* in wurð 566 (*wearp*) by confusion with the present tense. The *i*-umlaut is *a* in chare 457, char 519 (see 359/4), warmen 421, but derne 21, 75, dernelike 326. *ea* before *l* + cons. is *a*, al 116 &c., fallen 56, galle 654, half 460, salt 155; before lengthening groups *o*, biholdeð 365, kold 495, holdeð 573, olde 581, told 459, twifold 322, wolden 139, wolde 482, but the contracted? bihalt 520, biwalt 521 have shortened *a*; in helden 136 *e* is probably miswritten for *o*: the *i*-umlaut is *a* in falleð 58 (5), 526 r.w. calleð, *e* in elde 40, 108, elded 139, eldere 171, 241, unwelde 41, all before lengthening groups, welle 46, 253.

eo before *r* + cons. is regularly *e*, *berges* 481, *bergen* 8, *fer* 265, *herte* 136 (3), *stert* 6, *werc* 340; before lengthening groups, *erðe* 20 (3) and its compounds. To the *wur* group belong *forwurðes* 138, *forwurðe* 196, *wurðeð* 59 and other forms of *weorþan*, *wurði* 346, *wurðlic* 173, but not *forwerpen* 257, *werpeð* 236. The *i*-umlaut is seen in *hirde* 33, 34 (*hirde*), *tirgen* 275 (not original); *hertien* 277 is very doubtful: a *wyr* word is *wurði* 145, without umlaut. The *u*- and *ā*-umlauts of *a* are wanting, *bale* 172, 379, *care* 563, but *heuekes* 664: *o* in *noule* 444 (**nafola*, contrast 'neaeule' 120/98) is ascribed by Morsbach, ME. Gr. § 87, anm. 4, to the influence of *v*, but a diphthong appears to have developed, the modern East Anglian dialectic word is *nowle*. The *u*- and *ā*-umlauts of *e* are also wanting, *forgelues* 138, *hert* 218 (3), *heuene* 49 &c., *werlde* 106, *fele* 297, 463. *eo*, *u*- and *ā*-umlaut of *i* is *e*, *here* 280 (5), *senden* 63, 441, *seuene* 50, 652, *clepeð* 221, *leneð* 510, 523, but *limes* 41 (3), *niðer* 4, 500, *niðerward* 444, *siðen* 227 r.w. *swiðe*, *liuen* 412: *widue* 578 is Anglian *widwe*, but *wude* 181 (**wiudu*) has normal *u* (*Bülbring* § 264). *ea* after palatals is *æ*, *chaeles* 397, *sal* 16 &c., *sakeð* 193, *sadue* 524 r.w. *togaddre*, but *seftes* 356; before nasal, same 193, 339, 346 r.w. *name*, and before lengthening group, *o* in *sonde* 431. *ie* after *ġ* is *e*, *geld* 338, *gelt* 316, *bigeten* 490, 494, *forgeten* 451, but *giueð* 291; after *sc*, also *e*, *seld* 130 (but *scildan* gives *silden* 34, *sildeð* 130), *sending* 339, *seppande* 356 (*i*-umlaut of *ea* after *sc*). EWS. *gief* is *gef* 274 (5), if 35 (9): if is used from l. 35 to l. 265 and once again at l. 578, *gef*, which is probably the author's form, begins at l. 274. *eo* after *ġ* is *u* in *gungling* 543, *guðhede* 39, *i* in *ging* 162, *gingen* 259, *gingid* 238, after *sc*, *u*, *sulde* 123, *suneð* 193, *sunen* 210, 285 r.w. *munen*, *sulen* 203 (4). *heom* is *hem* 281 &c.

ēa is regularly *e*, *ches* 586, *ded* 26 (9), *slep* 635, *lefful* 585, *queðsipe* 298; the *i*-umlaut is *e* (Anglian), *gemen* 260, *here* 2 &c., *leueð* 85, *nede* 100 (9), *nedeð* 113, 164, *remeð* 527; before two consonants, *bekneð* 213. *ēo* is also *e*, *be* 21 &c., *bet* 213, *bitwen* 281, *crepeð* 111 (3), *deuel* 164 (5), *der* 322 r.w. *her* (4), *undergede* 568 r.w. *manhede*, *wel* 600 (Ang. *hwēl*, *Bülb.* § 217) r.w. *wel*; before two consonants, *brest* 117 (4), *helde* 173, but *diuel* 21, an early instance of this shortening, *cripelande* 111 from *crypel*; the *i*-umlaut is *e*, *strenen* 485, *ten* 109. *gesiene* is *sene* 356, *giēt*, *get* 62, 385 r.w. *flet*. *ēa* after palatals is *e*, *ger* 492 r.w. *her*, *sep* 34, 483.

a + *g* is *ag*, *dages* 607, *drageð* 6, *sage* 475, but *daies* 109, 635; *mugen* 323 has the form of the subjunctive *mugon*; *sei* 159 descends from *sege*, *seieþ* 347 from *segeþ*, *seit* 577 from *segð*. *æ* + *g* is divided between *ai* and *ei*, *dai* 29 (7), 582 r.w. *ai*, *daies* 109, 635, *faier* 629, *lai* 28, 633, *mai* 110 (9), *maig* 64 (3), *mainles* 110; *breid* 548, *breides* 344 (*bregd*), *dei*

216, 576, deies 309, meiden 23, 442, seide 191, 353, seid 549: fagen 394, 415 r.w. dragen is Anglian fagen; muge 126, 187 descends from LWS. muge. *e* + *g* is *ei*, weie 4; forbredes 138 comes from forbrēdan, agen 185, 457 from agēn: *e* + *h* is seen in hightes 135, 161, highest 133. *i* + *g*: the spirant has been absorbed in lieð 15; final *ig* is *i*, mani 429, manie 441, wurði 346. *i* + *h* is *ig*, idigt 364, sigte 92, wigt 235. *o* + *h* is *og*, ðogt 501, 559, but forbroiden 108, not from -brogden, but -brōden, with a variation which perhaps mimics the alternation of the ME. infinitives breiden (brēdan) and breiden (bregdan), see NED. *s.v.* broiden. *u* + *g* is *ug*, fugeles 308, mugen 503, 643, but the spirant has disappeared in fules 305, 312. *y* + *h* is *ig*, drigten 26 (3), fligt 43, 54, offrigt 625 (late North. fryhta). *ā* + *g*, *h* is *og*, og 263 (3), ogen 210 (4), ogt 623 (āht), but ovt 560 r.w. ðogt 577, out 521, forms due to the scribe: steg 639 (stāh) has borrowed *e*, as often elsewhere, from the third class of strong verbs. *æ*₁ + *g*, *h* is *ag*, agte 477, er, meaning or, 99 (9) is descended from ægper, while er, before, 191 (4) is ær: neggen 122, negge 3 represent genēgan. *æ*₂ + *g* is seen in haliweie 612 (wæg). *i* + *g*: in sti 152 r.w. bi, *g* has disappeared. *ō* + *g*, *h* is *og*, inog 118, ðogte 354, nogt 122 (9), but nout 11, 593, 622 r.w. ogt, nowt 192, 214, forms due to the scribe. *ȳ* + *g*, drie 615. *ea* + *h*, ht is seen in magt (mæht) 426, magti 175, waxe 196, waxeð 124, waxen 445 (wæxan); the *i*-umlaut in migt 234, 532 r.w. wiht, migte 21 (3), nigt 47, but sloð 329 (WS. sliehþ) r.w. loð, corresponds to North. slāþ, influenced by OScand. slá. *eo* + *ht* is *igt*, brigt 55 r.w. fligt, figtande 128, rigt 52, rigten 102, rigteð 125, but sexe 50 (Anglian sex), bitwixen 293 (betweohs); without umlaut is seð 49 r.w. teð (WS. siehþ) as if from sēop. *ēa* + *g*, *h* is *eg* (Anglian), egen 16 (5), heg 18, hege 562; eilond 387, 414 (īegland) is from Anglian ēgland. *ēo* + *g* is also *eg*, fleges 366, flegeð 48 (3), legeð 350, 577; *ēo* + *h*, ligtlike 315; without *i*-umlaut are fleð 123, 165 (comp. flēð, Durh. Rit.), teð 48 r.w. seð, 274, but ligten 20, 289. *ā* + *w* is *ow*, *ou*, *ov*, knoweð 106, sowles 103, soule 158 (4), knov 133, but soge 386 as if from *sāhe, sawen 599, possibly miswritten for sowen. *i* + *w*, appears in newe 60 (5), neweð 39 (5), newe 141, all from Anglian forms with *ēo*. *ō* + *w*: nowor 35 represents *nōwar, nōwer from nāhwær, nāhwār. *ēa* + *w* is seen in ċewes 143 and finally in deu 7: *ēo* + *w* in rewen 437, rewe 206, reufulike 528, speweð 116, finally in gu 549 (4): tre 508, 516, 524, 551 r.w. we, is Anglian trē (o): the *i*-umlaut is wanting in trewe 163, 589, untrewē 61, 96.

In syllables without stress *o* is levelled to *e*, wankel 446, hunger 203, siker 207, wunder 194, sumer 176, te 107. *a* appears for *e* in mereman 442, influenced by man. An *e*, generally unmetrical, has been inserted in

deuēles 436 (but deuēles 665), folegen 269, folegeð 431, 620 (but folgen 439, 643), fugeles 308, lagelike 573, steuēne 561, husebondes 299, sineginge 149, wisdom 324, and *z* similarly in hardilike 177, fuligewis 508 (comp. fuliwis 445), haliweie 612 ('haleweie,' L 23072), siniging 256: *e* is omitted in biforn 62, 68, 268, but metre requires everywhere biforen. The prefix **be-** is *bi-*, bisetten 167: **ge-** is *z* in imong 476, it appears also in uniemete 459 (**ungemāte**) with *ie* for *i* as in attrie 228, perhaps an Anglo-Norman interchange of these symbols. But **ge-** is generally lost, as in bodes 136, minde 263, vnride 389, unwelde 41. **on-** is *a* in among 147, **to-**, *te* in tetireð 318. **redi** 125 (3) is a ME. formation from **gerāde** + **ig**, the termination in **sille** is **-lic**; **-ung** is *ing*, drowing 567, groning, woning 662, lesing 478.

Geminated final consonants are invariably simplified as **web** 363, **coc** 300, **stoc** 224, **fel** 109, **hil** 18, **spel** 335, **den** 8, **fen** 630, **mankin** 168, **sin(ful)** 82, **win** 244, **char** 519, **dar** 647, **fer** 265, **pit** 624; often too medially as **rr**, **chare** 457, **dure** 145; **nn**, **wiðerwine** 645, **cune** 148, **cunen** 457; **pp**, **siðen** 41 (5); **cc**, **fecheð** 179, **reche** 585, **meche** 586. For **w**, *u* is written in **sadue** 524. **r** is doubled in **warre** 456; metathesis occurs in **ðrist** 231, 428. *n* is added in **hauen** 183, **boðen** 181, **boden** 525, doubled in **drigtinnes** 242, **vnneðes** 113, omitted in **euelike** 213, and frequent *o* for **on**. **p** is doubled in **steppes** 5, inserted in **sampnen** 484. **f** between vowels and vowellikes is *u*, **rauen** 311, **geuelic** 173, **ouese** 362, **culuer** 650, **derue** 205, once *v* in **weueð** 360 (but **weueð** 363), otherwise it is *f*. **f** is doubled in off *prep.* 104, 241, 264, 616, while the adverb appears as of 657. **t** is doubled in **little** 200, 432, beside **litel** 131, lost in **beste** 514, for it *th* is written in **cethegrande** 383: **ts** is *sc* in **giscing** 245, *c* in **milce** 151. **d** is doubled in **togaddre** 482, **gaddreð** 180, omitted in **selcuðes** 441, as already in OE. **selcūp** and in **sille** 449, but already **syllie** in OE. For **d**, *ð* is written in **ðon** 328, **faðer** 13, **queðsipe** 298, **seð** 191, for **p**, *d* in **boden** 525, **broder** 287, **dede** 31, 625, **filde** 160, **lodlike** 357, **swide** 360, **swideð** 54, **dat** 634, **de** 165, **dridde** 29, **drowing** 567, **wurden** 250, mostly due to the scribe's failure to complete *ð*: **p** is *z* in **forsaket** 81, **wit** 136: after voiceless *t*, *s* pronominal words begin with *t* instead of **p**, **tanne** 216, **tat** 18, **te** 209, (at) **te** 134, 361, 586, **ter** 329, **tin** 161, **tine** 159, **tis** 73, 154, **tu** 133 (7), **tus** 77 &c., but **de** 192, once after *d*, **tu** 150. In **forðward** 160, *ð* has been wrongly inserted. **sé** is *s*, initially, **sadue** 524, **sakeð** 193, **sal** 16 &c., **same** 193 (3), **sarpe** 318, **seftes** 356, **seld** 130, **sending** 339, **sep** 34, **seppande** 356, **silden** 34, **sinen** 12, **sipes** 411, **sonde** 431, **sop** 356, **sulde** 123, **suneð** 193, **sures** 203, once *sc*, **scrifte** 159, once *sk*, **skinbon** 272, NED compares NFris. **skenbiin**, WFr. **skynbonke**; medially, **golsipe** 245, **queðsipe** 298, but *ss* in **wissing** 246

(**gewȳscung*); finally, *fis* 383, *fles* 114, 435. The stop *c* is *k* before *e* and *i* and in combination with other consonants, *forsaket* 81, *kinde* 10, *bitokneð* 152, *drink* 158, but *craft* 111, in other positions mostly *c*, *cam* 564, *uncuð* 396, *blac* 598, *swic* 149, but *kam* 29, 352, *unkuð* 97, *swik* 344, *suk* 454, *smake* 3 (ME. formation from *smæcc*): *cc* is *ck*, *necke* 303. *č* is *ch*, *chaueles* 397, *ches* 586, *erčchine* 308, *chare* 457, *char* 519, *briche* 293, 592, *eche* 139, *quenchet* 256, *riche* 480, but *ic* 38 &c., *sekeð* 46, *kirke* 78, *Scand.* in form, *kolde* 486, *kold* 495, *mirke* 80, *merk* 341 (see Björkman 146), *micle* 536, *mikle* 542 (comp. OWS*Scand.* *mikil*), *wilc* 4, *swilc* 248, *swilk* 338, *ilik* 343, *lic* 662. *čč* is *cch*, *dreccheð* 88, *feccheð* 301, but *fecheð* 179, *reche* 585, *meche* 586 and *fetchen* 265, *witches* 427, early instances of *tch*, but ? *wikke* 468. *cw* is *qu*, *qw*, *quenchet* 256, *qwemeð* 190, *quečsipe* 298, *quike* 253. Palatal *g* is written *g*, *bigeten* 490, *forgeten* 451, *gemen* 260, *geld* 338, *for gelues* 138, *ger* 491, *get* 62, *ging* 162, *gingen* 259, *gingid* 238, *giueð* 291, *gu* 549, *gungling* 543, *gučhede* 39, *undergede* 568 (*undereode*); it is doubled in *negge* 3, *neggen* 122, lost in *if* 35 &c. The voiceless spirant is also represented by *g*, as in *egen* 16, *čogte* 354, *soge* 386, *furg* 307, *inog* 118, *čurg* 3: doubled in *suggeden* 559 (in *Orm suhhghen*), now dialectal, mostly Northern, *sough*, *soo*. *h* is lost in *ire* 183, added in *heten* 421: *hl* is *l*, *lene* 110, *lepeð* 230, *lides* 16, *list* 585, *listen* 74, *louerd* 19, *lude* 377; *hn* is *n*, *necke* 303; *hr*, *r*, *rače* 317, *rem* 13, *remeð* 527, *rewen* 437; *hw*, *w*, *wan* 386, *wat* 95, *weder* 270, *wel* 600, *wete* 190, *wilc* 4, *wile* 648, *wite* 599, *wos* 628, *wu* 20 &c., and *qu* in *qual* (Northern).

Accidence: Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. In the *s. n. a.* *dine* 646, *heuenriche* 18, 292, *hirde* 33, *bale* 379, *golsipe* 245, *se* 404, *tre* 508, 516, *wete* 190, 209 have *e* corresponding to their OE. vocalic ending, *bodi* 172, *sti* 152 have lost final *g*; *seppandē* 356 and *haliweie* 612 *r.w.* *seie* have added *e*; *mere* 448 is shortened from *meremenn*. *Gen.* -es, *bukes* 330, *foxes* 314, *sees* 407, but *heuenriche* 558; *breſt* 121, 160 is a composition form: *dat.* -e, *bale* 172, *bile* 70 and 15 others with vowel termination in the *nom.*, *hauen* 183 has added *n* (nunnation, 457/11), *dede* 31, *dele* 4 and 31 others with inflection, of which *ouese* 362 is the only word of more than one syllable: without inflection are *bodi* 130 (3), *drigtin* 104, *meiden* 23, *stel* 419, *der* 322, 627, *rem* 13, 611 and 90 others mostly with long stem vowel or of more than one syllable; always *o dei* 576, *bi dai* 47 &c.; many examples are in rhyme as *mod* 249, 348, *muð* 395, *čogt* 501, 559, *wold* 620. The *pl. n. a.* of masculines ends in -es, *chaueles* 397, *witches* 427, *daies* 109, *fodredes* 361; there are no weak forms: neuters are *limes* 41, 63, *sipes* 411, 417, 454, *bodes* 136, 213, *lides* 16, *sep* 34, 483, *ger* 491, 492, *čing* 358: datives have -es, *berges* 481,

breides 344, briddes 660, finnes 445, ſewes 143, ſornes 237, limes 131, wiles 297, but der 603. Of the *fem.* nouns of the strong declension mire 175, neddre 107, 129, same 193, widue 578 have e corresponding to their OE. vocalic ending in the *nom.*, dede 468, 469, sowle 586 have added e, all others are without e, culuer 650, ned 142, woning 662 (the verbal substantives are rarely inflected in any case). Genitives are sinnes 158, sowles 103: birde 117 (comp. *byrðtīd*), erðe 630, helle 638 (comp. *hellewīte*), heuene 638 (comp. *heuēn* 170), kirke 134, 586, soule 158 may be genitives, but are more probably composition forms. *Dat.* -e, birdene 289, filde 160, godcundnesse 644, manhede 567, migte 587, werlde 106, sineginge 149, stefninge 451, but blis 140, 638, hid 120, magt 426, migt 416, tunder 419, werld 201, and the verbal nouns lesing 478, reming 542, sending 339, swiking 477, wissing 359 are without inflection. In the *acc.* forðward 160, migt 234, 532, ned 659, stund 309, 408 and the verbal nouns billing 316, 338, foxing 333, giscing 245, drowing 567, siniging 256, tokning 463, wissing 246, 255 are without inflection, bote 150, guðhede 39, nede 100, 216, 280, soule 172, 478, steringe 451 with 27 others have e, besides fille 319, 373, forbisne 322. *Pl. n.* are fedres 56; *dat.* harmdedes 299, misdedes 151, sinnes 75; *a.* forbisnes 219, kindes 218, seftes 356 (sometimes *masc.*), sinnes 159, stefnes 448, agte 477. Nouns of the weak declension have -e in the *nom.*, bane 370, sunne 12; *d.* make 576, erðchine 308; *a.* fode 64 (5), wille 330, but fod 207, licham 214 before a vowel: genitives are belles 541, huntēs 548: *pl. n.* egen 44, 80, fleges 366, husebondes 299; *dat.* egen 16, 87; *a.* egen 55, willen 515. The minor declensions are represented by fet (steppes) *pl. a.* 5; teð *pl. a.* 318; man *s. n.* 73, mannes *s. g.* 148, man *s. d.* 444, *a.* 124, men *pl. n.* 305, sipmen 451, manne *pl. g.* 24, men ? *pl. d.* 144, manne 359, men *pl. a.* 428; boc *s. n.* 350, boke *s. d.* 38 (4); furg *s. d.* 307; gos *s. a.* 302; nigte *s. d.* 588, bi nigt 47, 150, o nigt 576, nigt *s. a.* 582: fačer *s. n.* 13, fader 30, *s. d.* 640; broder *s. n.* 287, *s. a.* 535; fend *s. n.* 349.

Adjectives which in OE. end in a vowel have -e throughout, briche 592, eche 139, minde 263, neue 210, softe 176, but swet *s. d. neut.* 231 (comp. *swētnes*, *swōt*) and merk *s. d. f.* 341 have lost e; those in -ig lose g, attrie 228 (with ie for i), droui 407, holi 642, redi 311, weri 511. Weak inflections are *s. voc.* cristene 133, *d.* rigte 70, sinfulē 340, *a.* olde 210, 581: strong are *s. n. f.* bare 121, ilike 442, like 444, *s. d. m.* rigte 435, *s. d. f.* quike 253; others are uninflected in the singular: mikel *s. n. m.* 565 has *d.* mikle 542, but mikel 230, *pl. n.* mikle 433, 536: litel *s. n. neut.* 131 has *s. a. f.* little 200, *pl. n.* 432. The *pl. n.* has -e, kolde 486, leue, loðe 594, warre, wise 456; the exceptions are all predicative, fagen 394, 415, kold 495,

siker 207, strong 63, twifold 471, uncuð 396, war 204, wod 250; *dat.* -e, iuele 343, wite 599, but dern 75 r.w. ern; *acc.* -e, erðliche 213, but brigt 55 r.w. fligt. *ān* as article unstressed is a 28, 46 &c., before consonants, an 391, 282 before vowels and h, twice 106, 596 before w, divided in a neilond 387, 414, while the numeral and indefinite pronoun is on 268, 530, (on) on 223, 635, one *s. d. neut.* 264; *āna*, alone, is one 579, 580, 622: *nān* as adj. is no 148, 444 &c., non 64 &c., none *s. d. neut.* 65, as pronoun, non 267, 271, 285, 494, 556, 597. Adjectives used as nouns with inflection are *s. d.* geuelike 214, 593, gode 65, nakede 165, *pl.* grete 400, sinful 167, selcuðes 441, smale 399: nouns used as adjectives are flerd, fox 351. Comparatives and superlatives have -e, *s.* fairere 597, more 194, beste 514, firste 552, moste 384, swetteste 392, *pl.* eldere 171, 241, but best 667 r.w. nest, vuemest 639 r.w. gast, most 501 before vowel.

The personal pronouns are ic 38 (6), before vowel, h or palatal g, i 37 (5) before consonants, we, wes (= we es) 651, ur *pl. g.* 285, 661, vs, ðu, tu 133 &c., ðe, te 142, gu *pl. d.* 549, 575. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n.* he *m.* 2, 330, ge *f.* 175, 179, get (= ge it) 195, it *neut.* 29, 450, itt 601, *d.* him *m.* 5, 521, hire *f.* 184, 499, ire 183, *a.* him *m.* 13, 128, hire *f.* 299; *pl. n.* he 264, 625, *g.* her 556, *d.* hem 281, 546, *a.* 369, is 7, 137, 304. Reflexives are us 663, ðe 160, him *s. d.* 64, 103, 109, himself 65, hire 372, him *s. a.* 8 (13), hire 178, 365, hem *pl. a.* 413, 421, 484: definitive is himseluen 520: possessives are *s.* ðin 156, tin 161, ði, before consonant, 160, 478, *pl.* ðine 151, tine 159, ðin 477 before vowel; *s.* his 3 &c., *pl.* hise 16 &c., his, before vowel, 44, 55; hire 179, 496; vre 19 &c., here 280, 427. The definite article is ðe without inflection, te 13, 623, de 165, 192, atte 134, 361, 586: *s.* ðat 18 &c., tat 18, *pl.* ðo 432, 604 are demonstratives. The compound demonstrative is *s.* ðis 77, tis 73, *pl.* ðise 398. The relatives are ðe 19; it means, of which 621, during which 201, and ðat 13, it means, in which 517, on which 206, about which 191, that which 184, 470, dat, for whom, 634. Interrogatives are wat 127, 133, 170, was 628, wilc 4; the correlative is swilc 248, swilk 338. Indefinites are wo so 335, 577; wat 95; man 2, 194, 221, 304; sum 461; oni 378; oðres *s. g.* 273, oðer *s. d.* 378, *a.* 267, *pl.* oðre 276 (6), oder 603; an oðer 10, 262; ilk 82, ilc 256, ilkines 180; euerilc 257, eurilc 286; mani 429, *pl.* manie 441 (4), manikines 358; fele 297, 463; al 54 &c., all 211, *pl.* alle 5, 241.

Only three verbs have the infinitive in -e, biswike 327 r.w. dernelike, chare 457 r.w. ware, rede 38 r.w. guðhede, one or two in -ien, luuien 135, ? hertien 276, the rest, in number 111, of which 18 are of the second weak conjugation, end in -en. The *dat. inf.* is not inflected, its sign is to (31) or for to (6). Presents are *s. i.* haue 549, mene 248, seie 557 (4); 2. hauest

37, forbredes, forgelues, forwurðes 138; 3. falleð 58 (4), wakeð 33, wuneð 401 (5) and over 200 others in -eð; hatieð 304, rotieð 311; forsaket 81, quenchet 256; atbrested 548, bekned 213, gingid 238, bilimpes 275; contract verbs, fleð 123, 165, teð 48 r.w. seð, 274, seð 49, sloð 329 r.w. loþ, contracted forms are abit 581 r.w. sit, bet 213, bit 195, 211, 370, 379 (read biteð in all these places), bit 330, bit 192 (read bideð), biwalt 521 r.w. bihalt, fet 214, 337 r.w. ket, 605, fint 209 (read findeð), flet 386 r.w. get, fret 319, 373 (read freteð in both places), gelt 316, geld 338, hitt 365, lat 327, 328, lið 11 (read lieð as in l. 15), seit 577, sit 520, 576, 580 r.w. abit, smit 391, underset 516 r.w. bet, stant 2; *þl.* 1. hauen 176 (3), wunen 201, haue we 295, fele we 552, haue 659; 3. beren 278, cumen 276 (4), haten 299, noten 488, sundren 577, waken 453; sen 413, ten 266, hatien 305, cume 536: *subjunctive s.* 3. fare 99, se 122, tide 499, but derie 186; *þl.* 1. bimene we 663, leue we 590, luue we 587, 590, seke we 207, wende we 588: *imperative s.* 2. bid 150, help 144, swic 149, herkne 506, newe 141, reche 585, sei 159, deme 145; *þl.* 2. hereð 45, muneð 575. Past of Strong Verbs: I a. s. 3. lai 28, 633; *subj.* s. 2. soge 386; 3. sete 388: I b. s. 3. bar 24, kam 28, 352, cam 564; *þl.* 3. broken 242; *subj.* s. 3. come 22: I c. s. 3. wan 632, wurð 566: II. s. 3. ros 31, 637, steg 639: III. s. 3. ches 586: IV. s. 3. sop 356, stod 557: V. s. 2. hightest 133, hightes 135, 161; 3. fel 551, let 642, slep 635; ? *subj. þl.* 1. helde we 173. Participle present: V. gangande 530; past: I b. broken 137, forbroken 108: I c. bred 117, bunden 443, doluen 27, forbroiden, forwurden 108, towrong 42 r.w. unstrong: II. fordriuuen 411, sinen 12, writen 572: III. forloren 69: IV. faren 589: V. IV. waxen 445: V. biholden 512, fallen 570, sawen 599. Past of Weak Verbs: s. 3. dennede 23, filstnede 30, seide 191, ðogte 354; *þl.* 3. remeden 561, suggeden 559, wuneden 493. Participles present: cripelande 111, figtande 128, secande 536; past: cloðed 124, cristned 134, elided 139, erved 308, herd 459, idigt 364, ikindled 10, lered 239, offrigt 625, seid 549, set 220, tokned 627, told 621, 628, trendled 600; inflected are cloðede *s. d.* 166, forbisnede *s. d.* 464. Minor Groups: og *pr. s.* 263 (3), ogen 1 *pr. þl.* 210 (3), *pr. þl.* 653; can *pr. s.* 79, canne (= can he) 534, cunen *pr. þl.* 457, cune 2 *pr. s. subj.* 148, cunne *pr. s. subj.* 7 (3); dar *pr. s.* 647, dure 2 *pr. s. subj.* 145; salt 2 *pr. s.* 155, sal *pr. s.* 16 &c., sulen 1 *pr. þl.* 203, 292, *pr. þl.* 485, 594, sulde *pt. s.* 123; mai *pr. s.* 110 (9), maig 64, 400, 433, mugen 1 *pr. þl.* 323, 643, *pr. þl.* 503, muge *pr. s. subj.* 126, 187, migte *pt. s.* 21, 554, 556, migten *pt. þl.* 560; moten 1 *pr. þl.* 210, mote 2 *pr. s. subj.* 151; ben *inf.* 84 (4), to ben *dat. inf.* 263, 653, art 2 *pr. s.* 140, 162, is *pr. s.* 10, 662, es 183, nes 518, beð 313, ben 1 *pr. þl.* 34, 204, be we 205, arn *pr. þl.* 41 (11), aren 394, 415, ben 450, senden 63, 441, be

pr. s. subj. 21, 615, *ben* 1 *pr. pl. subj.* 207, 293, *be* *we* 589, 655, *ben* *pr. pl. subj.* 282, *be* 2 *pr. s. imp.* 163, *was* *pt. s.* 26 &c., *weren* 1 *pt. pl.* 250, *pt. pl.* 80, 559, 625, *were* 2 *pt. s. subj.* 134, *pt. s. subj.* 61 (7), *wore* 578; *wile* 1 *pr. s.* 575, *wille* 37, *wile* *pr. s.* 71 (12), *wille* 34 (5), *wulle* 634, *wilen* *pr. pl.* 367, *wullen* 314, *wile* *pr. s. subj.* 4, 327, 328, *wuldest* 2 *pt. s.* 385, *wulde* *pt. s.* 553, 2 *pt. s. subj.* 74, *pt. s. subj.* 353, 354; *don* *inf.* 330, 531, *Ʒon* 328, *fordon* 354, *to* *don* *dat. inf.* 212, 515, 661, *doƷ* *pr. s.* 141 (10), *do* *we* 1 *pr. pl. subj.* 172, 205, 657, *dede* *pt. s.* 171, *don* *pp.* 663; *gon* *inf.* 155, 225, *goƷ* *pr. s.* 66 (5), *gon* *pr. pl.* 482, 491, 1 *pr. pl. subj.* 35, 254, *go* 2 *pr. s. imp.* 157, *undergede* *pt. s.* 568.

Noteworthy among adverbs are *lic*, equally, 662, *nede*, of necessity, 129 (*nīede*), *Ʒer* *wile*, whilst, 648, *welle*, very, 18 (also in Layamon, 29622), which seems to have added a superfluous adverbial *e*; among prepositions, *mitte* 454, 546, *one* 334, 388, *one* 420; conjunctions, *Ʒ* (*ant*), meaning *if*, 2, *er*, *or*, 99 &c., *wiles*, whilst, 88 (4), *wor* *so*, wheresoever, 602 (4).

Vocabulary: The Scandinavian element is large: *ai* 46 (7), *arn* 41 &c., *aren* 394, 415, *blast* 541, *bone* 101, *boƷe* 47, *boƷen* 181, *boden* 525, *breſt* 458 (OE. *byrst* would in this text be *birst*), *brennen* 249, *brenning* 229, *brinneƷ* 227, *bro* 598 (OWScand. *brá*), *calleƷ* 527, *call(ing)* 563, *costes* 284, *derflike* 313, *feg* 160, *fro* 31 &c., *gapeƷ* 390, *gres* 182, *heil* 59, *ille* 410, *ill(ing)* 317, *ket* 336, *lage* 15 &c., *leiƷe* 357, *oc* 55, 159, *or* 76, 116, 119, *rapelike* 178, *reiseƷ* 13, *reisen* 553, *renneƷ* 178, *scaƷe* 447, *skemt(ing)* 332, *skies* 50, *swideƷ* 54, *takeƷ* 71, *til* 12, *ƷeƷen* 364, *Ʒog* 21 &c., (*un*)*skil* 331, *wille* 35, *wrengƷe* 69, *wrong* 62, probably *hileƷ* 318, *vncost* 148, *wore* 578, possibly *fikeƷ* 532, *listneƷ* 306 (comp. *hlystan*), *liuenoƷe* 200, (*o*) *twinne* 195; influenced in form are *atbrested* 548, *atbrosten* 458, *come* 664, *frame* 323 (*fremu*), in meaning, *onde* 310. French are *bec* 42, *capun* 300, *caue* 186, *cete* 397, *cul* 604, *dragunes* 622 ('draguns,' P. de Thaün), *gin* 521, *grace* 104, *haleƷ* 184, *leun* 2, *market* 378, *panter* 596, *poure* 144, *pride* 247, *prophetes* 555, *rime* 572, *robb(inge)* 657, *simple* 655, *spuse* 587, *tireƷ* 336, *turtres* 572, *uenim* 116 (*venin*); pre-Conquest Latin is *crede* 98. The proper name *Moyses* 553 is the Vulgate form.

Dialect: The author of the Bestiary lived in East Anglia, sufficiently near its northern border to account for such rhymes as *loƷ* : *sloƷ* 328, 329, *stedefast* : *gast* 434, 435, *vuemest* (read -mast) : *gast* 639, 640. The large Scandinavian element also points to the northern part of East Anglia. How far he was responsible for the Northern or North Midland broken 242, *offrigt* 625, *qual* 598, *sawen* 599, *senden* 63, 441, *soge* 386, *s* as the regular and frequent representative of *ś*, as in *sadue*, *sal*, *sarpe* &c., the 2, 3 *pr. s.* in -es, *bilimpes* 275, *forbredes*, *forgelues*, *forwurƷes* 138, *higtes*

135, 161, and the participles in -ande it is impossible to determine. But he certainly did not write gangande 530, secande 536, and transmission through a Northern or North Midland copy may accordingly be assumed. Our manuscript was written by a scribe of the Southern border of East Anglia. He has left his mark in a number of syncopated presents which spoil the metre and probably in the case of others where the full form is metrically admissible, in luuien 135, hatieð 304, rotieð 311, wulle 634, wullen 314, and probably in were 134 &c., since wore 578 r.w. more is the only form controlled by rhyme. He is also responsible for dede 171, stereð 309, æ + g as *ei*, dei 576, meiden 23 &c., for vuemest 639, daies 109, 635, out 521, ovt 560, nout 11, 593, 622, nowt 192, 214, occasional alterations without any systematic attempt at revision. We may perhaps venture the guess that the poem was written in Lincolnshire and copied in Essex.

Metre: Thetbaldus attempts a variety of metres, 'temptans diversis si possem scribere metris;' leonine hexameters for his Lion, Eagle, Siren, Onocentaur and Panther, leonine elegiacs for the Ant, Fox, Stag, Whale and Elephant, sapphics for the Serpent, catalectic dactylic tetrameter for the Spider, adonics for the Turtle. The English adapter emulates his versatility and moreover mixes different kinds of verse in the same article. In alliterative long line are ll. 1-24, 32-35, 106-151, 156-161, 164-166, 170-173, 175-179, 184-197, 199-204, 297-299, 304-315, 318, 356, 357, 360-370, 376-381, 441-448, 451, 458, 459. Of these the great majority are of the first kind described on p. 463, lines with alliteration only, as 2-8, 10, 11, 15, 18-21, 23, 106-111 &c. Of the second are 13, 16, 114, 134-136, 141, 150, 171, 173, 176, 185, 195, 312-315, 364, 370, 376, 379, 380, 459, of the third, 24, 112, of the fourth 12, 116, 118, 144, ? 298, 305, 306, 362, 381, but groups of lines in this class, such as 26-31, 152-155 have attained to their full development as syllabic verse and are printed like the octosyllables and similar metres from which they are indistinguishable. Lines of the fifth class are discussed in the notes. They are numerous, indeed the parts written in alliterative verse are in much worse state than the rest of the text, probably because the scribe's ignorance of the technique of the native metre gave him greater scope for alteration. The changes he has made are of the kind described on pp. 464, 465, prominent among them is the rearrangement of words, mostly in a prose order, which often results in the elimination of rhymes. These rhymes are mostly imperfect; inflectional as reiseð : makeð 13, drinkeð : neweð 118 &c., luken : egen 16, leuen : luuien 135, name : queðsipe 298, ouese : felde 362, or partial in correspondence of sound, as sinen : abuten 12, dure : were 134, herte : kirke 136, men : abuten 144,

hulen : fules 305, wunder : hunger 306, mere : -mete 459. The most frequent alliterative combination is 2 + 1, as at 4, 15, 18, 19, 106-109, 113, 115, 117, 365 (hitt, hole, biholdcð) &c., it occurs in at least one third of the lines; next in number is 1 + 1, as in 5, 10, 16, 20, 21, 23, 34, 35, 110, 196 (forwurðe, waxe), 458 (atbrosten, brest) &c., 2 + 2 is seen in 111, 123, 160, 363, 367, 1 + 2 in 2, 11, 114, 128, 135, crossed alliteration in 3, 6, 148, 157, 161, 170, 203, 360, 445 (fis, fuliwis, finnes, waxen), 448, distinct alliteration in 147, 165.

The septenarius is the metre of ll. 205-216, 294, 295, 572-579, 585-594. For the structure of this verse, see p. 327; the following is a restoration and scansion of the passages in the Bestiary.

do wé forðí so dóð ʒis dér ʒánne bé we gléwe,	205
Ón ʒat daí ʒat dóm sal bén ʒát it ús ne réwe.	
Séke we hére sóules fód ʒat wé ben sík er ʒóre,	
Só ʒis wírm in wínter ís ʒan gé ne tíl eð móre.	
ʒe mír e sún eð ʒe bár lic séd ʒanne gé fín deð ʒe wéte ;	
ʒe óld e lág e we óg en sún en ʒe né we we mó ten séken.	210
ʒe córn ʒat gé to cáu e béreð ál get bíteð o twinne ;	
ʒe lág e us lér eð gód to dón ant ús forbéd eð sínne :	
It bét eð ús ér ðlich e bódes ant bék neð héu enlíke ;	
It féd eð ʒe líc ham ánt te góst oc nógt o géu enlíke.	
vre lóu erd críst it lén e ús ʒát his láge us féde	215
nú in érd ant o dómes deí ant tán ne we háu en néde.	
ʒús is úre lóuerdes láge lúue líke to fillen ;	294
hérof háue we mikel néd ʒat wé ʒar wið ne díllen.	
In bók e ís ʒe túr tres líf wíten ál o ríme ;	572
wu lá gelík e ge hól deð lúue ál hír e líf tíme.	
géf ge ónes máke háueð fro hím ne wíl e séden :	
múneð , wímmen , híre líf íc it wíle gu réden.	575
bi hí re mák e ge sít onígt o deí ge góð ant flégeð :	
wó so séit he súndren ógt i seí e ʒát he légeð.	
Oc if hér e mák e wér e déd ant gé wídu e wóre,	
ʒánne flégeð ge óne ant fáreð non óð er wíl e móre.	
Líst ilk léfful mán her tó ant hér of óft e réche ;	585
vre sówl e át te kirk e dúre chés hire críst to méche.	
hé is úre sóule spúse lúue we hím wið mígte,	
ant wénd e wé néure fro hím be daí e né be nígte.	
ʒog he bé fro úr e sígt e fáren bé we him álle tréwe :	
non óð er lóu erd ne léu e wé ne lúu e nón e néwe.	590

léue we | ǵát he | líueð | aí || úp on | héuen|ríche,
 ant ǵéð|en hé | sal cúm|en éft | ant bén | us ál|le bríche,
 fór to | démen | álle | mén || oc nógt | on géu|elíke ;
 hise lóð|e súl|en to héli,e fáren | hise léu|e tó | his ríche.

The writer handles this metre skilfully ; the stresses coincide generally with the natural accent and the rhymes are good. The variations from the norm of the verse are those described on p. 328, but in proportion fewer.

For the octosyllable see p. 564. In this metre are ll. 26, 27, 37-46, 48, 49, 54-59, 62-64, 68-71, 230-236, 238, 239, 250, 257-260, 262-271, 276, 278, 279, 281, 282, 284, 285, 288, 289, 292, 293, 322, 323, 325-331, 334-337, 341, 343-354, 359, 371, 372, 383-388, 390-402, 405-416, 419-424, 426-439, 454, 455, 463, 465, 466, 475, 476, 480-491, 494-496, 499-501, 508-511, 516-526, 528-533, 536-541, 546-549, 551-570, 580-583, 596-625, 627-648, 650-667. Of these some are to be emended, others are peculiar in scansion, as, ǵo úr|e drígt|en déd | wás 26, ánt | his ég|en ár|en dímm 44, His béc | is gét | bifór|en wróng 62, Bíll|eð tíl | his béc | bifóren 68, háueð | ǵe wréng | ǵe ál | forlóren 69, Ne háu|eð ǵát | uením | non mígt 234, so hért | doð hís|e hór|nes ál 258, óc | on swímm|eð bí|forén || ant ál|le ǵe óð|re fól|egén 268, 269, álle | ǵe óð|re míd|e cúmen 276, bér|en him óf | ǵat wát|er grúnd 278, ant bríng|eð us in sín|ne ant tér | us slóð 329, ét|en ant dríng|en wið | unskille 331, máni | alsó | ǵe fók|es náme 345, wúr|ði árn | to háu|en to sáme 346, dóð | ge hém | non óð|er gód 372, Céthe | gránde | ís a | gret fí 383, ǵerforé óð|re físs|es tó | him drágen 393, wúneð | ǵis fí ǵe | wið ǵé | se grúnd 401, ne maí | it wún|en ǵán | ǵer íne 406, anef | lond he wén|en ǵát | it ís 414, Of stón | mid stél|e ín | ǵe túnder 419, wo só | him fól|egeð fínd|eð sónde 431, ne cúm|en hé | nummór|e úp 455, Féle | men háu|en ǵe tók|eníng 463, ǵat wán|ne hír|e hárd|e tíde 499, slépeð | bi ǵe tré | ál in | ǵe sádue 524, ǵán|ne cúm|eð ǵér | on gángen 530, mánie | ant mík|le cúm en sáken 536, ǵis élp | he reís|en só | on stálle 547, Móy|ses wúld|e him | up reís|en 553, mígt|e hé | it nó | wígt fór|ðen 554, áft|er him prophét|es álle 555, ǵo rém|eden he ál|le lúd|ere stéue 561, hem tó | cam críst | ure héu|en kíng 564, ǵre dag|es ál | he slép|en wílle 607, ǵánne | áfter ǵe ǵrídde daí 608, wið swét nesse | als | ic ít | gu seíe 613, wor só | he wálk|eð ón | ǵe lónde 617, wor só | he wálk|eð, wor só | he wúneð 618, ful wél | his lúu|e he táun|ede mán 631, ǵanne hé | was déd | in blód | ant bón 636, vp | he rós | ant rém|ede iwís 637, into | his gód | cundnéss|e afín 644, it óg|en ál|le to bén | us mín|de 653, gé | ne háu|eð in hír|e non gálle 654, ǵe wírm | ge lét|eð ant lúu|eð bi séd 658, In wát|er ge ís wís | of héu|ekes cóme 664, In hól|e of stón | ge mák|eð hiré nést 666.

Verses of three measures are ll. 28-31, 47, 50-53, 60, 61, 65-67, 152-155, 162, 163, 167 (two lines), 168, 169, 180-183, 218-229, 237, 241-249 (241, 242 originally four lines, see note), 251-256, 272-275, 277, 280, 286, 287, 290, 291, 300-303, 316, 319, 320, 324, 332, 333, 338-340, 358, 373, 374, 389, 403, 404, 417, 418, 450, 456, 457, 461, 464, 467-474, 477, 478, 492, 493, 497, 498, 502, 503, 527, 534, 535, 542-545. Noteworthy are, bó|ðe bi nígt | ant bi daí 47, so rígt|e só | he cúnne 52, ánt | he bíll|eð ðer ón 67 (anapaest in last foot occurs several times in this metre), ðis líf | bitók | neð ðe stí 152, ðát | tu sált | ðurg gón 155, aí | ðe sín | fúle || bisétt|en hé | wíle 167, gáddr|eð ílk|ines séd 180, bóð|e of wúð|e ant of wéd 181, of cón | ánt | of grés 182, ðat man clép|eð físi | ologét 221, He ðrág|eð ðe nédd|rę of ðe stón 222, wiðinn|e he haú|eð brenning 229, bi swílc | átter | i méne 248, drínk|en híð | wíssing 255, it quénch|et ílc | sínigíng 256, on óðr|es lénd|ebón 273, gef híð | ðat téð | bíføren 274, ? ant hélp|en híð | to hértén 277, hélp|en híð át | híð néde 290, god gíu|eð ðér|fore méde 291, ge fécc|eð óft|e in ðe tún 301, frét|eð hí|re fílle 319, ánt for híð | sínful|e wérk 340, bute frét|eð hí|re fílle 373, ðis fíð | ðat íð ðús | unríde 389, tíl | it cúm|eð ðe tíme 403, ðat stórm | stíreð | al ðe sé 404, síp|es ón | to féstén 417, ant áll|e úp | to gángen 418, súm ðíng | tókneð | bi ðís 461, ant wí|ke íð | herę déde 468, ? on wérld|e wún|en hér 493, ðat he múg|en rís|en wíð 503. Verses of two measures are ll. 317, 449 (mánie | ant sílle), 452, 460.

Common Metre consists of alternate octosyllable and three-bar lines arranged in stanzas of four lines, rhyming a:b:a:b. In this are ll. 73-104, 504-507, 512-515. Scan, ðó|re sát|anás | forsákeð 81, to íhész|u críst | híð sélf | bitákeð 83, Híð múð | íð gét | wél | unkúð 97, bídd|en bón|e gérn | to góde 101, ánt | híð múð | ðus rígtén 102, to dón | wél híð|e wíken 515. The stanza, ll. 89-92, is desperate.

Syncope of the middle vowel takes place in flstnęde 30, heuęne 49, 51, 562, 565, 639, seuęne 50 (but seucne 652), sínigíng 256, íuełé 344, chauęles 397, foleęeð 431, 620, deuęles 436, slunęren 452, wunęden 493, stedęfast 509, suggęden 559, sorgęden 559, remęden 561, steuęne 561, taunęde 631, heuękes 664: e is also slurred or lost in ouęr 48, 629, 630, clepęð 221, hauęð 229, oęen 284, aręn 394, forbísęde 464, bergęs 481, cumęð 543, oðę 549, makęn 556, watęr 664, makęð 666; in many other cases there is the alternative of a three-syllable foot, as for instance, of an anapaestic last foot in 502, 604. Hiatus occurs in stille 28, golsipe 245, giuernesse 246, pride 247, 257, alle 264, 418, 540, nede 267, raðe 333, same 339, wulde 354, were 387, eure 402, ðanne 485, 511, name 489, wanne 499, helpe 538, 546, migte 556, oliue 583.

Introduction: Before the middle of the second century A.D., there appeared at Alexandria a Greek book, in which marvellous accounts of the nature and properties of certain animals, plants, and stones were used as allegorical and mystical illustrations of the dogmas of the Christian faith. The natural history element was an amalgam of popular conceptions and travellers' tales, sheltering under the authority of δ Φυσιολόγος, the Naturalist, by whom the compiler probably meant Aristotle, and from whom the book itself was in later times called Physiologus. The didactic portion was a product of Alexandrian Judaeo-Christian theology, inspired by similar moralisations in the Septuagint and influenced by the pervading atmosphere of Egyptian nature symbolism.

In its primitive form the book is probably best represented by the version printed in Lauchert, pp. 229-270. It had an amazing success, it passed everywhere with the Christian faith and soon found translators into Ethiopic, Armenian, Syriac (more than once), and Arabic. There is evidence of a prose version in Latin as early as the fifth century; from Latin it passed into most of the literatures of Europe. But the metrical version of Thetbaldus appears to have driven out the older Latin versions, one of which, however, is the main source of the Anglo-Norman poem written by Philippe de Thaün on English ground about 1130 A.D.

1-35. Compare generally CM 18641-60.

2. $\mathfrak{J}$ =ant, with the subjunctives **here**, **smake** means if; some explain it by supposing ellipsis of $\mathfrak{zif}$.

3. **smel**, sense of smell, power of smelling; Mätzner compares 'Smel of neose is $\mathfrak{pe}$ ueorðe of $\mathfrak{pe}$ viſ wittes,' AR 104/17; 'þonne is $\mathfrak{pe}$ hundes smel for-do,' ON 822. **Smake**, perceive by smell; a rare transitive use; see 211/497 for the intransitive, give out a smell.

4. 'Qualicunque via descendit vallis ad ima,' T.

5. The second half line is short; read he self filleð.

6. [**dun**]: supplied in Specimens with a reference to l. 22.

7. **deu**: Holthausen suggests fen, mud, restoring the alliteration; comp. 195/630. **he**, the hunter.

8. **ðriueð dun**, hastens down; comp. 'se ferliche ha driuen dun to $\mathfrak{pe}$ eorðe,' HM 21/20, 'driue adun swireforð,' id. 23/32; with 'ðeðen,' 187/364. **bergen**: Holthausen conjectures dennen, which is apparently not used in ME. of living things: possibly dennen should be read as in l. 25; the writer is fond of such repetitions. There is nothing in T. corresponding to this line.

10-13. 'Natus non vigilat dum sol se tercio girat | Sed dans rugitum pater ejus suscitāt illum,' T.

11. **lið**: read **lieð**, as in l. 15.
12. Holthausen transposes, **Til ðe sunne haueð ðries · sinen him abuten.** But the inflectional rhyme is sufficient.
13. Transpose, his **faðer him reiseð**. **makeð**: perhaps **remeð**; comp. 193/540.
15. **lage**: a variant on 'kinde,' l. 10, characteristic, **habit**; comp. 'þenne hafest þu þes hundes laze,' OE*H* i. 25/4; 'De unwise man and forwened child habbeþ boðe on laze,' OE*H* ii. 41/23, and see 20/63.
16. 'Qui quociens dormit nunquam sua lumina claudit,' T. 'Crederis esse leo vigilianti semper oculo,' Ruodlieb iv. 85.
17. This interpretation springs from, 'Catulus leonis Iuda: ad praedam fili mi ascendisti: requiescens accubuisti ut leo, et quasi leaena, quis suscitabit eum?' Gen. xlix. 9; see Honorius Augustod. 935 c.
18. **hil**: comp. 'Twen heuone hil and helle dik,' GE 281.
20. **wu**—liked, how (anticipating 'hu,' l. 22), when it pleased him; similar is 'hu,' 192/504. **ligten**: see 141/42 and comp. 199/79.
21. Comp. 'ah þurh þe mon þ̅ he wes | ischrud̅ ȝ ihudd wið, | he bicherde þene feont, | ȝ schrenchte þen alde deouel, | ȝ teschrapet his heaued,' SK 1181. **derne**, cunning.
22. The missing half line may have been something like, to ðis dale niðer, as in l. 4.
23. **dennede him**, hid himself as in a den, suggested by den in l. 8; comp. 'caldeliche dennet in a beastes cribbe,' OE*H* i. 277/29.
24. **to manne frame**, for men's benefit; **manne** is *pl. gen.*, but the original reading was probably manne to frame with the usual *dative*: comp. 15/110; 'naht him to mede ac hus to freme ȝ to fultume,' OE*H* i. 217/17; 'folce to frofre,' Beowulf 14: see 3/37, 85/107, 86/126, 110/295, 186/323, 187/360.
27. **doluen**, buried; comp. 'Brend and doluen was ðat folc soth,' GE 3685. so for **also** would improve the rhythm; comp. 177/33.
29. **it**: formal subject; comp. 'Til hit sprang dai lizt,' KH 124 note: similar is 114/90.
30. **flstnede**, helped; a derivative beside the more common **flsten**; comp. 'He badd hiss maʒstre flstnenn himm,' Orm i. 181/5236, 213/6170.
32. A half line is missing, something like, liues louerd so he is, corresponding to 'mortis vindex' in T. Comp. 147/149. **vs**—**holden**, to hold us to life, maintain us alive, save us from death; add to before holden; comp. 'Butt iff þatt Godd himm hullpe þær, | ȝ helde himm þær to life,' Orm ii. 63/12033: similarly 'þa alde þe to fehte hcom scolde halden,'

L 9458, the elders who had to keep them fighting. But this transitive use is rare.

33. **wakeð**, keeps watch. 'Tu nos custodis, tu nullo tempore dormis | Pervigil ut pastor ne demat de grege raptor,' T. This is the explanation of *natura* iii. **hirde**: some such word as *wakeman* 113/56 would restore the alliteration.

35. **heren to**, obey. OE. *hieran* with this meaning takes the dative, 'Ne mæg nan mon twæm hlafordum hieran,' *Cura Past.* 128/23, but it is rare in ME. **nowor wille**, nowhere, in no case, never, astray; comp. 'ðo fleg agar fro sarray, | . . . | In ðe diserd, wil and weri,' GE 28/973, 5; 'In a foreste þay were goñe wylle,' *Ysumbras* 157.

37. **kinde** is without rhyme and Holthausen suggests that a line like l. 263 or l. 653 has fallen out. T. has 'Esse ferunt aquilam super omne volatile primam | Quae se sic renovat quando senecta gravat': something like, ðe moste ðat on list we finde, would correspond, comp. 188/384.

39. 'renovabitur ut aquilae iuventus tua,' Ps. cii. 5.

40. **cumeð ut of elde**, divests himself of old age.

41. **Siðen**, after, practically means when; comp. 'Siðen ghe brocte us to woa, | Adam gaf hire name eua,' GE 237, not 'since,' Mätzner. It is an adverb at l. 70 and nine other places, meaning afterwards. With **unwelde** comp. 'Vn-welde woren and in win, | Here owen limes hem wið-in,' GE 347.

42. **wrong**, awry; OWS cand. rangr; comp. 'ȝ all þatt ohht iss wrang | crumb | Shall effnedd beon ȝ rihhtedd,' *Orm* i. 321/9207; see also 177/62, 178/69, 70: al to is then altogether, exceedingly. But Mätzner assumes a participle ***to-wrungen**, which is without parallel. T. has, corresponding to ll. 61, 62, 'Est autem rostrum quo carpitur esca retortum,' but nothing here; with ll. 41-43 comp. 'Solet dici de Aquila dum senectute premitur, quod rostrum illius aduncetur et incurvetur, ita ut sumere cibum nequeat et macie languescat,' H. de S. Victor, ii. 417.

46. 'Fons ubi sit quaerit qui nunquam surgere desit,' T., from 'fons aquarum, cuius non deficient aquae,' *Isa.* lviii. 11.

48. ȝ rubricated as though beginning another line. **teð**, proceeds; comp. 184/266, 274; 'To-warde egipte he gunne ten,' GE 1953.

50. **seuene**: he flies through seven to the highest, eighth, heaven; comp. 'Eizte firmamenz þare beoth: swuche ase we i-seoth. | þe Ouemeste is þe riȝte heouene: in ȝwan þe steorrene beoth. | for godes riche is þare a-boue: þat last with-uten ende | . . . | þare bi-neoþe beoth seoue firmamenz,' SE. *Legendary*, 311/413.

52. as directly in front as he is able.

53. **houeð**, remains poised, floats; comp. 188/395, 189/409, Minot iii. 83.

54. **swideð**—flight, burns all his wings; comp. 'In dai swiþe noht sunne (MS. sinne) þe sal,' Surtees Psalter, MS. E. cxx. 6 (= 'Per diem sol non uret te'). T. has, 'Tunc sibi sol ambas incendit (*a. l.* accendit) fervidus alas. | Et minuit grandes alleviatque graves.'

56. 'ex calore poris apertis et pennis relaxatis subito descendens in fontem ruit,' Bartolomeus Anglicus, lib. xii.

57. **mide**, therewith; comp. 212/513 and see 1/19 note.

58. **grund**, bottom, see 188/401.

59. **heil j sund**: comp. 184/279, 188/402; 'Tel him þ þou ert sund and hale,' CM 5112; 'hol and isunde,' OEM 42/186.

61. If his beak were not crooked; not 'unzuverlässig,' Mätzner, but as artificers still use true, noun and verb, in various expressions, as 'out of true,' 'to true up,' &c.

62. **biforn**, in front, the upper mandible has curved over the lower, as S. Augustine explains, iv. i. 839: it is mostly used with verbs of motion, as at 76/10.

64. **tilen**, procure; comp. 179/103, 182/199; 'In swinc þu salt tilen ði mete,' GE 363.

65. with any benefit to himself. Comp. 'Mare hit hem deð to herme þenne to gode,' OEH i. 27/12; 'hi þonne ne mihtan nawþer ne him sylfum, ne þære heorde . . . nænige gode beon,' BH 45/14. 'Vix valet ex aliquo sumere pauca cibo,' T.

67. **billeð**: comp. 186/316, 334, 338; 'ad petram elidit, immo comminuit et conterit,' Neckam, De Naturis Rerum, 72.

69. **wrengðe**, distortion: derivative of wrong; apparently here only: see Archiv cxxvii. 47. Add al before forloren.

70. **rigte**, straightened.

75. **sinnes dern** would in any other context mean sins done in secret, but T. has 'Est homo peccatis que sunt ab origine matris | Qualis adest (*a. l.* idem est) aquila, sed renovatur ita,' which requires the sense of original sin not manifest in word or deed. This is clearer in Philippe de Thäin, 'Pur general pechié (*i.e.* the universal sin of the human race) | Est enfes baptizié, | E quant il est levez | Cum aigle est renuvez; | Quant il est baptiziez | Dunc est rejuveigniez: | Vertu e veement | En baptisteire prent,' 78/2115-22. The infant is old in inherited sin, in baptism he renounces Satan and becomes a Christian, then he learns priest's lore, pater noster and creed: ll. 93-102 are simply variations on the preceding. 'Nubes transcendit solisque incendia sentit. | Mundum cum pompis

despiciendo suis. | Fit novus in Christo ter mersus gurgite vivo. | . . . | Os terit obliquum per verba precancia Christum,' T.

78. **nimeð**: see 213/539.

79 goes with l. 78, he must betake himself to the Church, before he can find repentance; his eyes were previously too dim to see his guilt.

81. Transpose, ðore satanas forsakeð, and for l. 83 read to ihesu crist him self bitakeð: comp. 'Ich wole 3ou nou bitake ihesu crist,' E. E. Poems 106/165.

84. **mede**, reward, gives a poor sense; beten his nede would suit the context; comp. 184/280, 'For he wende beten his nede,' Rel. Ant. ii. 278/10; 'er he bete þy nede,' Lib. Desconus, 1582.

86. **lereð** &c., learns what the priest teaches, i.e. the articles of the faith.

88. **dreccheð**, tarries: comp. 'ne wold he ðor | Ouer on nigt drenchen nummor,' GE 1420.

89-92. This stanza is imperfect, ll. 89, 91 do not rhyme. The former is on an erasure. There is nothing corresponding in the original: it is probably due to the scribe.

89. **to godeward**: not toward God; **ward** is a mere tag, as at 179/115, 180/146, 184/259, 194/588; comp. 'frommard,' 58/66 note, 70/165; 'afterward,' 77/63 note. For the construction comp. 89/28, 96/58, 'ich hopie to mede,' AR 148/16; 'hopieð to here michele wisdome,' VV 67/13, 131/18; SJ 29/16; 'forðæm hie gemunon ðone tohopan þe hie to ðæm gestrionum habbað,' Cura Past. 344/1.

90. **lereð**: Emerson restores the rhyme by reading leteð; but 'leten of' is apparently always accompanied by an adverb of degree; see 44/260 note.

91. **ðat** apparently refers to 'gode' l. 89: in one edition of the Latin original 'solis incendia' is glossed 'iusticie calores.'

93. **funt fat**: probably here only in ME. for the usual fantston, as at 85/101; CM 29200: OE. **fant-fæt**.

95. The punctuation of Mätzner and Morris, buten a litel; wat is tat? involves taking 'litel' as a little thing. The meaning appears to be, but a small something (= a slight imperfection) is that his mouth is still crooked. Comp. 'And þeonne sum lutel hwat he mei leggen on þe,' AR 346/22; 'Ah 3ette me an hwet,' SK 767.

96. **untrewe**, with double meaning, crooked and unfaithful.

97, 98. **unkuð wið**, unacquainted with, not knowing (insciens); comp. 191/469 and 'uncuð . . . of,' 188/396, apparently the only three places where the word has this meaning. Elsewhere uncuð with the dative

means unknown (ignotus); comp. 'hit is us uncuð ȝ ungeliefedlic,' Orosius 214/21.

99. Whatever he does, under all circumstances; comp. 34/86 note.

100. He shall find out what is wanting to him.

101, 102. 'Os terit obliquum per verba precancia Christum,' T. After **bone**, a word of one syllable has dropped out, probably *gern*.

103, 104. 'Panis is est Christus, fit sine morte cibus,' T.

105. With this section should be compared OEH ii. 199, which deals with the same subject.

106. **o werlde**, in the world: comp. 180/140.

107. **te name**, a predicative phrase: him has fallen out before it. Comp. 'fox is hire to name,' 185/298 = fox is for name to her; 'him . . . se gemyndega papa Petrus to naman scop,' Bede 405/31 ('cui papa memoratus Petri nomen imposuerat'). Mätzner quotes 'þam is to naman nemned Drihten,' Psal. lxxvii. 4 (Dominus nomen est ei). A curious variation is seen in 'þat lond þat is to water nemned,' OEH ii. 177/3. The usual 'bi name' is at 176/24. For the noun *toname*, comp. 'Ðes wimman hadde ec on toname magdalene,' OEH ii. 143/12.

108. A padded line; the last half was probably, ȝ elde forwurðen.

109. **him**: see 80/47 note. **ten**: the bestiaries say forty.

110. **lene**: read *megre*; 'jejunans macie perhorret,' T. **iuele**, with difficulty; an early instance of the meaning. 'Vix movens sese veniensque tandem,' T.

111. **craft** . . . **kiðeð**: comp. 'Who so kouth wele his craft þare might it kith,' Minot v. 69 note.

112. **ðat** . . . **on**, in which: see 1/3 note.

113. Narrow the hole is, but he forces himself to go through it: comp. 'Long silence ȝ wel iwust nedeð þe þouhtes up touward þer heouene,' AR 72/17. **Nimeð**: see 213/359 note. 'Querit angustum lapidis foramen | . . . | Inde pertransit spoliaturque carnem | Pelle vetusta,' T.: 'cumeð to ane þurlede ston ȝ criepeð nedlinge þureh nereuwe hole ȝ bileueð hire hude baften hire,' OEH ii. 199/25. Transpose him *nedeð*.

115. **ward** is merely expletive; see 178/89 note.

116. **or**, previously, before drinking; comp. 'siðen,' 118. **speweð**: the explanation is in 181/159, 160: comp. 'heo schal speowen al ut þet wunder,' AR 346/6; 'þet is þet beste þeonne speowen hit ut anon mid schrifte to þe preoste,' id. 240/6; 119/91, 92, mostly with *ut*. Read here, *Oc he speweð ut or. al ðe uenim ðor*; for *or*: *ðor* comp. GE 4033 with 3845.

118. Transpose, *inog siðen drinkeð*, making a rhyming line.

120. of . . . naked, stripped of, without: *nacod* takes the genitive. Read, *Ðanne ðe neddre is newe.* ȝ of his hid naked: comp. 181/162.

121. An abridged line; read, ȝ in *bodi* ȝ in *brest.* bare of his atter. Comp. 'helden ham cleane ai fra fleschliche fulčen ibodi ȝ ibreoste,' HM 23/1. For of comp. 'bare of euch blisse,' SK 845; Minot vi. 25 note.

123. Transpose, him fro. *sulde*, would be bound to, obliged to.

124. Read, . cof ȝ *kene*: comp. 'Biforenn kafe ȝ *kene*,' Orm 19962. In AR 66/13 '*þe coue*,' wrongly translated 'the chough' means, the keen one; similarly, '*þe luðere coue deouel*,' id. 66/14.

125. *rigteð him*: 'Surgit in ipsum,' T.

126. to *ded maken* may be a construction by analogy of *don*, bringen &c., but it is more likely that to has been wrongly repeated and should be omitted. *forðen*, further, effect; comp. 184/280, 192/533, 193/554; 'for to forðen is fendes wil,' GE 341.

127. *wat if*: elliptical for, what results if? as at 181/170, what matters it if? Transpose, *wurðe war*, be on his guard: comp. 9/122, 48/330, 203/204.

128. *figteð*: read *fliteð*, contends, offers resistance; comp. 'Ierusalem ȝ babilonie . . . fliteð eure ȝ winneð,' OEH ii. 51/10. *fareð* &c., advances fighting against him; 'sequiturque multum,' T. For on, comp. 'hie alle on þone Cyning wærun feohtende,' AS. Chron. ed. Plummer, 48/4; 'for to finde me a freke to fezte on my fille,' Anturs of Arther, 15/27.

129. After *siðen* insert *he seð* · *ðat*, after he sees that he must needs.

130. 'Negligit corpus, facit inde scutum; | Verticis vero tenet usque curam, | Ne moriatur,' T. Comp. 'Ðare næddre ȝeapnesse is *ðat* hie lið al abuten itrand, ȝ hire heaued on midden, for to berzen *ðat* heaued,' VV 101/19.

131. *litel* — of, little he cares about, he does not much mind what happens to: see 8/84 note. *bute*, if only.

133-142 are based on 'Fonte qui sacro semel es novatus, | Denuo peccans, silicernus extas. | Ergo sis semper imitator anguis, | Cum veterascis,' T.

134. *Atte kirke dure*, at the font, placed symbolically at the entrance to the church: comp. 'heore godfaderes ȝ heore godmoderes scullen onswerie for hem et þe chirche dure ȝ beo in borȝes et þe fonstan,' OEH i. 73/29.

135. Transpose, on him to *leuen*. For *leuen* . . . *luuien* see 143/73 note.

136. For *bodes*, *hestes* should probably be read; comp. 130/78; '*þe heste of hali chirche*,' OEH i. 85/18.

137-140. Re-arrange, If *ŝu* hauest is broken. al *ŝu* forbredes. | forwur^{ðes} *ȝ* forwelkes. eche lif to wolden. | Elded art fro blis. so *ŝis* wirm o werld is. *forgelues*: only here; it may be connected with OE. *geolwian*, and so mean, to spoil by becoming yellow, to fade. But it is suspect; possibly the original word was *forwelkes*, dost wither. There is nothing in the original to correspond with l. 138; the adapter had perhaps in mind 'decidat, induret et arescat,' Ps. lxxxix. 6. *Eche lif to wolden*, so far as the attainment of eternal life is concerned. *Elded*, severed by age, is the writer's interpretation of *silicernus*. *Silicernium*, a funeral feast, is used in Terence, *Andria* iv. 2. 48, as an abusive term for an old man, hence L.L. *silicernus*, *senex*; but the *Catholicon*, citing this place in T., says 'Item *silicernus* ponitur quandoque pro firmo et duro ut *silex*.'

141. Add at the end, him bi, meaning, in his own case. For the rhyme comp. 'And manige of *ŝo* greten for^{ŝi} | *ŝat* he adden ben hard hem bi,' GE 3207, 3208; for the use of bi, see 13/18 note.

142. See 123/210.

143-151. Based on, 'Sit cibus parcus, minuantur artus. | Unde non mandis miseros (*a. l. pauperes*) juvabis | Penitens defle dominoque semper | dic miserere,' T.

143. *Feste* &c. is explained, confirm thyself in steadfastness; but for this ethical sense *festnen* is used everywhere else (see 147/142) and of seems to be without parallel, though '*ste^{ŝeluest} . . . of*' occurs at 129/24. The expression is rather pointless and corresponds to nothing in the ways of the serpent, while ll. 109, 110 are the only ones which have no interpretation in the '*significacio*.' Furthermore the last half of the line is defective. Now l. 144 clearly represents the second line of the original quoted above, which means, from what you do not eat you will help the poor, and it depends for its point on the sparing of food enjoined in the preceding line of the original. Accordingly we should expect something in l. 143 to correspond to it, which as printed above means, let your food be sparing and your limbs reduced by bloodletting (*minutio*, see 66/103-105 notes). If the poet had before him, or misread his copy so, *muniantur artes*, he might translate, *Feste þe* of *fastenes*. *ȝ filste þe* of *þewes*, that is, fortify thyself by fastings and help thyself by virtues. For he would find *ars* explained by Papias as *bene recteque vivendi virtus . . . ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς*, id est a virtute. - And the scribe by anticipating *ste þe* from the last half of the line might readily produce *stedefastnesse*.

145. *wur^{ði}* — *loken*, worthy to presume to look.

146. *ward*: see 178/89 note.

147. *wi^ð*, in contact with, on: comp. 188/401, 201/148.

150. **bote bid**, pray for deliverance: for the usual combination see 179/201. With l. 151 comp. 'bidden for heom deies 7 nihtes þet crist heom milcie of heore misdede,' OEH i. 7/36.

152. **sti** is subject of *bitokneð*: 'Signat hunc callem lapidis foramen. | Signat et christum petra, nam per ipsum | Fit novus quisque,' T. Perhaps for *tis*, l. 154, we should read Christ.

156. Comp. 181/160. **Let**, permit it to escape, as in 'þe king bigan to grete | 7 teres for to lete,' KH 889. Transpose *ðe* *fro*.

157-160. 'Cuius ad celsum veniendo templum, | Ut bibas sacrum beatumque verbum, | Evomas primum quod habes nocivum | Corde venenum,' T.

158. A defective line; read *drench · þi sinnes to cwenchen*. Comp. 28/10; 'swa bihoueð þe saule fode ⁊ mid godes wordes mid gode mode,' OEH i. 63/153; 'to cwennekenn oþre sinness,' Orm 11652.

160. Omit **brest**. **forðward**: read *forward*, covenant of 180/133: the combination is formal; comp. 'my forwarde with þe I festen on þis wyse,' E. E. Allit. Poems, 47/327; 'Pepigi fedus cum oculis meis . . . Ich habbe ivestned, seið Job, foreward mid min eien,' AR 62/23; 'þ ich þis forward wulle ⁊ fastliche halden,' L 23607. After this there are eight lines in the Latin which are not represented at all in the English poem, which is only slightly dependent on the original for the rest of the section.

161. **firmest**, first of all, at the very beginning.

163. **forðward**, henceforth; at 81/90 it means, straight ahead.

164. **Nedeð**, presses on, vexes: comp. 179/113; 'I me self all ah itt wald | Þatt deofell ma33 me scrennkenn, | Þurh þatt I do min lust tæto, | To don summ hefi3 sinne | Þatt he me ma33 wel eggenn to, | 7 nohlt ne ma33 me nedenn,' Orm 11815, a passage which may have been in the writer's mind here. But Mätzner suggests *neggeð*, comparing 179/122. Omit the second *nogt*, and in l. 165 transpose *ðe* *fro*.

166. **cliuer**, expert in seizing: the only ME. example of the word *clever*: noted by Sir Thomas Browne as an East Anglian word. See NED s.v. *clever*; the connection with **clifer**, claw, suggested by this use is illustrated by, 'Hweðer þe cat of helle claurede euer toward hire 7 cauhte mid his cleafres hire heorte heaued,' AR 102/4. With *on* comp. 'gredi uppen worlde richeise,' OEH ii. 195/1.

169. **nið 7 win**: comp. 183/244: 'nið and strif' is the equivalent in GE 373: *nið* usually takes to, 'he haueð to us muchel nið,' OEH i. 55/11, but see 197/11.

170. Comp. 'he haueð leue to fonden mon,' OEH i. 67/232.

171. Transpose, *us* for *to deren*: it is a rhyming line.

172. let us subject the body to pain: **bale** was probably suggested by 'bote,' 180/150. The meaning is made clear by, 'lyued in penance hys lyue3 longe | With bodyly bale hym blysse to byye,' E. E. Allit. Poems, 15/476. Omit *ŷe* before **bale**.

173. that (i.e. the soul) is equal to the head, that is, the head figuratively signifies the soul. But the Latin finally identifies the head with Christ, 'Hoc caput dico quod habes in ipso | Principe christo,' which is from 'omnis viri caput Christus est,' 1 Cor. xi. 3. **helde** might be *subj. past.* from **healdan**, if we were to keep, but that would give a poor sense; and it cannot be from **heldan** (**hieldan**) incline, for that would require to: **silde** should probably be read; comp. 180/130; 'Semper illesum caput est habendum,' T.; the meaning would be, let us protect it as it deserves.

176. Transpose, **weder softe**: **sen hauen ofte. softe**, mild; comp. '*ŷis weder is softe*,' GE 3061.

177. Read, **heruestes hete**; comp. 'Heruest, with the heite ȝ the high sun, | Was comyn into colde,' Destruction of Troy, 407/12465. **hardi-like**: **heardlice**, energetically; the glide *i* takes the place of the usual *e*.

178. **renneð rapelike**: comp. 187/368.

181. **wed**, weed, used, no doubt, for the rhyme: for a more usual expression, see 21/112.

182. Comp. 'He deden on gres and coren deres,' GE 3088, 3049.

183. **ire** is for hire. **hauen**, wealth; comp. 'man hoh . . . loc to chirche bringen ȝ wurðin þermide godes bord.' also his haue beð,' OE H ii. 217/6: n has been added as to 'boðen' 181/181 and elsewhere in this text and GE. Lit., that is to her for wealth; which constitutes her wealth.

185. **winter agen**, to meet, resist, winter: comp. 'Þe blake cloð . . . is þicure aȝein þe wind,' AR/50/15; 'Ðat arche was a feteles good | set and limed agen ŷe flood,' GE 561. 'Ut valeat brume fieri secura future,' T.

186. Holthausen restores alliteration by substituting **colde** for winter.

187. **hule**, hut, shelter. Mätzner takes the former **ŷat** as demonstrative, and divides **bi liuen**, that is meat by which she can live, quoting 'mete quorbi ŷei migten liuen,' GE 573. More probably the former **ŷat** has displaced **mide** (comp. 191/503), then **mete** is the object of **tileð**, procures.

188. Transpose, **ŷar tileð**.

189. **it**: the book Physiologus; so 192/506; see 177/38, 183/221.

190. 'Haec frumenta legit, si comperit; ordea spernit,' T. **finde ge**, if she find: **cleche** for **finde** would restore the alliteration. **corn**, grain

or seed, so OE. *hwātene* corn, corn *hwātes*, 'granum frumenti,' S. John xii. 24.

191. Omit *al*, and for *forleteð* read *sedeð*, sheds. *ðat—seide*, of which I have already spoken.

192. 'She biteth not the barley to bear it about,' Specimens. Mätzner also takes *bit* as *biteð*, eats, but explains *beren abuten*, about the barn. But *bit*, OE. *bīt*, is contracted form of *bideð*, endures, which is to be restored here: she cannot endure the carrying of the barley about.

193. but shunneth it and hurries away, as though it were a shame to have anything to do with it. *sakeð*: comp. 192/536; 'nes þer nan biscop.' þ forð on his wæi ne scoc | na munec ne nan abbed.' þ he an his wæi ne rad,' L 13245; 'and with his batayle forth he schoke,' Laud Troy Book, 4886.

195. Omit *ðe* corn, for *bit* read *biteð* (so too at l. 211), and transpose, *otwinne biteð*. *al—biteð*, she bites it all asunder. *otwinne*, on twain: comp. OWScand. *tvinnr*, double. 'Sed ne de pluuiis aspersum germinet udis, | Aut ea ne pereat, esse quod hinc nequeat, | Granum quod legit prudens formica bipertit,' T.

196. Add *wurþ* before *forwurðe*: comp. 'Ich schal mid one bare worde | Do þat þi speche wrþ forwurþe,' ON 548. *ne waxe* &c., nor germinate so as to be lost to her.

200. Defective: *ðis* little wile. *ðe* we on werlde wunen appears to form a line: Long and *liuenoðe* are probably the first and last words of a line; the latter must be dative. The Latin original has 'Nosque laboremus, fratres, dum tempus habemus;' something too is wanted to balance 'mikel ge swinkeð,' 181/175, like, Longe þat we labouren . for ure liuenoðe. This conjecture assumes an earlier use of labour than any recorded.

202. *of*, off, away, *adv.* representing off *ðis* werlde; comp. 'ær ic . . . of gewite,' 'prius quam eam,' Psal. xxxviii. 16. *winter*: 'tempore iudicii, quod simile est hiemi,' T.

203. *harde sures*, sore troubles; comp. 'to put þe of peril . i haue ney perished oft, | ȝ many a scharp schour . for þi sake þoled,' W. of Palerne, 4513; 'ffull sharpe was the shoure (printed shoute), shent were þere mony,' Destruction of Troy, 10069: the adjective in this sense is usually sharp; 'hard shoure,' Destr. of Troy, 11048 is a fierce attack, but 'sorfyl scurs,' CM 24602. Similarly, 'weorre ȝ weane baðe | ȝ untidi wederes,' SK 2599.

204. The line may be completed by, er we henne wende; see 22/117. The rest of this section consists of rhymed septenaries.

205. For *derue* read *glewe*, wise, prudent.

206. Transpose, us ne, and omit harde. So that we do not deeply regret our improvidence at doomsday.

207. For ure read here, for ðere, with Holthausen who cites 178/88, þore. For liues, soules should perhaps be read, as at 179/103.

208. For nummore read more.

209. After barlic add sed or corn. In the earlier bestiaries barley stands for heretical writers: Eudes de Cheriton, p. 247, explains wheat as good works.

210. Omit to. **hauen moten**, must have, is feeble and does not rhyme. Holthausen suggests hauen geten, have to observe: moten geten, must get, or moten seken, which makes up for an indifferent rhyme by its contrast with sunen, seem better. 'Ipse novam legem colligo, non veterem,' T.

211. get as at l. 195 would be better metrically.

212. Transpose, god to don, and, us forbedeð.

213. 'Hoc est quod binas lex habet una vias, | Quae terrena sonat, simul et celestia monstrat. | Nunc mentem pascit, et modo corpus alit,' T. The corrections bet, offers, and erðliche are due to Mätzner. **bodes**, not 'biddings,' Specimens, but teachings, information. **bekned**, points to, indicates, proclaims. The meaning of the original depends on the special use of lex, according to Papias 'a legendo dicta lexis græce, latine locutio, id est quælibet syllaba uel uox, quæ scribi potest,' hence the written word, here the 'facts' of natural history, useful to know for our bodily sustenance, but also charged with spiritual instruction. The ant, as the Latin puts it, 'in suis factis res monstrat spirituales.' The English version has obscured the sense by adding, without authority, l. 212, where lex is taken in its natural meaning of law. **euelike**, heavenly (teachings).

214. o geuelike, on an equality, equally: OE. *ge-efenlic* *adj.* here used as *noun*: comp. 194/593.

215, 216. 'Nos utinam repleat, famis ut formido recedat, | Tempore iudicii, quod simile est hiemi,' T.

216. The first half is short; add, in erd after nu.

217. Next to the Ant in T. comes the Fox and then the Hart.

218-221. 'Cervus habere duas naturas atque figuras | Dicitur a phisio, cum docet inde, logo,' T. How the hart renews its youth is again told in the Deposition of Richard the Second, 15/8-20, and there is a curious use of the fable in Nova Legenda Anglie, i. 254/23-29.

221. *fisiologet*: the termination is probably borrowed from the familiar donet, a Latin grammar; OF. donet.

223. ðurg his nese, by drawing in his breath, 'spiritu narium,' or as T.

puts it, 'cum naribus extrahit.' on on, continuously; at 207/339, forth-with.

224. **stoc . . . ston**: 'de caveis terrae, de latebrisve petrae,' T. The translator uses a familiar combination.

225. **it**: the adder.

226. **sweleð**, miswritten for swelgeð, swallows: the scribe was probably led by 'brinneð' in the next line to think of the word which for him represented **swælan**.

227, 228. **ðerof . . . of**: tautology is frequent in this piece: comp. 184/260. The impersonal use of **brinneð** appears to be without parallel: the meaning is, that poisonous matter burns him afterwards.

230. 'Estuat ad liquidas pergere fontis aquas,' T.; estuat is glossed *festinat*, hence **lepeð**; comp. Psal. xli. 1. **wið**—*list*, displaying great prudence, wisdom: comp. 'To the fischers hous þai went wiþ list,' Gregor-legende, ed. Schulz, 52/1015.

232-238. 'Quas cum forte bibit, his plenus toxica vincit, | Se juvenemque facit, cornua quando jacet,' T.

235. **non wigt**, no whit, not at all.

236. **er**, before he recovers.

238. **gingid him**, renews his youth: comp. 184/259: a rare word, perhaps only here.

241-249. 'Nos quoque cum prisci serpentis fraude revicti, | Virus contrahimus, urimur et facibus, | Haec est luxuria quae fert odium vel et iram, | Aut etiam nimia est aeris auaricia,' T.

241, 242 were no doubt originally couplets, perhaps, Alle we atter dragen | of ure eldere misdeden | ðe broken drigtinnes sonde | ðurg ðe neddres onde: comp. 40/192, 193. **eldere** seems to have been suggested by *prisci*.

244. **nið j win**: see 181/169.

245. **giscing**, covetousness: OE. **gitsung**; comp. 'He bad him chesen steres-men . . . ðe niðing and giscing flen,' GE 3429, 3432; 'Mid yuernesne and prude . and yssyng wes þat on,' OEM 38/35.

246. **wissing**: to OE. **wȳscan**: its meaning as a sin is shown by, 'Ne wrec þu þe mid wussinge . ne mid warienge,' OEH ii. 179/22, *avenge* not thyself by wishing evil or cursing.

247. **ouerwene**, presumption: found here only.

248. Insert **bi** before **swile**.

252, 253. 'Ad fontem vivum debemus currere christum,' T.

255. **wissing**, instruction. 'Qui cum nos udat, sumpta venena fugat,' T. *udat* is explained, with quotation of this line, in the *Catholicon* as *balneat*.

257. **forwerpen** and **gingen** 259 depend on **bihoueð** 252. Holthausen restores the missing rhyme by reading, **forwerpen** pride hornes | so hert doð hise in þornes. It would be simpler to add **al** (comp. 178/73, 180/137, 182/191, 190/443), meaning completely, entirely, after hornes; it would balance **euerilcde**, and the rhyme is possible; see 190/465, 466.

259. In this way renew our youth to God, that is, restore the baptismal relation to him; comp. 181/162 and 178/89.

260. take heed to ourselves afterward henceforth, ever after. Comp. 'ðe sunenday | ðat is forð siðen worðed ay,' GE 261.

263. That ought to be present in thought to us all: comp. 191/487, 196/653; 'þine beoden þe beoð þe so inunde,' SM 13/8. **minde** is OE. **gemynde**.

265. 'Longius et pergunt pascua quando petunt,' T.

266. **ouer water ten**: 'Si fluvios tranant,' T.; 'quant passent braz de mier,' Bozon, Contes moralisés, 56/3; 'Cervi . . . maria trameant gregatim nantes porrecto ordine, et capita imponentes praecedentium clunibus, vicibusque ad terga redeuntes,' Pliny, N. H. viii. 32, 114. See *Fecunda Ratis*, 105/522 note, as to the use of this story by the Fathers.

268. Read **biforen**.

272. **skinbon**, shinbone; OE. **scin-bān**, tibia, which if placed on the haunch of the preceding hart would make swimming difficult. He should have written **chin**: 'Portant suspensum gradientes ordine mentum,' Alter in alterius clunibus impositus,' T.; 'chescun de eux met sa test sus autri croupe,' Bozon, 56/4.

274. Transpose, **teð biforen**: 'Sed qui preedit fessus ad ima redit; | Sic se vertentes cuncti mutuoque ferentes | Nunquam deficiunt, atque viam peragunt,' T.

275. **tirgen**, to be fatigued; OE. **tiergan**, **tyrgan**, to vex. 'Tirwyn, or make wery, lasso,' Prompt. Parvul., col. 499. But the word is not original, it does not rhyme. **Teren**, representing **tēorian**, **teorian**, to tire, would be better; ***toren** with shifted accent, perhaps influenced by **tor**, difficult (see NED **tor**, **tere**) would restore the rhyme.

276. Transpose, **mide cumen**.

277. **hertien** is Mätzner's correction, comparing 199/75, 76; but the *inf.* in **-ien** is very doubtful. The original word was probably **beren**.

278. **grund**: see 188/401: the poet has misunderstood 'ad ima redit,' the weary leader, who has no rest for his chin, falls in at the rear of the procession.

280. and supply their necessity; 'nunquam deficiunt,' they never fail

one another. A line is wanting, such as, ȝ cumen to here stede, answering to 'atque viam peragunt.'

281. 'Hunc retinent usum, si sint vel in agmine centum,' T. **hem bitwen**, among themselves.

284. 'Per tales mores alienos ferre labores | Cum pietate monent atque iuvare docent,' T. **cōstes**, habits, ways: comp. 'knewen he nogt ȝis dewes cost,' GE 3327.

285. Connect ur non, no one of us.

288. **his wine**, to his friend.

289. 'Alter alterius onera portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi,' Gal. vi. 2.

291-294. 'Sic lex est Christi nobis complenda magistri | Cuius, qui faciet, pascua repperiet,' T.

293. **bitwixen us . . . brice**, useful, serviceable to one another: comp. 194/592.

294. **lage**: *acc.* after to fillen, which is subject of is.

295. **ðar wið ne dillen**, be not sluggish about that: comp. 'Hymself to on sware he is not dylle,' E. E. Allit. Poems, 21/679. The first half of the line is feeble: perhaps dred for ned would be better.

298. **hire** follows the gender of vulpes. For to name see 179/107. **queðsipe**: Holthausen suggests flerdscipe to restore the alliteration, with reference to 187/351; the compound does not occur elsewhere. Perhaps fikenunge, deceit; or, for the last half-line read for ure unframe, comp. 'Quad esau, rigt is his name | hoten iacob, to min unframe,' GE 1565. But the writer may have intended an inflectional rhyme.

299. **harm-dedes**, injurious action; a compound which apparently occurs here only.

301. **feccheð**, steals: comp. 'Bothe my gees ȝ my grys . his gadelynges feccheth,' P. Plowman B. iv. 51. **tun**, the enclosed farmyard.

305. **hulen** is hardly possible; it is not found elsewhere till the end of the fourteenth century and the construction with the direct *acc.* hire is improbable. Mätzner suggested hunten, Holthausen, hurlen, drive: huten, revile seems preferable; comp. 'ȝ ȝiff mann wolde tælenn þatt, | ȝ hutenn hire ȝ þutenn,' Orm 2033, 4875. So chauntecler says to the fox, 'Acoursed be thou of Godes mouthe,' Rel. Ant. ii. 273/19. Further the repetition of **hatien** is feeble; **harien**, persecute, would give a good sense, while **hundes** (176/21, 192/512) for men would restore the alliteration. So the line would run, **harien ȝ huten . boðe hundes ȝ fules**.

307. **furg**, furrow. 'In terram scissam se tendit atque supina | Et quasi mortua sit, flamina nulla trahit,' T.

308 is made up of halves of two lines which may have run thus: fugeles to bilirten . mid hire fel wrenche | In eried lond er in erðchine . ge strekeð adun. **bilirten**, deceive, ensnare, a Midland and Northern word: OE. **belyrtan**. **eried lond**, ploughed land, 'terram scissam,' the 'furg' of l. 307. **erðchine**, a cleft in the ground: a compound found here only.

309. **stund**, portion (of time): rarely with defining genitive.

310. **dareð**: comp. 187/374, 195/624: here, to lie motionless, in the other places, to lie hid, to lurk; comp. 'fare man . . . to þam scræfe þær þa wiðer-sacan inne dariað behydde,' Ælf. Lives, i. 506/321, and see Minot i. 9 for further illustrations of the uses of this word.

311. **swiðe redi**, very prompt to seize the opportunity: comp. 187/368.

312. **fallen bi**, alight near; a use of the verb determined by the needs of alliteration: Mätzner adduces OE. **befeallen**, but that requires on; so in ME. 'Gredi foueles fellen ðor-on,' GE 947. 'insidet ut comedat,' T. Transpose, **bi hire fallen . fode for to winnen**.

313. Transpose, **beð ded**.

314. Mätzner alters **wullen** to **billen**, spoiling the secondary alliteration: the absolute use of **willen**, to desire to go, is common enough. **fel**: in Eudes de Cheriton, 303/7 and Jacques de Vitry, no. ccciv, the fox puts out his tongue and the birds make for it, a device which greatly improves the fox's chance. Transpose, **feleð wel**.

315. **letteð**, stops, hinders: OE. **lettan**. Transpose, up **lepeð**. ȝ hem sone **letteð**.

317. **illing**, evil treatment. 'Dentibus et tristem reddit edendo vicem,' T.

318. **tetoggeð**, pulls to pieces; see 68/145.

323. **frame**: see 176/24.

324. For the combination, see 18/16.

325. 'Nunc zabulo similis, par aliquando viris,' T.

327. 'Nos et dissimulat quod mala non faciat,' T. **lat**, pretends; comp. 203/222: influenced in form at any rate by OWScand. **láta**.

329. Omit a and he.

330. **bukes**, belly's: see 4/19, where it means body.

331. **wið unskil**, without discretion: comp. 'Ne rend, ne beat nogt wið vnskil,' GE 3506; Orm 427.

332. And while we are amusing ourselves, he quickly plays us a fox's trick. **foxing**, a nonce-word in this sense, but it is common in dialect for shamming.

334-341. 'Cuius (read eius) edit carnem quisquis rem fingit inanem, | Hoc est peccatum quodlibet et malum | Quem quasi deglutit, cum secum ad tartara ducit,' T.

335. **idel spel**: 'verbum otiosum,' S. Matt. xii. 36; 'tel heom þer spelles,' L 26538 appears to mean, tell them tales there.

336. Whoever feeds on sin, he tugs at the fox's flesh.

338. **geld**, requites; comp. l. 316.

339. **sending**, disgrace, confusion; OE. **scendan**.

341. **merk**, dark, murky; OE. **mirce**: comp. 190/439, 193/570.

343, 344. 'Daemon ab insidiis vulpeculae est similis,' T. **breides**, stratagems, tricks; comp. 193/548. **swik**, deception; comp. 188/396: OE. **swic**.

345, 346. 'Sic cum fraude viri sunt vulpis nomine digni, | Quales hoc plures tempore sunt homines,' T. For **man** read **mani**, omit **þ**, transpose **wurði arn** and insert **to** before **same**, and many likewise are worthy of the name of fox to their disgrace. Comp. 'Euerilc ðhing haueð he geue name, | Me to sorge, scaðe and same,' GE 301.

347. **oðer**, to another.

348. Comp. 'Danne ðogte eue on hire mod,' GE 333; KH 281 note.

349. **iwis**: see 32/40 note. There is nothing in T. corresponding to ll. 347-349; the writer had probably in mind, 'Ut quid cogitatis mala in cordibus vestris?' S. Matt. ix. 4.

350. **legeð** &c., lies not, misleads not in this; so, 'Iff iosephus ne legeð me,' GE 1281.

351-354. 'Herodesque fuit, qui christum querere jussit, | Credere se simulans, perdere dissimulans,' T.; comp. S. Luke, xiii. 32. **herodes**: Orm has **Herode** in his English text. **fox ȝ flerd**: nouns used as adjectives: for the former comp. 29/15; **flerd**, deceit, occurs in Orm, 'falls ȝ flærd,' 12177: OE. **fleard**: see Björkman, 160.

354. **fordon**: 'Futurum est enim ut Herodes quaerat puerum ad perdendum eum,' S. Matt. ii. 15.

356. **Seftes** &c.: comp. 2/2. **sene—werlde**, it is seen in the case of the world; parenthetic; but Mätzner takes **ðing** as subject of **is** With **on** comp. 'þat was on Tristrem sene,' Sir Tristrem 1205; 'On þe hit is wel eþ sene,' OEH ii. 255/5; 'Ful soth it was apon vs sene,' CM 24333.

357. **leiðe**, hateful: OWScand. **leiðr** = OE. **lāð**: **lodlike**, OE. **lāðlic** is synonymous. **ðus**: either, as has already been said, that the Creator made these loathly things, or, as follows, that He made them to this end, for the instruction of men generally. The latter is a common mediaeval

idea; men, says Gilbert of Hoyland, contemplate God 'in speculo creaturarum et scripturarum aenigmate,' S. Bernardi Opera, ii. 170.

358. **manikines**: see 81/80 note.

359. **manne**: dat.; see 176/24 note.

360. Holthausen supplied web (see l. 363), and swiðe or wide. 'Plurima fila net (*a. l. nectit*) assiduus,' T.

361. Transpose, atte hus rof festeð. **festeð**, binds. **fodredes**, plans, means of securing food: a word found here only.

362. **so**—**elde**, so it is for her in age, is senseless in this context: read, hire is so on felde, it is for her as if on a field, that is, she moves on a ceiling as if she were on the ground. **so**, as if; comp. 194/583 with 195/625; 'His brunie he gan lace | So he scholde in to place,' KH 717.

363. **werpeð**, throws, with perhaps a reference to the specific meaning of warp, OE. **wearp**, stamen.

364. Transpose, al idigt haueð. With **driueð** comp. 176/8.

365. **it**, the web.

366. Transpose, fleges ðer farcn . ȝ ðerinne fallen.

367. **wiðeren**, struggle; properly, resist.

368. **renneð** &c.: comp. 181/178. **redi**: comp. 185/311.

369. **nimeð** . . . to, makes for; see 213/539. **nimeð**, seizes: the repetition is tolerable, because of the different meanings of the word.

370. **bit**: read biteð. **bane**, destroyer: OE. **bana**, mostly used of the agent.

372. This line appears to be derived from 'Et placet inde sibi nimium | Quando nocere potest alium' which comes in the application or 'significacio.' If so, it means that in this action she finds her greatest profit. But probably hem should be substituted for hire.

373. Read freteð.

374. **dareð**: see 185/310 and 195/624.

376. 'Hos sequitur homo vermiculos | Decipiendo suos socios,' T. For man read were.

377. **on**—**stalle**, in any place whatsoever: comp. 'i stude ȝ i stalle,' SK 683. B-T quotes from a charter, 'þ hi . . . næfre ne beon on stede ne on stealle þær æfre undon worðe þ ure foregengles geuðen,' Thorpe, Diplom. Angl., 348/28. The words are synonymous, so, 'þer þe fir he has his stall,' CM 396. See 192/537.

377. **stille** er lude, under any circumstances: see 25/226 note.

378. **mot**, place of meeting, especially in a court of law. For **wise** read mene: comp. 'mannes mene,' society of men, GE 501. See 26/266.

379. Read, sarp he him biteð; corresponding to 'bitterlike,' 187/370;

comp. 'sarp on bite;' GE 2989. 'Quos comedit faciens miseros,' T. **bale selleð**, does him an injury. ME. sellen, to give, is rarely used with immaterial object, but comp. 'sýlle heom forʒefenese,' Twelfth Cent. Homilies, 132/20. Similar is 'nuste noht Bruttes þere.' þat balu heom wes ʒiueðe,' L 29817. Transpose, bale him.

380. Transpose, his blod drinkeð. **dreueð**, vexes, annoys.

381. For **hem** read him; the scribe corrected ll. 379, 380, but overlooked this. Transpose, ʒ ʒo him al freteð.

382. **cetegrandie**: genitive of 'cete grandia,' Gen. i. 21, treated as though it were one word and a noun singular. Cetegrandia is not in Papias or the Catholicon; it is quite possibly the invention of the present writer; the heading in T. is 'De Balena' or 'De Ceto.' The word in l. 383 appears to have been formed directly from it; the OF. Bestiaries have cetus only.

383-388. 'Est super omne pecus quod vivit in aquore cetus, | Monstrum grande satis, cum superexstat aquis | Prospiciens illum, montem putat esse marinum, | Aut quod in oceano insula sit medio,' T. Insert gret before fis.

385. **ðat**: pronoun anticipating the clause ʒat — neilond, l. 387. **get**, too; comp. 'Of thre ʒere in þe temple sett, | And þerto fourtene winter gett,' CM 10531.

389. **vnride**, enormous, monstrous; OE. **ungerȳde**; the general idea of the word is excessive. Comp. 192/507, 522, 120/125.

390. **hungreð**: impersonal as at 60/99; comp. 'crist him ʒeueð swilcne mete þ him nefre eft ne hungreð,' OEH i. 37/30; 'þer in onliche stude him hungrede,' AR 162/1. Omit he. **gapeð** &c.: 'os aperit | Unde velud florum (a. l. hamum) se flatus reddit hodorum | Ad se pisciculos ut trahat exiguos,' T.

391. **it smit an onde**, a breath rushes forth; comp. 126/321 note: it is formal nominative, the real subject is **onde**; comp. 188/403; 'Til hit sprang dai liʒt,' KH 124 note.

393. **to him dragen**, move towards him: comp. 189/416, 32/49; 'And whatena hauld shall we draw to?' Child, Ballads, iii. 434.

394. **it**, the sweet breath.

395. **houen**: see 177/53.

396. **swike**: see 82/111. **uncuð . . . of**: see 179/97.

397. 'Piscis pisciculos claudit, deglutit et illos,' T.

401. **wið**, on; comp. 180/147. **se grund**, bottom of the sea; comp. 177/58, 184/278, 189/423; 'þai sail in þe see gronde . fissesches to fede,' Minot x. 4 note; 'I'll set my foot in a bottomless boat, | And swim to the sea-ground,' Child, Ballads, i. 448.

402. **heil ȝ sund**: see 177/59.

403. Insert perhaps *harde* or *ille* before *time*. 'Si sit tempestas, cum vadit vel venit estas, | Et pelagus fundum turbidat omne suum,' T.

404. For *se*, Holthausen suggests *brine*, *salt sea*, by way of improving the rhyme, but comp. *time*: *bi me*, KH 533, 534.

405. **winnen**, come into conflict, at the change of the seasons.

407. **droui**, turbid; comp. OE. **drōf**, **drēfan**: comp. 'Per faure citees wern set nov is a see called, | Þat ay is drouy ȝ dim,' E. E. Allit. Poems, 68/1016.

408. **ðat stund**, at that time; comp. 185/309.

409. 'Continuo summas se tollit caetus ad undas,' T. **stireð**, moves; comp. 'ðis asse is eft of weige stired,' GE 3961, but *stirteð* would be more appropriate; comp. 'And pharaon stirte up anon,' GE 2931; 'Þe fisches sturten op with þis song,' South English Legendary, 232/456. **houeð stille**: comp. 'Louerd crist, þat swch a best: scholde houi so stille | And soffri men opon him gon: and don al heore wille,' id. 230/375.

411. **sipes**: Mätzner suggested *siperes*, OE. **scipere**, but that does not apparently occur in ME. and it would be unmetrical, *sipmen* might be read, if any change were necessary. **fordriuēn**, driven about, so 'We beoþ séé-weri men.' mid wedere al for-dreuen,' L MS. O, 6205: but OE. **fordrīfan** means to drive away, banish, drive out of course.

412. There is nothing in the original corresponding to this line: comp. 91/88.

413. **biloken**: Mätzner explains, look around, comparing 'Brid . . . biwent him ofte, ȝ bilokeð him euer ȝeorneliche al abuten,' AR 132/26, but the meaning of the verb is there qualified by 'abuten.' Here its natural sense is better, they look to themselves, they consider their plight.

414. Add *ðat* after **wenen**: comp. 185/311. 'Est promontorium cernere non modicum | Huic religare citam pre tempestate carinam | Nautae festinant utque foras saliant,' T.

416. **mid here migt**, striving their hardest: 'bi his mihte,' OE. H ii, 189/11.

417, 418. These lines probably ran, **Sipes** on to **festen** | ȝ alle up to **gangen**. **festen on**, moor.

419, 420. 'Accendunt vigilem quem navis portitat ignem,' T.; 'vigilem,' ever burning, Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 200. **wel to brennen** may mean, to light a good fire, but such absolute use of *brennen* is without support. For **wel** read **welm**, blazing fire: OE. **wiēlm**, **wylm**; comp. 'he wolde hine ifusen.' to ane bare walme,' L 22123: the word is common enough in OE.

but rare in ME., and so may have puzzled the copyist, who would find well in the next line. The sense is, They all go up on land to light a blazing fire on this monster by a spark struck out of flint by steel into tinder.

421. **warmen . . . heten . . . drinken** depend on **gangen**: 'ut cale se faciant aut comedenda coquant,' T.

423. **grunde**: see 188/401. For the whale mistaken for an island, comp. the South English Legendary, 224/155-176.

426, 427. 'Viribus est zabulus quasi cetus corpore magnus, | Ut monstrant magni quos facit ille magi,' T. **wið**, of, as in 'mekill of maine,' Minot, i. 85.

427. **hauen** gives a fair sense with 'wil ȝ magt' as object, but the original word was probably **taunen** (comp. 195/631), rendering 'monstrant.'

428, 429 are due to a misunderstanding of the original, 'Mentes cunctorum qui sunt ubique virorum | Esurit atque sitit, quosque potest perimit,' the devil hungers and thirsts for the souls of men and he destroys all he can.

430. **tolleð**, allures: the earliest occurrence of the word.

431. **Omit he. sonde**, shame.

432. **in leue lage**, low (weak) in faith; a phrase apparently without parallel. 'Sed modicos fidei trahit in dulcedine verbi, | Namque fide firmos non trahit ille viros,' T.

435. **in rigte leue**: see 89/28. **mid fles ȝ gast**, in body and soul.

437. **on lengðe**, in the long run, at length: more commonly used of measure, 'hit is on lengþe.' four and twenti mundes,' L MS. O, 21993.

438. **festeð**: comp. 1/23; 'In him i hafe min hope al fest,' CM 5288: 'spem sibi ponit,' T.

439. **helle dim**: comp. 186/341.

440. This article is mostly original. **Sirene**, genitive of *sirena*; the title in T. is 'De Sirenis'; classical Latin has only *siren*, -is, *fem.* In T. they are female and birds in the nether half; his account is very brief and general, and it is followed closely by that of the onocentaur, which is 'biformis' like the siren; the 'significacio' is common to both. An earlier description is found in Layamon, 1322-1347, which is based on Wace, Brut, 733-771. The author of the Bestiary was acquainted with one or both of these. Comp. also Bozon, Contes Moralises, p. 47.

441. **selcuðes**, marvels: the word is mostly adjective. 'Item mare est animantium et monstrorum multiplicis forme productivum; mare enim longe producit monstra et mira quam facit ipsa terra,' Bartholomeus Anglicus, lib. xiii.

442. **mereman**, mermaid: a better form is **meremin**, *pl.* **merminnen**, L 1322: **merman** is a much later masculine formed from mermaid. The first half of the line is short: perhaps **muchel** should be added after is.

443. **oc—bunden**, but in her resemblance to a maiden she is altogether limited to this extent of breast and body. This use of **bind** has perhaps been helped by Layamon's 'wifmen hit þunchet fuliwis,' **bi-neoþe** þon gurdle hit þuncheð fisc.'

444. 'Poisson sunt del nombril aval,' Wace 737. For the second half line read, **ge** is **noman** **ilik**.

445. to **fuliwis**: see 32/40 note. **waxen**: explained by Mätzner as furnished, in meaning of OE. **beweaxan**, which however is used only of extraneous growths, as 'burgtunas brerum beweaxne,' town-dwellings with briars o'ergrown, Cod. Exon. 443/16. Comp. 'a win-tre | ȝat adde waxen buges ȝre,' GE 59/2059.

446. **wankel**, unstable; OE. **wancol**: comp. 'wanclen,' weaklings, L 31834. The modern dialect word, **wankle**, is current in the North and Midlands, and often used of uncertain, unsettled weather, and so probably here of stormy, disturbed seas.

447. **ðer—sinkeð** is a half-line, **sipes—werkeð** a complete line: the former may have run, **ðer ȝe water sinkeð**. **dun** on west halue, where the sea slopes away down to the west; for the second half-line comp. 'an æst halue an west halue,' L 29287. 'Et modo naufragium, modo dant mortale periculum,' T.

448. **mirie**: 'Dolces vois ont, dolcement chantent,' Wace, 738; 'Þeos habbeð swa murie song,' L 1326. Holthausen omits **ge**. **mere**, a shortened form of **mereman**. **manie**: 'Sirenae sunt monstra maris resonancia multis | Vocibus et modulis cantus formancia multis,' T.

449. **sille**, marvellous; OE. **syllic**.

450. **it ben**: see 1/10 note.

451. The scribe should have put the stop before **forgeten**. 'Li fol home qui le cant oent, | . . . | Lor voie oblient et guerpissent,' Wace, 743, 745.

452. 'Quae faciunt sompnum nimia dulcedine vocum,' T.

454. **suk**, suck, expressing the sound made by the water closing over the vessel.

456-459 appears to be based on the experience of Brutus; 'Brutus iherde ȝiggen' þurh his sæ-monnen | of þan ufele ginnen' þe cuðen þa mereminnen . . . | þa mereminnen heom to svornnen' on alchare sidan. | swiða heo heom lætten' mid luðere heora craften. | Neðelas Brutus

at-bræc.' al buten burstan, | ȝ ferde riht on his wei,' L 1334-1337, 1342-1347.

456. **wise . . . warre**: see 18/16.

457. know how to return, that is, to escape: comp. 'hwan ic aȝen cherre.' al ic þe ȝelde,' OEH i. 79/12, and for the noun, 'Þer deþ so redi fynt dore opene, | Ne may helpe no ȝeyn char,' Desputisoun, 76/167; 'efter-charr,' CM 21922.

458. Often they have burst away, made good their escape: comp. 193/548 where the verb has an object in the *acc.* of the thing escaped from, as occasionally in OE., and as probably here also. For the second half of the line in its present form yields no satisfactory sense. Mätzner, who completed he[re], translates, with their heart incorruptible, inflexible, equating **ouel** with OWScand. *ófalr*. Read, ofte arn atbrosten mid hele. here brest iuel, often have they safely escaped from their evil danger. Comp. 'þe king Goffar iseih his burst.' ȝ unæȝe him seolf atbreac,' L 1610; 'þa ofte ure Bruttes.' makeden hufeles burstes,' id. 19856, and with the form brest, 'or thei take reste | Er schal thei suffre mochel breste,' Laud Troy Book, 4226; 'To-quils þai duelled þar to rest, | O water had þai ful mikel brest,' CM 6308.

459. Mätzner deletes **herd**, to correspond with, 'Quod (*i. e.* periculum) qui fugerunt, hii tales esse tulerunt,' T.; but in view of L 1334-1337 quoted above, it would be better to leave out **told**; the wise escape because they have been forewarned. With either alteration, the line remains formless: better, he hauen herd tellen. of tis mere unimete, with distinct alliteration in each half-line (comp. 464/15). Holthausen supplies is after **ðat**: the scribe probably understood the connection as, which, monstrous in this wise, as being half human and half fish, has a moral application ('significacio', 'bitacnunge,' 79/15) in virtue of this monstrosity.

463, 464. Many men illustrate what is signified by this creature here adduced as a symbol. 'Quam plures homines sic sunt in more bifformes,' T.; comp. 191/471.

465. Mätzner altered **wulues** to *sepes*; the source is, 'Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces,' S. Matt. vii. 15.

467, 468. 'Utpote sunt multi qui de virtute locuti, | Turpibus indulgent, T. Perhaps of should be inserted before godcundhede.

469. **vneuð wið**: see 179/97. 'Qui foris ut fantur, sic intus non operantur,' T.

474. **ðe legen**, lie to thee, by presently breaking their oath: 'unum dicentes, aliud mox tibi facientes,' T.

475. **sage**, discourse: OE. **sagu**: comp. 'heo wenden þat his sawen: soðe weren,' L 749.

476. **ðer imong**, all the time they are promising.

477. **agte** and **soule** l. 478 are apparently accusatives in a sort of apposition to 'ðe' l. 476. OE. **swician** requires **ymb** or **on** with the name of the thing about which deceit is practised.

480. **Elpes**: the OE. forms are **elpend** and **ylp**; **elp** is probably a shortened form of the former. **Inde riche**, the realm of India.

481. **berges ilike**, like mountains; 'bene firmares montibus esse pares,' T.; 'ylp is ormæte nyten mare þonne sum hus,' Ælf. Lives, ii. 104/366.

482. **o wolde**, in the woodland: comp. 195/620.

484, 485. 'Adversi coeunt, cum sibi conveniunt.' The scribe has put **sampnen** in the place of some less common word; Holthausen proposes **hemen** which gives an assonance at any rate: if a verb ***menen** may be inferred from **mæne**, **mene**, intercourse, it would fit still better.

486. **kolde of kinde**, chaste by nature: comp. 191/495; 'so kinde cold,' GE 1999.

487. **minde**: see 184/263.

488. **noten of**, make use of: see 84/45. **gres**, herb, medicinal plant.

489. **ðe**, to which: see 46/292. **mandragores**, mandrake: L. **mandragoras**; in Philippe de Thaün **mandragora**. It is discussed at length in Bartholomeus Anglicus, lib. xvii, 'dicatur autem habere virtutem prebetivam mulieribus concipiendi.' There is no mention of it in T., but it is common matter in the Bestiaries.

490-494. 'Hique semel pariunt quamvis tot tempora vivunt, | Hoc est ter centum, nec faciunt geminum, | Ast unum generant et per duo tempora gestans,' T. ('duo tempora' = duos annos). See Ælf. Lives, ii. 104/569. **wuneden**: read **wunen**: **more** is probably an addition by the scribe.

495. **blod ȝ bon**, subject of is: for the phrase, meaning the whole body, comp. 196/636; 'nys non so feyr of blod ant bone,' KH MS. L, 916 note.

496. 'Cum parit in magna, ne cadat, exstat aqua,' T. The Bestiaries generally say that she takes to the water for fear of the dragon. **sal**, has to, must.

498. **to mid side**: nothing corresponding in T., but 'Tresque à sun ventre en l'unde,' P. de Thaün, 1442; 'pergit ad lacu'n magnum et ingreditur usque ad ubera,' H. de S. Victor, ii. 427. **midside** is a compound noun; contrast 'with a sadel to the midside,' Desputisoun, ed. Linow, 59/517 (Laud MS.) with the corresponding, 'Wiþ a sadel to middle þe syde,' 101/517 (Digby MS.).

499. **wanne — tide**; Mätzner translates, 'when mischief betides her,'

treating *harde* as a noun, like 152/56 note. The construction would then be the same as in 'Apulf tit no wounde,' KH MS. L, 1352, and *harde* might better be translated birth pangs. But the order of the words is against that interpretation: *tide* is impersonal and *harde* is an adverb: comp. 'wel þe sal bityde,' L MS. O, 2236.

500. *ðat* is often repeated when a clause interrupts the construction, as in 'sitteð all stille, þ̅ hwon he parted urom ou, þ̅ he ne cunne ower god, ne ower vuel nouðer,' AR 64/20.

502. 'Non habet ut (*a. l. unde*) surgat, quia nunquam crura recurvat,' T. The elk is also without joints in its legs; see Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 54.

504. *Hu* — *wide* depends on l. 506. With *he* comp. 119/77, 194/602.

505. *walkeð wide*, travels to a distance; a favourite phrase in the romances: comp. 'Ihc habbe walke wide,' KH 953 note.

506. *her*: in *Physiologus*.

507. For resting is difficult because his huge bulk prevents him from lying down.

508. *to fuligewis*: see 32/40.

509. 'Incumbit trunco arboris haut modico,' T.

510. *trostlike*, confidingly: 'Idunc dort a seür,' P. de Thaün, 1550.

511. *of walke weri*, weary from walking; so, 'weri of sorȝen,' L 28081.

512. *ðis* anticipates l. 514: the hunter notes the elephant's favourite support, 'his beste wune.'

514. *wune*, resort; usually custom, but comp. 'Vyche day in þe temple. wes myne ywune,' OEM 43/207. Eudes de Cheriton, 316/26, has, 'Elephas, more consueto super illam appodians, simul cum illa cadit.'

515. For *willen* read *wiken*: to don hise wiken, to perform his functions, here, to sleep. The phrase 'don wiken' occurs in OEH i. 137/11, meaning, to do services. Comp. 84/45 note.

516. *underset*: 'Quam notat atque secat venator, et obice celat,' T. Mätzner translates, underprops; rather, wedges up, underpins.

517. *bet*: used for the rhyme, where best might have been expected.

518. *he*, the elephant. *it* . . . *war*, aware of it: see 200/116 note.

519. *makeð char*, returns: comp. 190/457.

520. 'Clamque sedens spectat dum requiem repetat,' T. *biwalt* is Mätzner's correction for *biwarlt*; it is a rare word and means to rule, manage, wield, as in 'þe holie þremnesse þe shop ȝ biwalt alle shafte,' OEH ii. 25/8. He explains the passage as, the hunter sits alone, observes whether his device helps him in any way. But *olon* for *al* one or one as

in this text, 194/579, 580, the absence of a conjunction before **bihalt** and the meaning given to **biwalt** all raise doubts. Morris translates the last word as 'deceiveth.' Perhaps in *olon* lurks *al on*, which with **bihalt*, observation, would give, intent on watching. **bihalt*, noun of *bihalden*, is not found, but may be inferred from OE. **geheald**. **biwalt** may be miswritten for *biualt*, representing OE. **befealleþ**: l. 521 might then mean whether his device results in anything for him.

522. **unride**: see 188/389.

524, 525. 'Ille velud quondam securus ad arboris umbran, | Cum venit, incumbit, cumque ruente ruit,' T. **boden**, for *boʒen*.

530. **ðer**, to that place. **gangande**: the author wrote *gangen*, and at l. 536 *seken* or more probably *saken*: comp. 108/232; 'þer com o schelchene gon,' OEM 45/279, 285; 'þer com go a wel fair mon,' South English Legendary, 223/139, 226/265, 227/272; 'þat him com biforen gon.' a wunder ane fair mon,' L 32064. The infinitive defines; here it means, on foot. 'Tunc unus currit, qui relevare cupit,' T.

531. *ut* is a scribe's mistake for *up*.

532. **Fikeð**, bustles, fusses: still in dialectic use in the northern counties and Scotland. See Björkman, 145, 306. The combination with **fondeð**, tries, does not occur elsewhere.

533. **forðen**: see 180/126. **no wigt**, not at all.

534. **canne**, can he; nor can he do anything else. 'Sed nequit et satagit: complorans hic quoque barrit,' T.

536. **manie**: in the older Bestiaries twelve besides the first try to raise him. The original reading of the MS., *sacande*, for *saken* (shake), is preferable to the correction: see 182/193.

537. **on stalle maken**, put him in a standing position, set him up again; comp. 193/539, 547, 556, 557; 'cumen . . . on stalle,' 193/539. A deer is said to stall when it stands still in covert.

538. **for**, in spite of, notwithstanding; comp. 'For roting es na better rede,' CM 11505; 'thei scholde come with-outen dwellyng | And speke with him for any thyng,' Laud Troy Book, 3103: contrast 'For,' in consequence of, 193/542.

540-549. 'Cum nequeunt omnes, contendunt mittere voces, | Ad quas fit subitus parvulus ac minimus | Cuius (et est mirum) promuscida sublevat illum, | Et sic predictas effugit insidias,' T.

548. Comp. 186/344, 190/458. **atbrested**: supply *he* (the fallen *elp*) as subject: see 6/18 note.

552. **ðat fele we**, for that we suffer.

553. Holthausen would read, *Moyses wulde him reisen rigt, | migte i*

forðen no wigt; but reisen: forðen is sufficient rhyme for this author. The lines are, however, short; insert up before reisen, he after migte.

556. **her non**, none of them.

557. By 'upright' I mean in his former position as possessor of the riches of heaven. For **iseie** see 56/46 note. Comp. 'heoueriche wunne,' AR 242/4; 'heouenriche murhðe,' OEH i. 115/1.

559. **suggeden**, sighed; comp. 'Forr iwhille mann birrþ wepenn her, | J sikenn sare J suhhþhenn,' Orm 7923. **weren in ðogt**, were very anxious: comp. 'Euer J oo for my leof icham in grete þohte,' Bödd. AE. Dicht. 179/7.

560. **ovt**: read ogt, in any wise, at all.

561. **onder steuene** is meaningless. Mätzner suggested mid are steuene, with one cry; Holthausen for **onder**, luder. But **alle** is superfluous and the rhythm is defective: the original may have been, **remeden** he ʒo ludere steuene. Comp. 'þa quað Membricius.' ludere stefne,' L 927; 'Numbert heom to clepede.' mid ludere stefne,' id. 1428.

563, 564. 'Ipsorum precibus venit ad hoc dominus,' T. **care**, anxiety. **hem . . . to**, to them: see 1/3.

566. **litel**: 'parvus, quoniam deus est homo factus,' T.

567. **drowing ðolede**, endured suffering: comp. 'Ac of cristes þruwinge. þet he þolede her,' OEM 37/4; 'He ʒrowede and ʒolede un-timing ʒat,' GE 1180.

568. **under gede**, went to the help of; said with a reference to l. 545: L. subvenire.

570. **dim**: comp. 186/341.

571. For the Turtle, the author follows the Latin original pretty closely.

572. **boke**: Physiologus. **o rime**, in verse: insert al before o.

573. **lagelike**, loyally, faithfully: comp. 'ʒif ha hare wedlac laheliche halden,' HM 13/33.

574. **make**: comp. 'Forr fra þatt hire make iss dæd | Ne kepeþþ ʒho nan oþerr,' Orm 1276. **siðen**: read seden, separate, depart, OE. **scēadan**; comp. 'þurh þatt he wolde stilleliʒ | Fra Sannte Marʒe shædenn,' Orm 2922, 16240. Omit ge as unmetrical.

575. **muneð**, keep in mind; comp. 185/284.

576, 577. 'Nocte dieque juncta manebit | Absque marito nemo videbit,' T. **sundren ovt**, separate at all, at any time: comp. 195/623.

578-583. 'Sed viduata si caret ipso | Non tamen ultra nubet amico, | Sola volabit, sola sedebit: | Et quasi vivum corde tenebit | Opperiensque casta manebit,' T.

579. **one**, alone: OE. **āna**. **fareð**, passes her life.

581. **luue abit**, awaits, watches for the return of her beloved.

585. **reche**, take heed, bethink thyself.

586. See 180/134. **meche**: 'Namque maritus est sibi (*i.e.* animae) Christus,' T.

588. **fro himward**: see 178/89 note. The metre requires the omission of -ward.

590. Read **luue** none: for the combination **leue . . . luue**, comp. 143/73. **ne** — **newe**, nor love any new one; comp. 'Allas! is every man thus trewe, | That every yere wolde have a newe,' Chaucer, H. F. 301; 'He wolde not him chawngge for no newe,' Guy of Warwick, 122. This gives the best sense and rhythm, but **luue** may be a noun governed by **leue**, and l. 581 favours that interpretation.

591–593. 'Quem superesse credit in aethre, | Inde futurum spectat eundem | Ut microcosmum iudicat omnem,' T.

592. **briche**: see 185/293.

593. **on geuelike**: see 182/214.

594. Omit **men**. **his loðe**, those hateful to him.

598–600. 'Qui niger ex albo conspergitur orbiculato,' T. **bro**, eyebrow: OWS cand. brá: see Björkman 231. Mätzner sees in the whale's brow an expression for whalebone: Pliny says 'ora ballaenae habent in frontibus, ideoque summa aqua natantes in sublime nimbos efflant,' N. H. ix. 6, 16. The explanation is not convincing. Such comparisons are generally made with familiar objects, so 'colblake,' 153/75; 'And worth al black sum ani cole,' CM 22489; 'Al blak so cole-brond,' King Alisaunder 6260. Perhaps, so brond of cole: the scribe is given to leaving out the end of his words, and the rhyme cole: al is no worse than fel: al, 190/465. In other Bestiaries the panther is of many colours.

600. **trendled &c.**, rounded as a wheel.

601. And it sets him off, adorns him, exceedingly: an early instance of this meaning. Comp. 'þe kirtel bicom him swiþe wel,' Guy of Warwick, Auch. MS. 14/210.

602. **he**: see 119/77 note.

603. **der**: T. has 'Diversis pastus venatibus et saciatus,' but the Bestiaries generally avoid making him carnivorous; 'Divers mangiers manjue,' P. de Thaün, 474; 'Saoulee . . . De boenes viandes plusors,' Guillaume, 1958, 1960; 'diversis herbis vescitur,' Honorius Augustod. (Migne), 887.

604. **cul**, rump: the earliest appearance of this French word in English. Mätzner explains it as cowl, fell.

607. After **dages** insert **al**: comp. 195/635.

609. **lude so**, as loudly as : but **lude** should probably be omitted, as the line is too long.

610-615. 'Exit odor talis de gutture, tamque suavis, | Ut virtute sua superet vel aromata cuncta,' T. **mid** . . . **forð** may be equivalent to **forð** **mid**, along with (see 1/19), but **forð** is more probably adverbial, far, as in, 'Sum was wið migte so forð gon, | ƿat hadden he under hem mani on,' GE 835. **oueral**, widely spread.

612. **haliweie**, more usually **halewei**, some preparation of a balsamic nature used both as a lotion and a drink. It corresponds to an OE ***hǣlewæg**, healing water, but the spelling in the text shows an association with **hālig** (NED.). Comp. 'hwo ƿet bere a deorewurðe licur, oðer a deorewurðe wete, as is bame, in a feble uetles, healewi in one bruchele glese,' AR 164/13 ; 'Kumeð ƿerof smel of aromaz, oðer of swote healewi,' id. 276/11.

615. Comp. 'For na drie ne for na wate,' CM 6365. **wete** is by form a noun, as at l. 57 ; comp. 'hwilum fliht se wæta ƿ dryge,' Boethius, ed. Fox, 234/10.

617. **wor so** . . . of **londe**, wherever in the world ; comp. 'Wher he beo in londe,' KH 416 note. But the metre requires on ƿe londe.

620. **folegeð** : 'Ferunt odore earum mire sollicitari quadrupes cunctas,' Pliny, N.H. viii. 17, 62. The original has 'Ad quem mox tendit quae vocem belua sentit, | Ac sectatur cum nimia dulcedine plenum.' Eudes de Cheriton says, 'animalia crudelia, ut Lupus et Leopardus . . . eam pro bono odore sequuntur et non infestant,' 232 : he explains the sweet smell as the soft answer that turns away wrath.

621. **ðe**, of which : comp. 46/292 note.

623-625. 'Cum sonat, aut fugiunt, aut segnes corpore fiunt | In caveisque latent, nec in ipso tempore parent,' T. **ogt**, at all.

624. **daren** : see 185/310.

627. **tokned** : 'per mistica dictus,' T.

629. 'Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum,' Psalm xlv. 3.

630. **fen**, mud ; comp. 'Or or flum noe spredde his fen,' GE 490.

631. **taunede**, displayed : **taunen** is an aphetic form of ***at-awnen** (see NED. s. v. **tawne**) : it is found only here and several times in GE. ll. 631, 632 are the interpretation of ll. 603-605 : 'At satur ille fuit, quia quot vult, tot sibi sumit,' T.

634. Well is it for the man for whom he was willing to suffer it. 'Et somnum cepit cum nos moriendo redemit,' T. For the omission of the verb after **wel**, see 21/92 note : for **dat**, to whom, see 46/292 note.

635. **on on**, continuously.

636. **blod ȝ bon**: see 191/495.

637. Perhaps in **wis** of the MS. should not have been altered, as it occurs again in GE at 214/575: it may be a genuine, though mistaken, resolution of **iwis**.

639. **vuemest**, highest.

641. **smel**: 'nimio suae incarnationis odore,' H. de S. Victor, ii. 426.

642. **let her**, left behind in the world.

643. For **him**, **hin**, shortened form of **hine**, may be read: comp. 'fleges kin sal hin ouer-gon,' GE 3004.

644. For **fin** read **afin** or in **fin**; the meaning will be, into his divine presence at our ending. The original has 'Celos ascendens, ubi regnat cum patre presens, | Quem gentes cuncte sunt sic credendo secute:' the parallel passage in the description is l. 620. **godcundnesse** properly means, divinity, divine nature, here apparently, the manifestation of that divinity in heaven. For **fin**, death, comp. 'Alle ȝhe olde deden ȝor fin,' GE 3852.

645. 'Serpens antiquus qui nobis est inimicus,' T.

646. **dine**, sound, preaching: suggested by 'rem,' 195/611, and possibly by S. Paul's use of Psalm xviii. 5, 'in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum,' Rom. x. 18.

648. **ȝer wile**, whilst, so long as; comp. 198/37, 205/288, 446/59, 'And mete quorbi ȝei migten liuen, | ȝor quiles he worn on water driuen,' GE 573; 'Therwhile, sire, that I tolde this tale | Thi sone mighte tholie dethes bale,' *Seuyn Sages*, 701. **he—beren**, they maintain obedience and cherish love: he refers to **noman**: **beren** goes naturally with **luue**, with **lage** it stands for **lage halden**, to keep the commandments (of God).

649. Thetbald ends with the Panther, and this section is generally said to be taken from Neckam's *De Naturis Rerum*, c. xlvi. His dove has eight 'natures,' three of which are wanting in our author's seven, and lacks two of those given here (ll. 656, 657; ll. 660, 661), while Neckam's explanation of the fifth, ll. 662, 663, is quite different. The matter is common to the Fathers and medieval writers, and our author may have drawn from more than one, but Hugh of S. Victor, *De Bestiis et aliis Rebus*, lib. i. c. 11, most nearly resembles him. His dove has ten qualities, six of which are here, and there is something resembling the seventh: each of them is quoted.

651. **wes**, we them. **hauen in mode**, keep in mind: so, 'ben us minde,' l. 653: see 184/263.

653. Mätzner takes **alle** it together as, all of them, comparing 190/450, where he says it = them, but see 1/10 note: the construction is similar here, it is a mere introductory word like there: the order is, it ogen alle &c., and the meaning, they ought all to be present in thought to us.

654. 'Caret felle, id est, irascibilitatis amaritudine,' V. Comp. 'Loke nu þet tu, þet he cleopeð kulure, habbe kulure kunde, þet is wiðuten galle,' AR 292/19; 'Forr cullfre iss milde 7 meoc 7 swet, | 7 all wiþputenn galle,' Orm 1258; 'Lauedi scho es o leuedis all, | Mild and mek witouten gall,' CM 101.

655. **simple**: Comp. '*Estote simplices sicut columbe* · buð admode also duue,' OEH ii. 49/25, that is, humble. **softe**, gentle.

656. 'Non vivit ex raptu, quia non detrahit proximo,' V. Mätzner divided bi lagt and explained lagt as *pp.* of lacchen used substantively as prey: the word does not occur elsewhere.

657. The scribe probably understood this line as, Let us do aback all thieving; that is, renounce, reject, like 'werpeð abec,' 16/142: though aback descends from **on bæc**. But the rhyme is bad, and the emendation hac, due to Mätzner, does not improve it, besides being difficult of interpretation. If it is for ac (comp. 217/87) the meaning might be, Let us also put away from us all thieving. Morris suggests hagt = agt, mind, and the rhyme lagt: hagt occurs in GE, see 201/135, but the word hagt means, in ME., only care, anxiety, peril. Holthausen proposed ipagt, OE. **geþeaht**; in the sense, put out of our counsel, thoughts: the form apparently does not occur elsewhere, and it makes a metrical difficulty. Probably the corruption of the line began with **Ile**; it may have run, Noman do we robbing of aght; comp. 'If i giue þe for to kepe | . . . | Hors or ani oþer aght, | And it wit wiþerwin be laght,' CM 6763; 'For to spare his aune aght, | þis pore manes schep he laght,' id. 7927.

658, 659. 'Colligit grana meliora, id est, meliora dicta. Non vescitur cadaveribus, id est, desideriis carnalibus,' V. **leteð**, abstains from. Omit **ðe** before **sed**.

660, 661. 'Geminus nutrit pullos, id est, amorem Dei et amorem proximi,' V, which is not like the text. Comp. rather, 'Alienos pullos nutrit dum errantes a regno Dei alienos per poenitentiam reducit,' Honorius Augustod., 962. **ur ilk**, each of us.

662, 663. 'Columba pro cantu utitur gemitu, quia quod libens fecit plangendo gemit,' V. **woning** &c.: see 2/15. **lie**: apparently *adv.*, equally; likewise; her song is at the same time a lament: the order of the words and the absence at this date of a preposition with **woning** is against the meaning, her song is similar to a lament: comp. 'Forr þeþzre

(cullfre ȝ turrle) sang iss lic wiþþ wop,' Orm 7931. For **bimene**, *reflexive*, see 40/168 note.

664, 665. 'Super fluenta aquarum (Canticum Canticorum, v. 12) residet, ut, visa acciptris umbra, venientem citius devitet, quia in scripturis studet, ut supervenientis diaboli fraudem declinet,' V. **wis of**, a variant of 'war of,' suggested by the frequent association of 'wis and war:' see 18/16. **nome**, seizing, clutches: only here and at 206/322.

666, 667. 'Nidificat in foraminibus petrae, quia spem ponit in Christi passione,' V.

XXII. GENESIS AND EXODUS

Manuscript: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 444, former mark R 11; on vellum, 186 × 116 mm., in one hand of the end of thirteenth or of the beginning of the fourteenth century. It contains on 81 folios the poem from which the present extract is made. On f. 1 r is the name of a former owner, Richard Southwell, with a motto nearly obliterated, *Sapit qui sustinet, or suscepit* (James). See further *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, by M. R. James, vol. ii, p. 357.

Editions: Morris, R., *Genesis and Exodus*. E. E. T. S., O. S. 7, 1865, revised 1873. Mätzner, E., *Altenglische Sprachproben*, i. 76-90. Specimens, 153-170. Emerson, O. F., *ME. Reader*, 21-35.

Literature: Fritzsche, A., *Anglia*, v. 43-90 (authorship, phonology, grammar, metre, notes); Hilmer, H., *Ueber die Sprache der altenglischen Story of Genesis and Exodus*, Sondershausen, 1876; Holthausen, F., *ES* xvi. 429-33, *Archiv*, xc. 143, 144, 295, cvii. 386-92, *Anglia*, xv. 191-4, xxii. 141 (notes and emendations); Kölbing, E., *ES* iii. 273-334, xvii. 292-6 (notes and emendations); Schumann, W., *Anglia*, vi. *Anzeiger*, 1-32; Stratmann, F. H., *ES* ii. 120, iv. 98 (notes).

Analogue: *Die altfranzösische Histoire de Joseph*, ed. W. Steuer, Erlangen, 1903, also as *L'Estoire Joseph*, ed. E. Sass, *Berliner Dissertation*, 1906.

Phonology: This section should be compared with pp. 581-586; explanations of abnormal forms offered there are not repeated. Oral **a** is *a*, asses 427, crauen 420; **a** before nasals is *a*, gan 8, man 446 r.w. chanaan, nam 84, quanne 14, ðanne 199; men 204 (3 times) is a reduced form of the indefinite pronoun *man*; **a** before lengthening groups is *o*, among 587, fond 30, but and 6 &c., handful 15, Orm's hanndfull, with consonant following the lengthening group. **æ** is *a*, at 25, bad 93 (14),

bar 22 (6), dale 79 r.w. bale, faste 93, 248, quat 37, ŝat 9, was 1 &c.; the exceptions are fest 427 r.w. best, queŝer 111, reste 82, reste 466 (5), weche 514, weches 521 (comp. 'weciaŝ,' Vesp. Ps. 126/1), togider 406 r.w. hider. e is *e*, beden 266, beŝen 501, deren 402 r.w. sheren, stede 81 r.w. dede, wel 10 &c. (**w**ēl, Bülbring, § 284); before lengthening groups, ende 588, engeles 587, feld 29, but hate 12, 32, 33, influenced by haten, **hatian** and perhaps by OWScand. hatr, bi 150, quilke 134 (3), swilc 33, bliscing 452, influenced by **blissung**, rejoicing, wol 384, GE 621, 'wol wel he dede,' id. 724, 'ŝehg wol wel,' id. 1266, due to labial influence and weakness of stress (Gabrielson, Influence of W-, 207, 8), seigen 548, seiŝ 404 (**se**gaŝ). i is *i*, bid 563, driuen 219, is 74 &c., ŝider 55, wile 180, witen 343 r.w. eten; before lengthening groups, bringen 213, wilde 71, winden 502; beŝen 552 is a miswriting of bidden, welin 585 of wilen. o is *o*, biforen 16, on 32, soren 15, wrogt 36 r.w. nogt; before lengthening groups, forŝ 190, gold 194, 'wolde,' GE 1418, but an 95, a 40, 108, without stress, wulde 9 (4), wurŝen 517. u is *u*, kuppe 101, wukes 527; before lengthening groups, grund 164, hunger 204, murnen 107, but boden 67, storue 54, 'domme,' GE 2821, French writings. y is regularly *i*, bigen 220, kin 240, 244 r.w. beniamin, kire 505 r.w. ŷre; before lengthening groups, kinde 129 (5), kinges 87, but deden (**d**ædon) 2, 154, 265 r.w. beden, 431, 504, 538 r.w. abiden, dede 44, 82 r.w. stede, come 321, sundri 81 (3), analogy of **sundor**. ā is *o*, agon 292 (**ong**ān), gon 242 r.w. pharaon, 249 r.w. symeon, non 283 r.w. symeon, on 320 r.w. symeon, ŝo 13, wrot 581 r.w. mot; with *oo*, 'ooc,' GE 1873, 'wooc,' id. 1874; but 'loac,' GE. 1798, 'ŝoa,' id. 3894 r.w. salmona, 4129 r.w. fasga, 'woa,' id. 880 r.w. oba: slo 35, slon 34 r.w. on, come from forms with ā; before two consonants, homward 430, but a 81, an 58 &c., unstressed article, anoŝer 43, ali 482, 493, 526, hali 492, clad 174 ? with shortened *a* as if from *clādd, gast 482, 492, quam 374 (**hw**ām), bilef, 214, 251 ('belāf,' Peterborough Chron., *an.* 1131), probably by confusion with **bel**æfan, but Kluge, Grundriss § 125, assumes a change of ablaut, 'ŝa,' GE 1901 r.w. bozra, 'wac,' id. 1197 r.w. ysaac. æ₁ is *e*, hilewen 287, clene 493, leden 358 r.w. speden, 355 r.w. ŝeden, segeŝ 286, form from **s**ægan, meaning from **s**īgan; before two consonants, fette 154, helŝe 398, lesteŝ 564, but *ea* in ear 202, 483, *a* in ani 235 (ā with shortening), ŝan 212, 389, 550 (**p**ām with shortening), and *o* in most 350, 422 (1 N **m**āst), *ei* in fleis 143 (= fles, comp. treweiŝe 358), *i* in ilc 409, 410, 421 (**yl**c). æ₂ is *e*, bedden 327 (**b**ædon from **biddan** in form, but **budon** from **b**ēodan in meaning), dede 41 (4), mel 466 r.w. wel, red 45, 191 r.w. sped, 568 r.w. dead, sel 442 r.w. wel, ŝer 95 r.w. prisuner, 170 r.w. buteler, weren 255 (6), were 228, wet 342, 396 r.w. gret; before two consonants, lewse 44, 407

(lāsswē), reddēn 34, vnselēhe 370, but ȝor 42 r.w. sor, 48 &c., 471 r.w. ger, ȝore 324, wor 82 (hwāra), quor 482 (3), quor 462, wore 139, 246, worn 434 r.w. biforen, and six other instances. ē is *e*, bene 565, sped 46 r.w. red; before two consonants, kepten 25, but doȝes 230. ī is *i*, but *y* is written for it in yre 505. ō is *o*, written *oo* in good 121, 448, 'booc,' GE 4124, 'tooc,' id. 4123, but cam 55 (8), bicam 202, breȝere 7 (14), an umlaut form, wep (OE. wōp) 382 is a new formation from wēpan, briȝere 325. ū is *u*, but 'town,' GE 2739, 'out,' id. 72. ȳ is *i*, hid 364, kid 411 r.w. bitid, srid 73 r.w. bitid, but ȝe 357 (þȳ).

ea before *r* + cons. is *a*, harme 368; before lengthening groups, forward 290, harde 94 (3), but *e* in erd 148 (3), gerken 309, speren 248, sperd 93, 147 and wurȝ 116 (9). The *i*-umlaut is *e*, derne 46, erue 44, werneden 261, but chare 444. ea before *l* + cons. is *a*, alle 34 &c., salt 20 (3); before lengthening groups *o*, bold 13, 175, cold 39, 584, holden 94 (3), old 3 (3), sold 4 (4), wold 40 (4), but geld 206, 'geald,' GE 2581; the *i*-umlaut is *e*, eldere 483, 560, welden 197 (see 359/7 and comp. Bülbring § 175 anm.). eo before *r* + cons. is *e*, berge 583, fer 483, feren 31, herte 32 (6), sterres 17. To the *wur* group belong wurȝe 111, 128, wurȝen 465, 481, wurȝed 20, wurȝeden 18, wurȝing 194. The *i*-umlaut is *i*, hirde 449, hirdnesse 26, but hertedin 76, smeren 496, 502 (smierwan), smered 509, 511, smerles 508 are without umlaut: a *wyr* word is wurȝ 39 (5). The *u*- and *ā*-umlauts of *a* are wanting, as in bale 80 r.w. dale, faren 292, misfaren 7, as are also those of *o*, werlde 288 (7), beren 138, fele 425. eo, *u*- and *ā*-umlaut of *i*, is *e* in her 13, but biueȝ 334, cliued 59, cliueȝ 438, liued 60, nimen 416, 532, siluer 268 (comp. OWS cand. silfr, Björkman, 112), siȝen 115 (6) have no umlaut. ea after palatals is *a*, sal 79 &c., shauen 174, bigat 332 r.w. get, forgaf 553, forgat 146, gaf 45 (5). ie after *ġ* is *e*, bigetel 88, bigeten 234, forgeten 156, geuen 452, 512, but forgiue 549 r.w. liuen, ME. gifte 520; after *sc*, *e*, sheren 401 r.w. deren. EWS. gief is *i* 7 (3). eo after *ġ* is *u* in gunge 335, gungest 214 (4); after *sc*, *u*, sulen 22 &c., sulde 9, sullen 355, 'suuen,' GE 107. eom is *am* 129 (4), heom, hem 9 &c.

ēa is *e*, bed 101, bred 102, dede 519, eddi 140, gret 341, 395 r.w. wet, lepes 132, ee in neet 151; before two consonants *e*, eȝimod 303, lefful 578, but ea in head 548, bread 133, dead 1 r.w. unred, 485, 547, 567 r.w. red, dead 286, eares 158, and *a* (shortening) before two consonants in chapmen 85, chafare 47, gatte 531, 567 (Björkman, 109). The *i*-umlaut is *e*, herde 107, heren 585, nede 215, 219, ned 295, 578 r.w. red, nedful 184. ēo is invariably *e*, bed 127, bedden 552, for beden, ben 10 &c., dep 38 r.w. slep, leue 475, sen 26 &c., ȝeden 356 r.w. leden, ȝre 132 r.w. me; it is written

ee in seen 492, 'teen,' GE 1344; before two consonants *e*, fellen 326, 551, leuere 139; but *ei* in weis 343 (*wēox* from *wæcsan*), comp. fleis 143: miswritten *i* in lif 481 for 'lef,' GE 340 (6). The *i*-umlaut is *e*, dere 301, 453, ten 51 r.w. men. *giēt* is get 39 (6). *ēa* after *g* is *e*, ger 1 (11).

a + g is *ag*, dragen 100, lages 500, slagen 58, but daiges 499, 509, 525, laiges 510, 526, daies 123. *æ + g* is *ei*, dei 141 r.w. weilawei, freinde 107, seide 19 (6), seiden 218 (7), seid 479, 482, and *ai*, abraid 165, dai 249, 359 r.w. wei, faire 447, mai 19 (6), waines 416, written *ay* in may 36: fagen 321 (3) is from *fagen*: *æ + h* is seen in lagt 135, 'vnachteled,' GE 796. *e + g* is *ei*, leid 284, weie 293: agen 55 r.w. sen, 125, 304, 403 r.w. ben comes from *agēn*. *i + g* is *ig* in *mānige* 234, 332, but the spirant is absorbed in *birien* 478, *biried* 571, *ybiried* 574, and *manie* 446: *birigeles* 528, *biriele* 542 (*byrgels*) are analogic: *beries* 116 is LWS. *berie*. Final *ig* is *i*, eddi 140, seli 568; *stiward* 87, 317 is LWS. *stiweard*: *i + h* is seen in 'sigðhe' (*gesihþ*), GE 1630. *o + g, h* is *og*, bogt 90, drogen 456, wrogt 78, 272, 'dogtres,' GE 1090, 1094, but dowter 201 (? Northern). *u + g, h* is *ug*, fugeles 135, mugen 144. *y - h* is seen in ME. *frigti* 18. *ā + g* is *og*, ogen 108, but owen 40; *ā + h, og*, 'oget,' GE 324, but agte 363 (? influence of *āht*). *æ₁ + h* is *ag*, agte 144 (*āht*), bitagt 97 r.w. hagt: *æ₂ + g*, leigen 16. *ō + h* is *og*, brogt 274, nogt 35 r.w. wroht, sogt 30, other spellings are 'broghten,' GE 1008, 'ðohgteful,' id. 1437, 'sowt,' id. 12870, 'ðhowtes,' id. 3544, 'wroutis,' id. 456. *ō + g* is *og, ug*, 'bog,' GE 608, 'ynog,' id. 3670, buges 114, ynug 210. *ū + g* is *ug*, drugte 161, ðhugte 118. *ea + h* is seen in sag 7 (6), waxen 114; the *i*-umlaut in migt 504, migte 68 &c., nigt 103, 515 r.w. rigt. *eo + h* is seen in rigt 15, bricest 6, but sextene 3 (comp. Mercian *sex, sexta*, Bülbring § 319 ann.); fe 89 represents *feoh*, dat. *fēo*. *ēa + g* is *eg*, bege 194; hegest 196 may represent *hēahsta*, but is more probably a new formation from *hēh*; *ēa + h*, 'ðehg,' GE 1266. *ēo + g* is also *eg*, drege 262; *ēo + h* is seen in wex 211; wexen 158, 556; the *i*-umlaut in ligen 79 (*lihtan*). *ā + w* is *ou, ow*, sowen 401, soules 578, sowle 579. *ī + w*, newe 412 is Anglian *nēowe*. *ēa + w* is *ew*, shewed 67, ðewed 10. *ēo + w* is also *ew*, knewen 31, 216, reweli 382, rewðe 393, trewthē 390, but gure 232 (5), final, gu 314 &c., knew 221, 222, wintre 113; without umlaut are trewið 91, trewed 439.

In syllables without stress *a* is levelled to *e*, moneð 516, vten 460, so *o* in hunger 230; ofrigt 104, 279 representing *āfyrht* has been influenced by ME. *offrigt*: *on* is an 95. An *e*, often unmetrical, has been inserted in bodeward 336, bodeward 548, breðere 7 &c., briðere 325, coren 158 (9), engeles 587, manigefold 556, gadæren 188, elðere 483, 560, fugeles 135, 143,

leuelike 329, leuere 139, reweli 382 (but rewli 64), vnselċehe 370, similarly *ei*, *i* in treweċe 358, birigeles 528 (*byrgels*); an irrational *e* is added finally in ȝogę 24, towardę 49; *e* is omitted in bettre 44, biforn 326, first 185, forward 88, 318, gur 314, herdne 127 (*ærende*), mor 260 r.w. or: *i* is written for *e* in michil 260, and inserted in eċimod 303 (*ēapmōd*), sinigeden 259. The prefix in tawnen 180 is *æt*; *be-* is regularly *bi*, biforen 16, biment 256, bitwen 23; *ge-* is generally lost, kinde 129, lefful 578, seli 192, writ 70, but it survives in gede 43, 341 (yet *g* may be merely parasitic), yoten 470, ynug 210, it is disguised in to ful in wis 575 (comp. 196/637); the suffix *ung* is regularly *ing*, ending 283, wurċing 194.

Metathesis of *r* takes place in wrightful 258, wrighteleslike 130; *rr* is simplified in chare 444 r.w. fare, charen 490 r.w. faren, duren 293, fer 483, feren 31. *ll* is simplified in al 167 &c., handful 15, wil 28 (3), wilen 358. *n* is added in dalen 27, against metre, and lost in a 40, 108, o 103, 177, 280 for *on*; *nn* is simplified in gunen 432, mankin 460 (*mannecynn*), quane 4, 356. *þ* is inserted in dempt 92, ME. drempte 37, 103, and lost in ME. chafare 47. *f* between vowels and vowellikes is *u*, crauen 420, erue 44, louerd 237, luue 18, ouer 541, wiue 201, written *w* in bilewen 287, wiwes 91, but 'wifwes,' GE 857, 'wifuede,' id. 1588 and even 'wives,' id. 453 also occur; otherwise it is *f*, fare 85, lif 493; it is doubled in off 476, and lost in lord 226. *t* is doubled in bettre 44, luten 217, lost in best 350 and finally in an 122, 575 (the original had *ant*), ȝa 128, 244, 372, ef 391, GE 3081, 'hef,' id. 4019, 'flig,' id. 3084; *tt* is simplified in fet 152; for *t*, *þ* is written in anð 218, and *th*, 'soth,' GE 3685, 'leth,' id. 3385: *ts* is *sc* in bliscing 452; a curious letter substitution is *þ* for *t* in waspene 6, GE 1440 (*wæstm*). *d* is doubled in bedden 327, 552, eddi 140 (? shortening); *b* is written for it in glaċe 351 r.w. scaċe, wurċen 517 and frequently elsewhere: *dd* is simplified in fordred 245. For *þ*, *th* appears in trewthe 390, 'tholen,' GE 508; it is often written *ðh*, biðhogte 169, ðhenke 126, ðhing 476, ðhogt 165, 221, 308, ðhogte 24 (3), ðhugte 118, ðhurg 246, welċhe 428, but ðinkeð 457, ȝogte 448. Initial *þ* in pronominal words is seldom assimilated after *t*, *s*, so, ȝat ðin 189, 'malt ȝat,' GE 1017, 'salt ðu,' id. 1043, but 'at te,' GE 2756, 'and (for ant) te,' id. 615, 'and tin,' id. 926, 'is tis,' id. 334. For *þ*, *d* is written in dan 54, dat 70, 534, de 97, dogt 486, dor 45, endede 575 (*endeð*), helped 77, kude 168, quad 35 (4), wid 41 (4), and *t* in quat 77, 383, 'Betel,' GE 760. *pp* is simplified in siċen 115 &c., *d* is substituted for it in siden 509. Noteworthy is derke 291, 399 with *rk* for *rp*. *sé* is mostly *s*, sal 79, salt 20, soren 15, srid 73, srud 61, 421, sulde 9, sulen 22, finally, fleis 143, weis 343 (*es*), doubled in wassen 345, but shauen 174, sheren 401, shewed 67, schilde 579; she 21, 'sche,' GE

235, 'sge,' id. 1444, 'che,' id. 1227 are equivalent. The stop *c* is *k* before *e* and *i* and in combination with other consonants, biwaken 498, wukes 527, kid 411, drink 106, often before *u*, kumen 31, 48, kuppe 101, kude 420, but cločes 73, folc 82, ranc 159, cumen 123 &c., cuppe 364, 372, cuče 208, and the proper names 'Cedar,' GE 1257, 'Ceturam,' id. 1446; otherwise it is *c*, cam 55, comen 75, coren 158 &c., spac 395, woc 165. For *c*, *g* is written in 'čig,' GE 564, 'swing,' id. 566, 'čengen,' id. 1571. č is *ch*, chare 444, childes 61, lich 495 (5), michel 89, riche 324, but biseken 546, euerilk 379, ic 21, swilc 33 &c., are not palatalized: swil 442 has lost *c*; similarly 'Qwel,' GE 170, 'quill,' id. 3631. čč is *ch*, drechen 42, fechen 417, rechen 140, 176, rechede 178, reching 112, wech 514, weches 521: smaken 497 is a ME. formation. čǵ is *g* in bigen 220, 300, comp. 481/7, 8. *ow* is regularly *qu*, quad 35 &c. Palatal *ġ* is written *g*, geld 206, ger 1, gunkeste 5; *ġe* is *y* in yoten 470, ynug 210; it is lost in if 7 &c. An interpolated *y* sound appears to be indicated by *g* in 'digere' (dīere), GE 3483, 'tgen' (tēon), id. 3824, 'tgen' (tīen), id. 3413, 3418, 'tgelt,' id. 1840, the second and third also appear as 'then,' GE 1514, 3305 (*h* pronounced separately), similarly 'thaunen,' GE 32: comp. 365/23. The guttural spirant is *g* in swolgen 72, sorge 74 (comp. Orm's bollzhenn, sorrzhe); later forms are sorwe 59 (3), morwen 359; it is lost in sorfull 380. The voiceless spirant is also written *g*, frigtī 325, nigt 103, sogt 30, sag 7, čog(e) 24, čurg 577, so probably drugte 161 (drūgač, in Orm, druhhpe), other representations of the same sound are seen in brictest 6, 'brocte,' GE 237, 'hictē,' id. 713: 'sagt,' GE 1301, 'burgt,' id. 727 have added an irrational *t* by analogy of sogt &c. Noteworthy is the insertion of the spirant in the French words haigre 73, 'olige,' GE 1624, 'astro-nomige,' id. 792, where *ig* may be written for *i*, but olie 512. *ġ* appears in egypte 86 &c. *h* is lost in adde 14 (5), adden 504, 505, ali 482 (3), aue 442, aueč 523, e 39, 395, 476, is 14 (9), om 324, yoten 470, also by coalescence in fonde 29, madim 62, weli 582, wexem 11. *h* is added in halle 394, herdes 464, herdne 127, hunne 303, hure 260, 549. *hl* is *l*, lene 153, lord 226: *hr*, *r*, rad 535, rače 367, rem 58, ring 193: *hw*, *qu*, quane 4, quan 190, quat 37, quečer 111, quiles 37, quilke 134, quam 374, quor 462 and *quu*, quuan 365, quuor 482, but nā-hwær is 'nogwer,' GE 1271.

Accidence: Strong declension of *mascul.* and *neut.* nouns. In the *s. n. a.* hate 12, stede 43, 81, sune 5, 72, wlite 342, kire 505, mete 138, bale 80, erue 44, herdne 127 have *e* corresponding to their OE. vocalic ending, bege 194, bode 69, 437 (gebod, comp. boda, messenger), liche 542, 569 (but lich 495), weie 305 have added *e*, wlitē 343, GE 3614, n, fe 89

represents *feoh*, *drugte* 402, *drūgap*. Gen. -es, *flodes* 150, *kinges* 87, *wiwes* 91, but *louerdis* 326: dat. -e, *bale* 92, 579, *come* 321, *ende* 588, here 533, *mete* 348, *stede* 468, 521, *sune* 443, with vowel termination in the nominative, *dale* 79 (*daſen* 27 has added *n*, against metre), *gilte* 463, *harme* 368, *kinge* 235 (but *king* 451), *liue* 471 (but *lif* 493), *londe* 386, 572 (but *lond* 129 &c.), *ofspringe* 236, *tune* 365, *wastme* 6, *wedde* 252, *weie* 293, 534, *wiue* 201; without inflection are *fulsumbed* 182, *grund* 164, *strem* 150, *ſogt* 384 and a large number of others, mostly with long stem vowel or of more than one syllable; *yre* 506 has lost *n*, *tre* 113 is an Anglian nominative form *trēo*, *wo* 458 is indeclinable. The *pl. n. a.* of masculines end in -es, *fugeles* 135, *sunes* 2 (7), *lepes* 132, *muðes* 270, but *meten* 133, 309, r.w. *eten* (translating *cibos*, panes; at GE 363 it is probably singular with added *n*), *sunen* 229 r.w. *cumen*: neuters are *der* 71, *folc* 498, 505, *ger* 181 (7), ? *kin* 556, *neet* 151, *srud* 421, *gere* 190, *bones* 566, *geres* 207, *liches* 501, *wiues* 417. Genitive is *teres* 342, 396, *datives*, *engeles* 587, *semes* 427, *teres* 410. Of the *fem. nouns* of the strong declension *helpe* 83, *herte* 339, *luue* 340 have original *e* in the nominative, *bene* 565, *bere* 535, *blisse* 122, *dede* 41 (3), *rewðe* 393, *sonde* 367, *trewðe* 513, *vnselðehe* 370, *sinne* 36, *sorwe* 59, *sorge* 74 (3), *wede* 68 have added *e*, without it are ending 474 and other verbal substantives in -ing, *ned* 295, *sped* 192. Genitives are *drugte* 161, *soules* 578, *werldes* 494; *helle pine* 584, *helle dale* 79 may be regarded as composition forms. Dative -e, *blisse* 586, *helðe* 398, *lewse* 44, *nede* 215, 219, *werlde* 288 (7); *onsagen* 99, *ðeden* 356 have adden *n*; but *bering* 232, *hond* 197 (3), as often in OE., *ned* 578, *smerles* 508. *sped* 46, 275, *wurðing* 194 are without inflection. Acc. -e, *fare* 85, *hirdnesse* 26: *gifte* 520, *kinde* 490 have added *e*; without inflection are *bimening* 538, *bliscing* 452, *ending* 283, *forward* 88 (3), *stund* 95, 163 and, as in OE., *hond* 117, *migt* 504. *Pl. n.* are *blisses* 404, *dedes* 513, *hertes* 13, *lages* 500, *sondes* 219, *agte* 144; *d. laiges* 526; *a. agtes* 278, *laiges* 510, *agte* 198, *weden* 423. Nouns of the weak declension have -e in the *nom.*, *bode* 529, *bredwrigte* 131, *wille* 388; *d. wune* 6; *a. kuppe* 101, *time* 474; genitive is *weches* 521, but 'sterre,' GE 134. *Pl. n.* are *sterres* 17, *wukes* 527; *d. wunes* 347, but 'feren,' GE 1275; *a. asses* 427, *beries* 116, *feres* 532, but 'wunen,' GE 3137. The minor declensions are represented by *fot s. d.* 326, 551, 'fote' *pl. d.*, GE 376; *man s. n.* 167, *s. d.* 302, *men pl. n.* 184, *chapmen* 85, *hirdemen* 449, *men pl. d.* 587, *pl. a.* 47; *moneð s. a.* 516; *boc s. n.* 576; *biri s. d.* 311; *nigt s. d.* 103, *s. a.* 515, *pl. a.* 501 (5), *nigtes* 499; *fader s. n.* 19, *faderes s. g.* 229, *fader s. d.* 8; *broðer s. n.* 110, *s. a.* 244, *breðere pl. n.* 21 (9), *brīðere* 325, *breðere pl. g.* 267, *pl. d.* 429, *pl. a.* 7; *moder*

s. d. 338; dower *s. a.* 201; childes *s. g.* 61, childre *pl. n.* 282, *pl. a.* 304, childer 203; eares *pl. n.* 158; bred *s. a.* 102, bread 133.

Adjectives which in OE. end in a vowel have *e* throughout, bliðe 413, 429, riche 324, 327, 408; those in *-ig* lose *g* and are invariable, miri 312, sundri 81, 408, 468, similarly rewli (*hrēowlic*) 64. Weak inflections are gunge *s. n. m.* 335 (insert *þe* before it), leue *s. a. m.* 475, wis[e] *s. d. m.* 461 (similarly 'ðe strong[e] god of israel,' GE 1846 is to be read). All others are uninflected in the singular; they either belong to the classes mentioned above, or are predicative, or come after the noun qualified. *mycel* is michil *s. n. f.* 281, michel *s. n. neut.* 89, lýtél, litel *s. a. f.* 95. The plural has *-e*, fette 158, fulle 400, glaðe 351, gode 513, harde 108, smale 161; the exceptions, mostly dissyllabic or predicative, are bold 13, fulsum 207, nedful 184, niðful 13, ranc 159, 162, sorful 380, wis 533 (read *wisē*), wrightful 258. *ān* as article without stress is before consonants, a, an, 58, 64, 81, 149, 159 &c., once on 469, before *h*, an 455, 555, as elsewhere before a vowel. The numeral and pronoun is on, 101, 179, 227, 233 &c.; *nān*, pronoun and adjective is mostly non, but the adjective is twice no, 296, 352. Adjectives used as nouns with inflections are *pl. n.* fette 164, *d.* dede 519, fette 154, *a.* fette 155, sibbe 557. Comparatives have *-e*, better 53, more 420, leuere 139, eldere 483, but bet 420 (adverb form); superlatives are mostly without it, best 350 (3), bricest 6, first 185, gungest 214, 239, hegest 196, most 350, but gunkeste 5, gungeste 244 have weak inflection: boðen is *pl. n.* with added *n*, 179, *pl. d.* 103.

The personal pronouns are ic 21 (4), 'hic,' GE 34, rarely *i*, id. 309, me, we, ur *pl. g.* 316, us, ðu, ('redes)tu,' GE 2934, ðe, ge *pl. n.*, gure *g.* 372, gu *d.* 314, *a.* 561, ge 406. Dual forms occur elsewhere, 'wit,' GE 1775, 'unc,' id. 1776, 'gunc,' id. 2830. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n.* he *m.* 4 &c., e 29 (4), (wel) *i* 582, she *f.* 21, 'sche,' GE 235, 'sge' id. 1444, 'che,' id. 1227, ghe 203, 'ge,' GE 1024, it *neut.* 12, (was)t 53, ('stod)et,' GE 590, with *pl.* verb, id. 1770, *g.* 'hire' *f.* id. 2035, *d.* him *m.* 60, (mad)im 62, 'hin,' GE 47, 'hire' *f.*, id. 322, 'it' *neut.*, id. 6, *a.* him *m.* 37, 'hine,' GE 3468 *r.w.* dine, 'hin,' id. 3004, 'in,' id. 3887, 'hire' *f.*, id. 971, it *neut.* 63, ('tell)et,' GE 3526; *pl. n.* he 31 &c., once 'ðei,' GE 573, *g.* here 263, 410, 421, 'ere,' GE 2855, her 312, *d.* hem 14, (wex)em 11, *a.* hem 26 &c., is 184, 458, 503 ('warp)es,' GE 3025, 'hes' (= he them), id. 911, 943. Reflexives are 'ðe self,' GE 934, gu 358, him 169, hem 256, 355, 'himseluen,' GE 1338, 'hemseluen,' id. 537; definitive is self *s. d. m.* 235; possessives, mi *s. n. m.* 110, mine *f.* 565, in other cases min 72, 80, 371; *pl. n. a.* mine 566, min 282, 304, 404; ði *s. n. f.* 388, *s. a. neut.* 143, in other cases ðin 110, 125, 189, 436; *pl. n.* ðine 21; his 8 &c. as general form for

the singular, written is 15 (6), but hise 91, 191, 236, 396, 474, 475, 490, 495, 569, 579, at all these places his is metrically admissible; *pl.* hise as the general form 25 &c., but his 40, 73, 75, is 14, 410, 429, hise being in all these places metrically admissible; 'hire' *f.*, GE 333; 'his' *neut.*, GE 120, 'is,' id. 327; ure 315, 547, 560, hure 260, 549, ur 226; 'gunker,' GE 398, gure 232 (4), gur 314; here 16 (8), 'ere,' GE 3773, her 13. The definite article is ðe 82 &c., de 97, '(at) te,' GE 2756, miswritten ðo 164, instrumental, ðe 357, for ði 11; ðat 169 &c., ða 244, *pl.* ðo 98 &c. are demonstratives: wið ðan ðat *conj.* 389, miswritten wið ðanne ðat 550. The compound demonstrative is *s.* ðis 19, 131, ðes 166; *pl.* ðise 185, ðis 179, 186, ðes 253, in the last three places ðise is admissible. The relatives are ðat 22, 185 (= that which), ðe 102. Interrogatives are 'quo,' GE 2821, 'quase,' id. 2870, quam 374, quat 107 (5), 'Queðer,' GE 1471, quilc *s.* 474, 'quil,' GE 3631, quilke *pl.* 134, 404, 'qwel,' GE 170; the correlative is swilc *s.* 33, 59, 393, swil 442, *pl.* swilke 234, swilc 236, 500 (metre requires swilke in the latter place). Indefinites are quat so 37, 40, 388, quat so euere 386; men 204, 232, 277, 'man,' GE 1, 3; sum 515, 516, 517, 'summe' *pl.*, GE 399, 401; ani 235; oðer *s.* 202, oðere *pl.* 183 (5), toðere 394, oðer 133, 510 (read oðre); anoðer 43, 157; ilc 410, euerilc 152, euerilk on 379; 'mani,' *s.*, GE 696, manie 446 (read mani), manige *pl.* 234, 332, 'manie,' GE 4068; fele 425; fo 457; al *s.* 167, but alle *s. d. f.* 428, *pl.* alle 16 &c., halle 394, al 250, 325 (read alle).

Only two verbs, fare 443, reste 82, have infinitive in -e; all others, including thirteen of the second weak conjugation, end in -en. Contract verbs are bisen 195, sen 19 (5), seen 492, ten 9. The dative infinitive is not inflected, it has for prefix mostly to, but for to with bigen 300, cumen 123, geuen 452, slon 34. Presents are *s.* 1. bid 563, chare 444, rede 187; 2. findes 374, 'betes,' GE 3974, 'haues,' id. 360 and others in -es, 'tregest,' GE 3975 is isolated; 3. bimeneð 280, liueð 437, cliued 59, endede 575, haued 92, helped 77, liued 60, ðinked 461, trewið 91; contracted are bitid 235, bit 292, hað 560, lið 12 ('ligeð,' GE 889, against metre), wurð 39 (5); *pl.* 1. holden 290, drege we 262; 2. senden 294, cume ge 225, haue ge 369; 3. hauen 72, wunen 518: *subjunctive s.* 2. friðe 389; 3. berge 583, helpe 582, leue 586, wurðe 111, deren 534 *r.w.* here, with irrational added n; *pl.* 1. liuen 550: *imperative s.* 2. bed 127, tel 110, forgiue 549, ðhenke 126; *pl.* 2. bereð 297, hoteð 564, seið 404. Past of Strong Verbs: I a. *s.* 3. bad 93, 175, bigat 332, forgaf 553, forgat 146, gaf 45, quad 35, quat 77, quað 121, sag 7, spac 395; *pl.* 3. bedden 327, leigen 16: I b. *s.* 3. bar 22, bicam 202, cam 55, nam 84, tobar 200; *pl.* 3. comen 75, nomen 61: I c. *s.* 1. gan 459, wrong 118, wurð 116; 3. abraid

165, bigan 462, fond 30, gan 8, geld 206, unbond 277, wurð 145, freinde 107 (weak form); *pl.* 3. funden 69, gunnen 546, gunen 432, gunne 49 (if the word following ends in n, there is a tendency to drop the verbal n, comp. 10, 420), wurðen 104: *subjunctive s.* 1. wurðe 128; 3. wurðe 272, wurð[e] 477: II. *s.* 3. bilef 214, 251, ros 32, wrot 578; *pl.* 3. abiden 537, smiten 163: III. *s.* 3. bead 548, bed 101, gret 71; *pl.* 3. boden 67, luten 217: IV. *s.* 1. stod 113; 3. stod 15, swor 487, understod 264, woc 165; *pl.* 3. foren 536, token 254: V. IV. *s.* 3. wex 13, 291, weis 343; *pl.* 3. wexen 158: V. *s.* 3. forlet 494, het 419, knew 221, let 222, slep 37; *pl.* 3. fellen 326, knewen 31. Participles present: 'sigande,' GE 1436, 'betende,' id. 2713, 'stondende,' id. 3149; past: I a. beden 266, ?forgeten 233, freten 155, geuen 512: I b. bicumen 281, boren 214, cumen 190, forholen 371, fornunen 282, numen 32, ouercumen 162, stolen 129, soren 15, vndernumen 189: I c. bunden 270, swolgen 72, worpen 39, wurðen 517: II. driuen 375: III. drogen 456, forloren 565: IV. dragen 100, grauen 485, shauen 174, slagen 58, sworn 530: V. IV. waxen 114: V. fordred 245, holden 94, hoten 239, yoten 470, inflected, hotene *s. d.* 562. Past of Weak Verbs: *s.* 1. hadde 117; 3. bitagte 193, gatte 531, herde 107, likede 353, made 580, seide 19, missed 57, trewed 439, set 58, told 177, ŷoht 352, went 543; *pl.* 1. sini-geden 259, werneden 261; 3. chidden 23, ferden 360, leiden 65, luueden 206, maden 88, senten 66, skinden 85, hertedin 76, biried 571, shewed 67, stunden 83. Participles present: 'tuderande,' GE 164, 'wuniende,' id. 2742; past: maked 524, smered 509, ŷewed 10, bitid 74, mad 469, seid 479, sperd 93, srid 73, biment 256, ?fest 427, fild 361, ligt 306, ofrigt 104, went 365, inflected, welkede 161. Minor Groups: 'witen' *inf.*, GE 328, wot I *pr. s.* 231, *pr. s.* 166, 'witen' *pr. pl.*, GE 74, wiste 2 *pt. s.* 383, *pt. s.* 316, wisten *pt. pl.* 271; hunne *pr. s. subj.* 303; og I *pr. s.* 241, 'oc' *pr. s.*, GE 197, ogen *pr. pl.* 108, owen 40, 'agtes' 2 *pt. s.*, GE 1762, agte *pt. s.* 363, 'oget,' GE 324; duren *pr. pl.* 293, 'durste' *pt. s.*, GE 2593, 'dursten' *pt. pl.*, id. 1863; can *pr. s.* 176, 'cunen' *pr. pl.*, GE 4054, cuðe *pt. s.* 208, kude 168, 'cuðen' *pt. pl.*, GE 2996, kude 420, 'kuð' *pp.*, GE 2666; sal I *pr. s.* 79, salt 2 *pr. s.* 20, 'sal,' GE 1815, 'saltu,' id. 1041, sal *pr. s.* 126, sulen I *pr. pl.* 22, 2 *pr. pl.* 408, sule ge 242, sulen *pr. pl.* 143, 'sule' GE 305, 'suldes' 2 *pt. s.*, id. 3984, sulde *pt. s.* 24, sulden *pt. pl.* 355, sulde 10; 'munen' *inf.*, GE 1622, 'mune,' id. 972, 'to munen' *dat. inf.*, id. 197, 'for to munen,' id. 687, muneð *pr. s.* 463, 'munen' I *pr. pl.*, GE 558, mune ?*pr. s. subj.* 476, 'mune' 2 *pr. s. imp.*, GE 45; 'mugen' *inf.*, GE 1818, mai *pr. s.* 19 &c., may 36, 'muwen' I *pr. pl.*, GE 3316, 'mugen' *pr. pl.*, id. 3017, 'mogen,' id. 3227, mugen *pr. pl. subj.* 144, migte I *pt. s.* 137, *pt. s.* 68, migt he 238, 'migten' *pt. pl.*, GE 573; mot

pr. s. 582, 'mote' 1 *pr. s. subj.*, GE 1621, *pr. s. subj.*, id. 2645, 'muste' *pt. s.*, id. 2624; ben *inf.* 10, for to ben *d. inf.* 196, am 1 *pr. s.* 129, 'best' 2 *pr. s.*, GE 2884, 'beas,' id. 365, 'art,' id. 356, is *pr. s.* 74, 'beð,' GE 182, ben 1 *pr. pl.* 258, 2 *pr. pl.* 223, *pr. pl.* 123, be 454, aren 282, 'arn,' GE 16, be *pr. s. subj.* 388, 565, ben *pr. pl. subj.* 566, beð 2 *pr. pl. imp.* 317, was 1 *pt. s.* 120, 'wore' 2 *pt. s.*, GE 1759, was *pt. s.* 1, wast (= was it) 53, were we 1 *pt. pl.* 228, weren *pt. pl.* 255 (6), worn 100 (7), 'worn,' GE 61, wore *pt. s. subj.* 139, 246; wile *pr. s.* 180, nile 59, wilen 2 *pr. pl.* 358, welin (for wilen) *pr. pl.* 585, wulde *pt. s.* 9, 'wolde,' GE 912, 'wulden' *pt. pl.*, id. 1075, 'wolden,' id. 3756, 'nolden,' id. 3029; 'don' *inf.*, GE 194, vndon 168, to don *d. inf.* 28, doð(es) *pr. s.* 230, don 2 *pr. pl.* 285, *pr. pl.* 519, do *pr. s. subj.* 568, 2 *pr. s. imp.* 387, doð 2 *pr. pl. imp.* 405, dede *pt. s.* 44 (9), deden *pt. pl.* 2, dede 82, don *pp.* 41, 128, 315, 477, 542, do 142; gon *inf.* 238, ouergon 340, 'to gon' *d. inf.*, GE 3078, 'gon' 2 *pr. pl.*, id. 3124, 'go' 2 *pr. s. imp.*, id. 2815, 'goð' 2 *pr. pl. imp.*, id. 3585, gede *pt. s.* 43, 'geden' *pt. pl.*, GE 1034, gon *pp.* 291.

Vocabulary: Scandinavian are ai 287, aren 282, blomede 115, boðen 103, 179, (bi)calleð 368, fo 457, fro 31, geren 495, grot 74, groten 80, hagt 98, heil(nesse) 122, eðen 242, ille 12, kides 63, lages 500 laiges 526, laðes 188, lit 64, liðeð 131, lote 382 loten 312, nai 35, oc 229, or 1, orest 115, raken 186, ransaken 377, rapen 430 rapeð 403, scaðe 352, seck 363, semet 223, skinden 85, (ouer)takeð 367, tiding 412, til 60, ðeðen 84, ðog 24, 217, ðral(dom) 376, wante 298, witter 6, witter(like) 374, wopnede 533; probably busk 159, vnhillen 8; possibly bond 130, cartes 416, twinne 421; in sonderemen 65, er is probably due to Scandinavian influence. French are butuler 109 buteler 169, cisterne 38, feið 241, feste 524, fin 424, flum 540, fruit 301, graunte 590, haigre 73, hardi 175, lettres 581, merci 237, messe(song) 520, offiz 125, olie 512, paid 269, pais 589, plates 52, poure 233, present 327, pris 301, prisun 94, prisunes 98, prisuner 96, scite 469, seruede 105, spices 48, spice(like) 497, spies 223, spien 226, strif 494; possibly the interjection A 237, rospen 186 (OF. rospen). Latin are crisme 512, elmesse 520.

Dialect: East Midland of the Southern border. Its general character is definitely East Midland, but *ā* as occasionally *oa* in rhymes like ðoa : salmona GE 4129, woa : oba GE 880, the occurrence of *hine* : *dine* GE 3468, *hin*, id. 3004, *yoten* 470 beside *hotene* 562, *wuniende* GE 2472 as assured by the metre, *æ* + *g* as *ei* beside *ai* testify to contact with the South. The large proportion of French words may point in the same direction. Evidence of transmission through a North Midland copy is furnished by *ā* as occasionally *a*, *æ* as *s*, the pronouns *ghe*, *ge* beside *she*,

žei beside he *pl.*, the 2 *pr. s. ind.* of verbs in -es, the *pres. part.* in -ande, and occasional aren beside usual ben. It was probably at this stage that the metre suffered by loss of final -e; some feminine endings may have become masculine. The scribe of our manuscript was probably faithful to his exemplar, for he was imperfectly acquainted with the language.

Metre: The short rhymed couplet, as in ON. It is not so skilfully handled here as in ON, but it was no less regular in its construction before the copyists tampered with the text. Skeat's description of it as a verse of four accents, 'the unaccented syllables being left, as it were, to take care of themselves' is misleading, for it is a verse of four feet with the regulation number of accented and unaccented syllables. It differs from the verse of ON in the predominance of masculine endings, in the larger proportion of trisyllabic feet, and in the number of fourth feet with an additional syllable. The types, as in ON (see pp. 564, 565), are i. žat hé | wel žéw|ed súl|e bén, 10; so 11, 33, 46, 63, 64, 70, 73, 75, 89, 93 &c.: i a. Naí quad | rubén | slo wé | him nógt, 35; so 45, 72, 101, 110, 145, 202, 221, 297, 302, 331, 387, 408, 422, 435, 459, 460 &c.: i b. žát | žu sált | žus wúrč|ed bén, 20; so 23, 30, 36, 222, 272, 295, 578: ii. He knéw|en hím | fro fér|en kúmen, 31; so 47, 80, 85, 87, 92, 100, 123, 124, 133, 137, 156, 157, 181, 207, 218, 230, 265, 299, 322, 324, 337, 344, 351, 355, 371, 405 &c.: ii a. Wúrčed|en hím | wič frígt|i lúue, 18; so 333, 334, 343: ii b. Né | žat mét|e fró | hem béren, 138; so 469, žt | was vnd|ren tím|e or móre, 323. The unstressed element in a foot, and especially in the third foot, is often doubled; one of the syllables often admits of being slurred: i. Twelwe gér | or ýs|aac | was déad, 1; so 246, 363, žo wéx | her hért|es ničfúl | and bóld, 13; so 28, 34, 42, for thrít|ti plát|es to žó | chapmén, 52; so 57, 71, 96 &c., Wič žó | prisún|es to lúu|en in hágt, 98, Jacób|es sún|es déd en unréd, 2; so 29, 39, 40, 62, 84, 97, 369: i a. Ál but že | ton bróč|er sým|eón, 250, Sónder|e mén he it leíd|en ón, 65; so 69, Goód is | quáč jóseph to drém en of wín, 121; so 184, féllen | bifórn | žat lóu|erdis fót, 326; so 436, 439, 451, 564: i b. dón | for že déd e chírč|e góng, 519, Wénd|e him slág|en set úp | an rém, 58; so 328, žát | že bár | sulen lút|en žé, 22; so 78, 83, 127, 148, 171, 193, 200, 228, 254, 286, 289, 301, 308, 350, 427, 440, 452, 453, 487, Jác.ob žús | him bimén|eč o rígt, 280; so 383, 391, 403: ii. seue eá|es wéx|en fétt|e of córen, 158, Hu he sét|te at že mét|e hís|e sún|es, 348, Jc réd e že kíng | nu hér | bifóren, 187; so 235, 270, 288, 294, 321, 338, 374, 437, 502, 537, He wás | iacób|es gunkést|e sune, 5; so 81, 88, 155, 162, 217, 220, 281, 367, 431, 463, 530, 565, 585, Jn tó | egípt|e lédd|en žat wáre, 86; so 309, 357, 400: ii a.

Tóward | here fád|er he gún|en drágen, 432, so 467, Ság he | ðor kúm|en wið spíc|es wáre, 48, Gáf he | is bréð|ere wið hért|e blíðe, 429 : ii. b. Ór | for misdéd|e or fór | onságen, 99, Ýát | is hánd|ful stod rígt | up sóren, 15 ; so 79, 185, 219, 300, 362, 385, 402, 538. The light syllable is omitted in ii. Ne wíst|e he nógt | quát | he wóren, 434 ; ii b. Húr|e sín|e ðú | hím | forgíue, 549, with good effect. Inversion of the accent is infrequent, i. ðu sált | áfter | ðe ðríd|de deí, 141, 517 : i a. Kínde | líue | gan him óu|ergón, 340, Jósep | háued | hem áft|er sént, 366, Jé am | iosép | drédeð | gu nógt, 397 : ii. He bád | cártes | and waín|es nimen, 416, Quuor ié|su críst | wúlde | ben bóren, 484, He dógt | wið hém | réste | to háuen, 486, And ebrís|se fól|c ádden | an kíre, 505, Egípte fól|c áueð | him wáked, 523, He bád | síbbe | cumen him | bifóren, 557. Synizesis occurs in olie 512, birigeles 528, biriele 542. Syncope of the syllable after the accent in trisyllabic words is certain in breð|ere 21, 325, 429, blomede 115, rechede 178, euērlc 268, lerede 354, eldere 483, luuēde 554, and similarly in areñ 282, comen 356, wilē 358 ; it is probable, though not assured by the metre in seruēde 105, wrigteles 130, leuere 139, fugeles 143, euerilc 152 &c., gaderen 188, faderes 229, 347, oðere 253 (oðre 573), breðere 51 &c., werneden 261, wunede 471, eldere 560, hotene 562 ; the medial e in words of this type is nowhere necessary for the scansion. The verbal termination -eþ has probably full syllabic value everywhere, as it has at 77, 92, 286, 367, 523. Elision takes place in alle 16, wantede 209, sente 213, listnede 276, ðhogte 347, witterlike 479, hiatus in 153, 155, 233, 246, 252, 262, 367, 378, 425, 551, 586 : in a large number of lines there is a choice between elision and hiatus ; in view of the author's liking for trisyllabic feet, the preference should perhaps be given to the latter.

Proper names of three syllables have, with few exceptions, two accents, those of two syllables are very often stressed on the second, according to the current clerical use, for Mammotrectus says 'nulla dictio de natura acuit ultimam nisi . . . hebraica . ut David ꝑ Jacob.' So ábrahám, adád, béniamín (10), but béniamin 422, chánaán, 'cánahán,' GE 726, dotáym, ebrón, éffraým, gálaád, génesís, gersén, iurdón, mánassén, pháraón 119 (7), pháraún 172 r.w. prisun, but pháraon 191, 465, pharaón 411, pútifár 87, 199, but pútifar 91, rámesé, síchém 25, but síchem 29, sýmeón, ýsaác. Otherwise egípte, once egípt 213, iácob, ácob 445, jacóbes, iésu, jóseph, jósep, ósep (18), iosép 92, 266, joséph 139 r.w. swep, in many other places the metre admits of either accentuation, josépes, júdas 387, elsewhere indeterminate, as Vdas 45, móyses, pháran, rúben 55, elsewhere rubén is possible ; adjectives are cristéne 510, ebrísse. The spelling of the proper names mostly follows Comestor or the Vulgate, but ebron, egipte, jurdon,

pharaon are French, and probably ramese; in view of the variants, no conclusion can be drawn from initial j in Jacob, Judas, and Joseph; for the last the author probably wrote iosep throughout.

The corruptions of the text consist mostly of inversions of the word order and additions which aim at greater clearness or emphasis. Line 6, read witter of wune (H = Holthausen); l. 7, hise brečere sag (H); l. 8, gan it; l. 24, ȝog ȝhóg|te iác|ob it súl|de bén; l. 53, was it; l. 60, Til he him; l. 77, it helpeð (H); l. 82, Wor sé|li fólc | hem rést|e déde, comp. GE 257; l. 91, his; l. 108, Harde drém|es ógen a wóld|e ȝát; l. 118, ȝorin, comp. GE 3634; l. 130, And wrígt | ȝleslík|e hóld|en in bónd; l. 134, omit ȝe; l. 149, read ȝo drémp|te phá|raón | a drém; comp. 200/119, 127; l. 159, ránke on | an búsk | and wél | tidí; l. 163, To sám|en smít|en and ón | a stúnd; l. 172, omit ȝe king; l. 173, omit ȝo; l. 180, omit king; l. 182, read In fúl | sumhéd | súlen | ben númen, comp. 207/351, 208/400; l. 183, And séu e súl|en áft er bén; l. 186, ȝise óð|ere súl|en rósp|en and ráken; l. 189, ȝat ȝin fólc | ne wúrð|e vnd|er númen; l. 190, omit forð (H) and read ger; l. 191, omit king; l. 199, read was vñ|der hím | ȝo pú|tifár; l. 214, biléf | at hóm | was gúng|est bóren; l. 225, And cúm|en fór non óð|er ȝíng; l. 241, Nú | bi ȝe fefð | ic og phár|aón (H); l. 269, H would read here for ȝe, but ?pai-ed; l. 275, omit so; l. 279, omit ȝanne; l. 285, read If bén|iamín | ge; l. 287, Aí | sal hé | wið mé | biléwen; l. 290, omit non; l. 293, read Óc | he ne dúr|en weí | cumen ín, comp. 206/305; l. 310, omit alle; l. 311, omit alle; l. 312, read Here nón | ȝo lót|en hád|den mírí; l. 317, Bēð | nu stíll|e quád | þe stiwárd; l. 341, Sone géde he út; l. 358, If gé | gu wíll|en wið tréw|ȝe léden, comp. 212/512; l. 361, omit alle; l. 370, read Grét | vnsélðe is gú| cumen ón; l. 384, ȝát | ic ám | wol wítt er o ȝógt; l. 386, Quat só | on lónd|e wúrð|e stólen, comp. 198/37, 40, 208/388, GE 270; l. 394, he dé|de ut áll|e ȝe tóð|ere gón; l. 396, ȝat ál | his wlít|e wurð téres wét; l. 400, Get fúll|e fíu|e súl|en ben númen; l. 411, omit king, and in line 412, newe; l. 421, omit here; l. 438, read Al egípt|e ín | his wíll|e klíueð; l. 446, Ánd | of his kínd|e mán|i a mán; l. 476, On ȝhíng | ȝat óff | og é | wel múne; l. 477, read wurðe; l. 492, Hálli gást | it him déd|e sén; l. 495, read his; l. 498, And egípt|e fólc | him faír|e biwáken; l. 500, read swíll|ke; l. 514, ȝo bén | ȝam ál | ȝat wéch|e déde; l. 528, scan get ádd|e jác|ob bír|ȝels nón; l. 529, omit king; l. 531, omit it; l. 542, scan ȝor ís | ȝat lích | in bír|ȝels dón; l. 545, read Hise bréð|ere ȝán|ne cóm|en him tó; l. 546, omit alle; l. 550, read Wið ȝán | ȝat wé | ȝe vnd|er líuen; l. 577, ȝe móy|ses eár | ȝurg gód es réd; l. 579, read his; l. 587, éngeles | amóng | and sé|li mén, comp. GE 700, 785. In ll. 66, 67, it, though metrically

admissible, is superfluous: l. 68 may be scanned, Jf his child|es wéd|e it migt|e bén: ll. 250, 251 are unrhythmical and al in the former, ungrammatical, perhaps, álle but | here bróð|er sým|eón might be read, for l. 251 Holthausen proposed, biléf | þis bróð|er þór | in bónd: in l. 291, þe dérð|e wéx | would improve the rhythm, as ure for ur in l. 316: scan l. 470, þe wás | y-ót|en rám|esé. A considerable use is made of alliteration.

Introduction: The author tells us that his song is drawn out of Latin and written in simple language for those who are not book-learned. He was probably a secular priest, for there is no reference to the monastic life in his work. His source was almost exclusively the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor (here quoted from the edition printed by Crespin at Lyons in 1526), but he occasionally referred to the Vulgate. As his purpose was narrative, he leaves out most of Comestor's learned disquisitions, but he retains those at ll. 81-4, 501-21 and somewhat enlarges the latter. The source of ll. 354-58 has not been discovered; it may have been an interpolated Comestor. The addition of 'ouer pharan' in l. 541 is probably due to the author.

2. **unred**, folly, an ill-advised thing; OE. **unræd**: comp. 'He has me don oft vnresun,' CM 3747; 'vnwit,' Laud Troy Book, 4285.

3. **For &c.** is the remnant of a calculation in Comestor of Jacob's age at the time when Joseph was sold. See Gen. xxxvii. 2.

6. 'prestantior corpore et sapientior ceteris,' Comestor. **wastme** is Mätzner's emendation; Morris suggested **wasteme**: the same scribal error, 'of faiger waspene' occurs at GE 1440. OE. **wæstm**, **wæstem** means growth, stature; the sense here is, countenance: comp. 'hire wlit westum,' SK 310, answering to 'vultus ipsius claritas.' **of witter wune**, discreet in behaviour: the explanations of Mätzner, 'of intellectual capacity,' and of Morris, 'of good ability,' seem to force the meaning of wune, which is, custom, use, so 'for kinde wune,' GE 1405, by family custom, usage. Comp. 208/384; 'witter of figt,' GE 864; 'o resun . . . rijf,' CM 14837; 'o reson . . . ranc,' id. 21024.

7. **misfaren**, go astray, misbehave.

8. **gan** — **baren**, uncovered and laid bare: the auxiliary use of gon is frequent in GE.

9, 10. He would have them discipline themselves, so that they might be of good moral character. Possibly the second **he** stands for Jacob; that is, Joseph wished Jacob to discipline them. Comp. for ten, 171/368; 'þat he hine sculde wel i-teon.' 'J tuhlen him teachen,' L 2418.

11. **him** was added by Mätzner. For **wið**, against, comp. 'J all þatt folc toc niþ wiþþ himm,' Orm 10267. **nið** is often associated with hate;

comp. 198/33; 'þurh hete 7 niþ,' Orm 1404, 8013; 'stormes of nið · 7 of onde · 7 of hatienge,' OEH ii. 177/4.

12. **for** — **lið**: Morris inserts *herte* after *ille*, producing a truism and spoiling the verse. Mätzner translates '*quia situm est in malo*,' treating *ille* as a neuter noun, evil. Possibly *ille* means, evil men, but more probably the place is corrupt, and we should read, And hate sor þat *ille* in it **lið**, (envy) and bitter hatred which wickedly co-exists with envy, that is, envy which produces hatred of the person envied. For *ille* as adverb, comp. GE 1706, 4029.

13. **ðo** . . . **Quanne**, then especially . . . when: '*Causa tamen odii maior fuit visio somniorum*,' Comestor. **bold**, shameless: Lucifer is 'Œat neddre bold,' GE 323.

15, 16. 'Putabam . . . vestros manipulos adorare manipulum meum stantem,' C. **soren**, shorn.

16. And all theirs lay before them. it may be meant for a reinforcing dative; see 13/34: but its occurrence elsewhere, as at 201/163, 202/182, where it is hard to explain or otiose and metrically in excess, makes it probable that it is due to the scribe, as it certainly is at GE 385, 387.

17. **xi**^e is by the rhyme *endlue* or *ellue*.

18. **frigti** *luue*, love and awe, 'luue eie,' 72/200: comp. 'ðo wurð abraham frigti fagen,' GE 1331.

19. **sen**: Mätzner takes this word to be the infinitive of the substantive verb, corresponding to OHG. *sîn*, MDu. *sijn*; how may this be? But if the word ever existed, it would surely be found elsewhere in ME. He quotes 'Hu mai it hauen, hu mai it sen,' GE 298, where if *hauen* is equivalent to *se habere*, *sen* may be to *videri*. In the third place instanced, 'To sen gode witnesse ðor-on, | Œat wond was in Œat arche don,' GE 3843, it appears to go closely with *ðor-on*, as in 'so faiger he was on to sen,' id. 2659 and to represent in both places *tō sēonne*.

22. **luten** usually takes to, as at 193/544, but comp. 'þa kingess fellenn dun, itt sezþþ, | To lutenn Crist 7 lakenn,' Orm 7348.

24. **ðoge**; read *ðog*. As a probable source of the line, Fritsche quotes Josephus ii. 2, '*eventurum olim quando tam a parentibus quam a fratribus adoratione dignus haberetur*;' but perhaps it may be regarded as a natural inference from '*pater vero rem tacitus considerabat*,' Gen. xxxvii. 11.

26. **Hirdnesse**: OE. *hierðnes*; custody, guard; here used for flocks: comp. 'for te loken hirdnesse fare,' GE 2771, to look to the welfare of the cattle.

30. **he** — **sogt**, he sought and found them; *invenit eos quaesitos*; a form of expression much used by the author, suggested by such places

in the Vulgate as, 'requisita non inuenieris ultra in sempiternum,' Ezech. xxvi. 21. Comp. 203/215, where join, 'to josesogt for nede;,' 'ðer het god abre ðat tagte lond,' GE 827; 'And son he fand þe soght cite,' CM 3254; 'Ai quen þat þe folk him soght sau,' id. 7473.

31. **fro feren**, from afar: see 118/40.

32. Hatred conceived in their hearts arose in them. Such phrases are common in our author, as 'olie in trewðe geuen,' 212/512; 'song . . . on soðe sagen,' GE 14. On the other hand such expressions as 'drugte numen,' 201/161; 'sorge numen,' GE 368, where the participle is used like L. *captus*, suggest taking it here in dependence on *hem*. With on comp. 210/454.

35, 36. 'Nel feron mie, | ce sereit desverie,' Joseph 273.

37. **drempte**: impersonal with two accusatives, Quatso and him; so too at 200/103, 202/170, and probably at 201/149: more commonly the thing dreamt takes of, or is a clause, 200/113, 120, 201/132. **ðor quiles**, whilst: see 196/648.

38. **cisternes**: the MS. has ðisternes here (it occurs correctly at GE 58), and 'ðis ðhisternes' at GE 66, where 'ðis' is in excess, and cisternes at l. 56. The original had, no doubt, cisterne or cistern in both places, and in this line probably In cisterne ðise, imitating 'proicite eum in cisternam hanc,' Gen. xxxvii. 22 (comp. 'He ðrowede and ðolede untiming ðat,' GE 1180): having blundered here, the scribe altered cistern l. 56 in conformity, spoiling the metre.

39. **Get**, still, in spite of his dreams. Above e of **wurðe** a small he is added in the MS.

40. The phrase **owen a wold** means, to have in one's power, like its synonym *hauen a wolde* (see 52/387 note); it occurs in its literal sense at 200/108, distressing dreams were responsible for that, and in 'Luue wel michil it agte a wold, | Swile seruise and so longe told,' GE 1671, very strong love was capable of such hard service and so protracted. Here it has the derived sense of import, mean, like power, force used for meaning expressed by letter or phrase: comp. 'Quat oget nu ðat for-bode o wold,' GE 324, what now was the import of that prohibition; 'And vndernam him ðat it agte awold,' id. 2727, and questioned him as to what it meant; 'ðor is writen quat agte awold, | ðat ðis werld was water wold,' id. 525, therein is written what it signified that this world was destroyed by water.

41. **wid herte sor**, presumably on Reuben's part.

42-44. 'et recessit Ruben meliora querens pascua,' C. **lewse**, so aga'in at GE 1576: OE. *lāes*, *g. lāeswe*.

45. **dor quiles**, meanwhile; comp. 204/265, and see 196/648.

46. 'that was carried out in secret haste,' Morris, who proposes *derue* for *derne*. But the meaning is, advice that was filled full of secret gain. For of comp. 217/91, 94, for *sped*, 'of euerilc sed, | Was erðe mad moder of sped,' GE 121. In the OF. Joseph, it is said of Judas, 'mult iert escientous | et auques coveitous,' ll. 347, 348, and he makes a speech to his brothers, 'Touz temps somes berchier, | onc n'ëumes denier. | Ore en porrons avoir | senz vendre nostre avoir,' ll. 365-368.

48. *spices ware*: 'aromata & resinam & stacten .i. myrram,' C.

52. *xxx plates*: all the early MSS. of the Vulgate have 'viginti argenteis,' but 'triginta' C., 'deniers treis feiz dis,' Joseph 414; the change is due to the desire to perfect the parallel with Christ. *plates*, silver coins: comp. 'I nul sulle my Loverd [for] nones cunnes eiste, | bote hit be for the thritti platen that he me bitaiste,' Rel. Ant. i. 144/25. The metrical stress requires ðo for ðe.

53, 54. 'Melius est ut venundetur Ismaelitis, et manus nostrae non pollutantur,' Gen. xxxvii. 27. *dan*, than that. *in here wold*, in their power, at their hands.

57. *ðhogte swem*, felt sorrow, as in 'Of paradis hem ðinkeð swem,' GE 391, if so, the verb is impersonal and him must be supplied from *he*: or perhaps, experienced a feeling of faintness: the OF. poem has 'Quant l'enfant ne trouva, | par poi ne forsena. | Il ne set que il face, | pasmez chiet en la place,' ll. 433-436.

58. *set up*, raised: 'credens eum interemptum scissis vestibus eiulabat,' C. Comp. 'ðis folc ðo sette up grot and gred,' GE 3717.

59. *him cliued*: the MS. reading is meaningless; that in the text is Mätzner's, who explains, cleaves to him. But in view of, 'And atter on is tunge cliuen,' GE 372; 'Al egipte in his wil cliueð,' 210/438, it is doubtful whether even the pronoun can be used in this sense without a preposition. Now cleave is associated with cling in 'My hert doth clynge and cleve as clay,' Coventry Mysteries (54), where cling, wither up, is used metaphorically for, shrink in fear (see 3/32 note and comp. 'I clynge as cleyð, icaugt in care,' Horstmann, S. A. Legenden, 178/388), and it is also used transitively. Is it not probable that cleave had also some such metaphorical meaning which would be suitable here?

62. If *in* is right, it goes with ðe, in which. But its absence would improve the verse, and ðe alone can mean with which: see 46/292. In any case *prud* is *adj.*, splendid; comp. 209/422; 'Wið gold and siluer and wið srud, | ðis sonde made ðe mayden prud,' GE 1413.

63. *wenten*, turned it round and round, rather than, altered it; although the Latin, 'tinxerunt,' favours the latter.

64. **an rewli lit**, a pitiable dye.

65. **Sondere men**, messengers; *sing.* 'sonder man,' GE 2871; 'sander-mann,' Orm 19383; 'sondes man,' L 13615.

73. **in haigre srid**, clad in a hair, a hair shirt; see 62/31.

74. **grot and sorge**: comp. 214/583, similarly 'grot and gred,' GE 3717; 'In grot and in srifte,' id. 3692.

76. **hertedin**: read *herten*; comp. 184/277.

79. **ligten**, descend: see 141/42. 'Descendam lugens ad filium meum in infernum,' C.

81-84. 'Erat enim tunc in inferno quidam locus beatorum longe semotus a locis penalibus qui ob quietem et separationem ab aliis sinus dicebatur. . . . Et dictus est etiam sinus abrae quia etiam abraam ibi erat in sustentatione usque ad mortem christi,' C., commonly called *Limbus Patrum*: ll. 83, 84 refer to the Harrowing of Hell, for an account of which in ME. literature see Hulme's edition of the legend, E. E. Text Society.

85. **skinden here fare**, hasten their journey: the verb, which occurs only here in ME., represents OWS cand. *skynda*.

88. **bigetel**, advantageous: the adjective of 'bizete' 60/12; only here.

90. Insert him before **sold**, with Holthausen. The expression is formal, mostly used of betrayal; comp. 'ic am i-boust ant i-sold to-day for oure mete,' Rel. Ant. i. 144/26; 'How þat ioseph was boght and sald,' CM 142; 'Dickon thy maister is bought and sold,' Shakspeare, Richard III, v. 3. 305. Strunk in Mod. Lang. Notes, xxvi. 51 suggests He (Putifar) haueð him bogt.

93. The line is printed as in the Specimens, but a better order would be, He bad him sperd ben faste dun. The last word does not go well with *sperd*, which takes in or *wipinne*, 201/148, 204/248. C. has 'Ille nimis credulus coniugi vinctum ioseph tradidit in carcerem regis,' the OF. version, 'mist le en la prison | au fort rei Pharaon;' the Vulgate, 'in carcerem ubi vincti regis custodiebantur,' all mentioning the king. The original may have had Him bad ben sperd king Pharaun: for the rhyme see 202/171.

95. **an**: comp. 201/163.

96. **prisuner**, gaoler. **prisunes**, prisoners.

98. **to liuen in hagt**, to live in care, goes with l. 100: comp. 201/136. **hagt**: see 196/657 note, and comp. 'Twin-wifing ant twin-manslagt | Of his soule beð mikel hagt,' GE 485; 'Amalechkes folc fledde for agte of dead,' id. 3384.

99. **onsagen**, accusations, charges; OE. **onsagu**: apparently only here in ME.

103. **drempte**: see 198/37.

105. **on sel**, at a time, on one occasion: comp. 'And moyses was numen an sel | In ðe deserð depe sumdel,' GE 2769; 'on midel sel, ðat ilc nigð,' id. 3159. Kölbing translates timely, that is, early in the day, quoting, 'Ad quos cum introisset Ioseph mane,' Gen. xl. 6, and, 'And made swiðe on sele ðat mete,' GE 1537, where however swiðe gives the special sense, in quick time. But the expression appears to mean happily in, 'And he folgede is red on sel,' GE 1866; 'on good sel,' id. 1375, 1545.

108. This is the answer of the dreamers. See 198/40 note.

111. **strong**: see 21/94 note.

112. **on god bilong**, pertaining to God, in God's power. 'Numquid non domini est interpretatio .i. numquid adiutorio dei potest interpretari,' C. **bilong** is an isolated form, apparently made of bi + long, OE. **gelang** which in ME. is commonly **ilong**; see 134/96 note. Mätzner would read **ilong** here.

114. **waxen buges**, full-grown boughs, or shoots. 'Videbam coram me vitem & in ea tres fundos oculos (principal buds) scilicet unde funduntur palmites. Alii ponunt tria flagella, vel tres propagines quod idem est,' C.

116. Morris by his punctuation makes **beries** *acc.* after **bar** and **wurð** *ic war* parenthetic; but the construction is the same as at 9/122, 192/518; 'quanne he it wurð war,' GE 1462, 3387; 'And quane ðe king wurð war ðis dead,' id. 2983; 'ðan pharaon wurð war ðis bot,' id. 2957: **wurð war** is treated as though it meant observed. But it takes of at 203/204.

121, 122. 'Deus dedit in bonum hominibus vsum vini . . . soluit lites et tristitias . et bona est eius visio,' C.

127. **herdne**: OE. **ærende**, mission, but here affected in meaning by **ærendian**, to intercede: make intercession for me.

128. **ða**: for **ðat**: the scribe not seldom drops final **t**.

129. **kinde**, native; so, 'ðog it was nogt is kinde lond,' GE 1279: 'car a tort sui chaitis | en estrange pais,' Joseph 837.

130. **wrighteleslike**, undeservedly: OE. **gewyrht**, thing done, merit, in Orm, **wrihhhte**.

132. **lepes**: 'canistra,' C.

135. **ðor on**: comp. 'On was tette he sone aueð lagt,' GE 2621. The construction with **on** is rare, the verb in this sense regularly takes an accusative.

136. **hagt**: see 200/98.

140. **swep** occurs in the same connection at 202/166, and in 'For þai can swyth of a sweuyn . all þe swepe tell,' Wars of Alexander, 248,

evidently with the meaning, scope, significance. Mätzner refers it to OE. **swāp**, for which see Napier, OE. Glosses, 78/2894 note; its meaning, persuasion, or more probably, deceit, does not suit our word. More probably its OE. congener is seen in **ymbswāpe** which glosses L. ambages, Sweet, Oldest E. Texts, 599; if so, it would mean compass, content, like the noun sweep of more recent origin.

144. **ðat**, from that: **werien** usually takes **wið** (50/335), fram, but the pronouns are frequently used alone in all sorts of loose syntactical relations: see 46/292 note. Omit **sal**; though it might be defended by GE 1818, agte is commonly plural. Not in the Vulgate or Comestor, but 'It sal na raunsun ga for þe,' CM 4494; 'te trenchera la teste; | ne te lera raendre,' Joseph 854.

145. **ðat** is subject of **wurð**.

148. Divide **wið uten-erd**; for **wið**, on, see 180/147. **uten-erd**, foreign land; OE. **ūtan** + **eard**: comp. 'uten erdes sorge sen,' GE 956; 'into vten stede,' id. 1741. At 210/460, it is used adverbially in conjunction with **her**, and at 210/464 it develops an adverbial form, 'uten herdes.' Comp. L. extorris.

149. **pharaon**: probably *acc.*; see 200/104.

150. **flodes strem**: 'Putabat se stare super fluuium,' C.

151. **vii**: **seuene**.

158, 159. 'Septem spice plene pullulabant in culmo vno,' C. **busk**, bush, for stalk is curious. **ranc** and **wel tidi**, luxuriant and very healthy-looking; the phrase qualifies 'eares.'

161. **drugte numen**: 'percusse vredine,' C.; 'uredo . . . dicitur corruptio ex urente vento proveniens quando stantes segetes aduste videntur in campo,' Catholicon: 'de gelée brulez,' Joseph 904. With **numen** comp. 198/32: **drugte**, **sorge** are genitives. Similar constructions without prepositions are frequent in this author, 'water wold,' 526, overpowered by water; 'sinne wod,' 1073, demented by sin; 'elde swac,' 1528, weakened by age; 'herte hard,' 2936, hard of heart; 'hungur fordred,' 3313, in fear of hunger; 'nede driuen,' 3165; 'deades driuen,' 1125, under the sway of death. See 207/342.

163, 164. There is nothing in Comestor or the Vulgate corresponding to these difficult lines. Mätzner takes it as equivalent to they, and quotes for the intransitive use of **smiten**, 'Heo smiten to-gædere,' L 5183, to which may be added, 'Bitid a stund þai samen smate | In a dale biside a wate,' CM 2495. Schumann objects that **smiten** is transitive everywhere else in the poem; he proposes, To-samen is **smiten**, them dashed together, apparently depending on **ranc**. It would probably be better to omit it

(see 197/16 note); adopting Fritsche's *Ǿristen* he in the next line, the meaning would be, Next (*Ǿo*) the lean ears have overcome the full ears, dashed together in conflict, and in a moment they have thrust the full ears to the ground. The participial phrase is quite in the manner of the author.

164. *Ǿo*: miswritten for *Ǿe*.

166. *wot*, where *wiste* might be expected, is perhaps due to anticipation of *nogt*.

168. Who could solve the riddle involved in the dream: comp. 1/4.

170. of *Ǿat*: supply a relative as accusative to *drempte*: see 198/37, 200/103.

174. *shauen*: 'ioseph totonderunt. Uincti enim et exules incrementa crinium patiuntur,' C.

175. *hardi* *ȝ bold*: Comp. 'ȝe king of Beme had cares colde, | ȝat was ful hardy and bolde,' Minot iv. 68.

176. *wold*, power, meaning. See 201/140.

180. 'quod facturus est deus ostendit pharaoni,' C.

182. *numen*, taken, in the sense of dealt with, experienced. Comp. 208/400; 'De seuend^lmoned was in cumen, | And seuene and xx^{ti} dais numen,' GE 593; 'Seue nig^t si^čen for^Ǿ ben numen,' id. 1687.

184. The editors take *Sori* and *nedful* with *men*, but they might qualify *is*, them, and that would be more consonant with the original, 'quos (annos) sequentur alii .vii. tante sterilitatis. vt obliuioni dent cuncta retro abundantia,' C.

186. *rospen* and *raken*, waste and scrape away: in these meanings the words are apparently without parallels.

187. her *biforen*: miswritten for ear *biforen*: see 211/483 note: for *her* = ear, comp. 'Ǿor he quilum her wisten wunen,' GE 801.

189. *vndernumen*, taken unawares: comp. 'Dis godes folc was undernumen, | Quan he segen Ǿis hird al cumen,' GE 3221, where it appears to mean, surprised: perhaps influenced in this rare meaning by *undergan*, as in, 'ȝou hast me gyled and vndurgone' (= circumvenisti), Horstmann, S. A. Legenden, 33/479, 75/790.

194. *bege*: 'collo torquem auream circumposuit,' C. Comp. 133/34.

195. *bisen*: see 12/14 note.

197. *welden* &c., so, 'neme hit in here honde,' KH 60 note. *vnder his hond*, l. 210, in his control; comp. 204/252; 'Unnderr ȝe laȝe gastess hand,' Orm III46.

199. *Ǿo* . . . *Ǿanne* together are strange and the line is unmetrical. Read, was vnder him *Ǿo putifar*.

200. **hem so tobar**, caused such dissension between them; OE. **toberan**, to carry in different directions.
202. **Oðer . . . ðan**, different from what: see 100/122 note. ðan is Mätzner's correction.
206. Comp. for the form of the sentence, 'He was hem lef, he woren him hold,' GE 793.
212. **x**: The scribe writes tgen (2), then (1), ten.
215. **for nede sogt**: depends on josep: comp. 198/30, and 'for nede driuen,' 203/219.
217. **ðog**, nevertheless; that is, though he was their brother, they unwittingly fulfilled the prophecy of 197/21, 22.
219. **for**: but 'ðo wurð pharaon nede driuen,' GE 3165.
222. **Als he let**: read, Let he als, he pretended as if: comp. 'Sho lete als sho him noght had sene,' Ywain, 1809.
226. For **spien** with acc. comp. 'Bot er yee comen þe land to spi,' CM 4824; 'vous venez ceste terre | espier et conquerre,' Joseph.
230. **doðes**: Mätzner's suggestion, doð us, causes us, gives the best solution. Comp. 206/303.
- 233-236. 'Impossibile est enim viro idiote tales filios esse · cum etiam regibus talis filiorum copia valde sit difficilis,' C. **forgeten**: explained by Mätzner as forgotten, with meaning, of no account, obscure, which is without parallel. Probably for **geten**, for progeny, offspring: **get** is however not instanced in that sense before the fourteenth century.
235. For seldom hath it befallen even to a king: for this practically adverbial use of **self**, comp. 'God haued swilc fair-hed him geuen, | ðat self ðe fon it leten liuen,' GE 2609: 'Self his kinde nile ðat wune forgeten,' id. 1806.
240. **for &c.**: as the name Benjamin implies.
244. **gure** is due to Morris.
- 245, 246. 'Timebat enim ne forte et in illum (Benjamin) aliquid deliquissent,' C. **he**, Benjamin. **hem**, the brethren. **forred**, betrayed.
247. **dun**, to an underground prison.
253. **sone on on**, soon forthwith, very quickly: a favourite phrase of our author.
255. If **sone** be correct, it must stand for **sone so**, as soon as, as in, 'sone so loth ut of sodome cam,' GE 1109. But that is inconsistent with ll. 263, 264, where, as in the Vulgate and C., their lamentations are uttered in the presence of Joseph. Probably **sone** has been repeated from l. 253, displacing or, before: so 'ðor,' l. 257, means, in Joseph's hearing.
258. **Wrightful**, guilty; deserving punishment for our misdeed; 'Merito

hec patimur,' C.; comp. wrigteleslike, undeservedly, 201/130. But Kölbing suggests that the original had Rigtful, justly, rightfully; comp. 'Rihtful was iacob cald his name,' CM 3742.

260. **michil mor**, much more than we now suffer.

263. None of them suspected that they were understood: 'nescientes quod intelligeret eos ioseph, quia per interpretem loquebatur eis,' C. on **his mod**: a common tag; comp. 'Űo Űogte thare on his mod, | long bigging is here nogt god,' GE 717; 'He þoʒte vpon his mode | Hit nas for none gode,' KH 281 note.

265. **Űor quiles**, meanwhile, as at 198/45, usually whilst, as at 196/648.

270. **Űor biforen**, 'there as before,' Morris; 'over it,' Kock. **biforen** here and at 205/299, 207/362 has plainly the meaning of, in addition, besides. The development of meaning is parallel to that of **besidan**, by the side of, in addition to: so **biforen**, in the presence of (the common meaning in our author, as at 207/337), in addition to. **Űor biforen** then means, in addition to that; **Űor** rounds off the expression, as in **Űor quiles**.

273. **ouerŰogt**, 'vexed,' 'grieved,' NED.; 'anxious,' Bradley-Str.; 'very anxious,' Morris: it apparently occurs here only. The original had probably, o seri Űogt, of sorry mood; comp. 208/384 for the form of the expression and 'dredful and bleŰ and sori mod,' GE 3520; 'And sumdel quemeŰ it his seri mood,' id. 4c8.

277. **Comestor** does not mention that one of the sacks was opened on the way: our author follows him, not the Vulgate, Gen. xlii. 27.

279. **sori**, sorely; comp. 'wiste hire drogen sori for Űrist,' GE 977. Holthausen suggests **sor**.

280. o **rigt**: the meaning is doubtful, it may be justly, reasonably, OE. **on riht**, but for that the author has 'wit rigt,' GE 52. In the other place where it occurs, 'Abraham was buxum o rigt,' GE 1299, it means, straightway.

283. **ending non**, Of Joseph I know not how he ended: comp. 'Of his endinge ne wot ic nogt,' GE 487.

286. **segeŰ**, descends: OE. **sægan**, cause to sink.

288. **Űor quiles**, as long as: see 196/648.

289. **us** — **hard**, it will go hard with us.

290. **no**: probably ne should be read.

291. **derke**: so too at 208/399: it seems hardly a mere scribal error for **derŰe**.

293. Mätzner thinks **he** is a mistake for **we**, but see the examples of sudden transition from indirect to direct speech in Kellner, Syntax, 60.

296. Kölbing suggested the addition of **non**: Schumann would substitute

non for **no**, but the former gives a better verse. Mätzner reads, And ic ne can, following Morris, who translates, And *I* know no better plan. Understand quan after And.

298. That there be wanting to the Egyptians none thereof; comp. 'ne nawiht ne wonteð ham | of al þ̅ ha wilneð,' SK 1670.

299. **ðor biforen**, besides: see 205/270.

300. **wið**, with which.

304. **agen**, back; so 208/375.

305. Join **forð rigt**, straightway, or, by the nearest way.

306. Mätzner rightly omits **cumen** as a gloss. For **ligt** as a verb comp. 'Nu am ic ligt to fren hem ðeðen,' GE 2787; 141/42. 'Igitur filii iacob descenderunt in egyptum,' C.

308. **Kinde ðhogt**, natural affection; comp. 'kinde blod,' 206/330. **was** is evidently a substitute for some rhyming word; Emerson suggests lag, Kock, stag, Morris, ðag. It was probably some uncommon word which the scribe altered, possibly wag, stirred, moved, OE. **wæg**, which is sometimes used intransitively. In the passage corresponding to 207/340, C. has 'Commota sunt viscera eius,' which our writer seems to have used here.

311. **biri**, palace: at 12/7 it means, court.

312. **Her non**, none of them: so **ur non**, l. 316.

316. **wiste** . . . gilt, was conscious of wrong-doing: 'non est in nostra conscientia quis posuerit eam in marsupiis nostris,' Gen. xliii. 22.

318. **min forward** is explained in Specimens of the condition that Benjamin should be brought, as in 205/290; but that stipulation was Joseph's, not the steward's. It looks like a vague rendering of C., 'Pax vobis . . . pecuniam quam dedistis mihi probatam (i.e. checked, found correct) ego habeo.' The French version has, 'Vostre avoir seit tout vostre, | car nous avons le nostre'; and the English text may mean, for the price which I was ordered to charge for the corn is actually in my possession.

320. **on and on**, one by one; comp. 208/377, 214/573.

322. to **nome**, as captive: comp. 196/665; probably the only instances of its use in ME.; noun of **niman**.

323. **vndren time**: 'meridie,' C. See 74/209.

324. For **riche**, see 6/30.

325. of **frigti mod**, through their feeling of fear; comp. 'Wið reuli lote and frigti mod,' GE 1162.

329. **understod**, received; comp. 210/447.

334. I know there none who does not tremble; a parenthesis which

would be better placed before l. 333. *ðat he* is practically equivalent to *who*.

336. *after bodeword ðin*, in accordance with your commandment; comp. 'for *ðhu min bode-word haues broken*,' GE 361.

339. *ouerwente*: an isolated past of **ouerwenden*, in the intransitive use recorded in NED., to go over, pass over; giving the meaning, his heart went out to him forthwith. But the absence of *to* before him renders this explanation doubtful. More probably *him* refers to Joseph and reinforces *his*, as in '*þat his ribbes him to brake*,' KH 1077 (see also 80/47 note), with meaning, his heart overflowed forthwith. C. has, '*commota sunt viscera eius*.'

340. For *ouergon*, overcome, see 22/143.

342. *teres wet*: comp. 208/396; *teres* appears to be *pl. gen.*, of, with tears, so '*swerdes slagen*,' GE 3721, where *swerdes* is *s. gen.* Contrast '*of is teres wet*,' 209/410.

345. Holthausen omits *and*; the scribe has taken it from the next line, as he did again at ll. 2839, 2840. *him biforen*, in his presence.

347. *wunes*, custom: the *pl.* is used for the rhyme. '*Deposuitque ioseph fratres secundum ordinem etatis eorum · sicut in domo patris sedere consueuerant*,' C.

349. *sonde*: see 13/30.

354. For omission of the subject, see 6/18. There is nothing in the Vulgate or Comestor corresponding to ll. 354–358. There is a similar passage in CM 4863–82, in which Joseph tells his brethren that Pharaoh has no mercy for thieves.

355. Omit *And*, with Holthausen.

356. *vnkinde*, foreign; a singular use, but comp. '*ðog it was nogt is kinde lond*,' GE 1279; '*to wende into þaire kindly lande*,' CM. 3914; '*He left bath kiyth and kyndli thede*,' id. 11103.

358. Read *trewðe*, as elsewhere.

360. *Or or*: this doubled *or* is frequent in GE; perhaps the second *or* was felt to be adverbial: a further redundancy is seen in '*or or ðe flod was long biforn | of noe bigeten*,' GE 905.

362. *biforen*: see 205/270.

365. *ut*, out of: the rare prepositional use.

368. *And* accuses of harm and damage.

370. *on*: see 210/454. Read *unselðe*, as elsewhere.

371. *forholen*: this verb takes the dative of the person, 34/77, 208/385, or *wip*, as in, '*forhele hit wid þin arege*,' OEM. 117/244.

373. *sikerlike*, confidently.

374. **Vp**, upon; comp. 'Of 3oure hors aliþteþ,' and vp 3oure feet stondeþ,' L MS. O, 5862.

375. **agen**: comp. 206/304.

382. Comp. 'Wið bedes and gret and teres wep,' GE 3888.

383, 384. 'An ignoratis quod non sit similis mihi in auguriandi scientia. Forte ioco dictum est · nec est imputandum,' C. The French version has 'ne saviez vous | que je sui engignous | et tant sai deviner | que je n'en truis mon per,' but GE and CM omit all reference to divination.

389. **Wið ðan ðat**, on condition that.

390. Morris added him after ledde; the omission of the relative is fairly common in GE.

396. Read, al his. **teres wet**: see 207/342.

398. 'pro salute vestra misit me dominus ante vos,' C.

400. **sulen** . . . **ben numen**, are to be gone through; comp. 202/182.

404. **min blisses**: 'gloriam meam,' C.

407. **gersen**: 'Gessen,' Vulgate; 'iessen,' C., the form in GE was probably influenced by 'Gerson,' Gen. xlv. 11.

408. **sundri** appears to mean, apart from the Egyptians, and to be derived from 'Hec (i.e. pastores sumus) dicetis vt habebitis seorsum ab egyptiis in optima terra iessen,' C.; comp. 210/468; Gen. xlv. 33, 34.

413. **in herte fagen**: so, 'in herte wooc,' GE 1874; 'in herte mild,' id. 2635.

414. For **him** read **hem**, Joseph's relatives; for **migte** in the next line **migten**. 'Gauisusque est pharao et dixit ad ioseph. De fratribus tuis. Tollite plaustra de egypto ad subuectionem coniugum,' C.

415. Because of Pharaoh's love for Joseph they were enabled to prosper. 'Omnia vestra adducite vobiscum · dabo vobis omnia bona egypti,' C. **timen**, to fare well or ill, mostly the former, is almost confined to GE in this sense: comp. 'Amalech fleg and israel | Hadde hegere hond and timede wel,' GE 3391; 'Bi ðan sal sarra selþe timen,' id. 1023; 'ðis folc, sprungon of israel, | Is vnder god timed wel,' id. 4023.

421. **twinne srud**: 'Deditque ioseph singulis binas stolas,' C.

422. Comp. 198/62.

425. **Al so fele**: 'totidem,' C. He sent his father a present similar to that of Benjamin.

426. **in — wil**, at his father's disposal.

427. **fest** is taken by Mätzner as the *þþ*. of *festen*; so, 'with burdens fastened': it might be *adj.* **fæst**, 'with burdens loaded,' Morris. In either case it is a strange phrase. Probably lest, OE. **hlæst**, is to be read, meaning, with the burden of a horse load.

434. He did not know them in their rich dresses; 'þai com ham noght als prisuns like, | Bot als þai war knigthes rik; | Cled þai war wit riche wede,' CM 5133.

438. in — *eliueð*, remains fixed, stands at his disposal. 'Joseph viuit et dominatur in egypto,' C. Comp. 209/426.

441. **Wel me**: see 2/13 note, 21/92 note, 195/634. If **wel is me wel** is correct it must mean, it is very wel for me: perhaps we should read, **me is wel wel**; comp. 'wol wel he dede,' GE 724, 'Wel wel was hit bitoze,' L MS. O, 23253; 'Hijs lauerd he kneu wel wel biforn,' CM 11033: or, **fel it me wel**; comp. 'Niðede ðat folk him fel wel,' GE 1521.

442. That I have thus lived to see such good fortune. **swil[c] sel** usually means in GE such time, as 'it wurð soð binnen swilc sel,' 1032, it came true within the stated time, so GE 417, 1204, and it may have that meaning here.

444. **sen**: supply as object *sune* from the preceding line.

453. **dere** is Mätzner's correction.

454. **ger**: read *geres*, 203/207, or *gere*, 202/190. **be ðe on**: constructions with *on* are frequent in GE; comp. 205/286, 208/370; 'ðat burgt folc ðat helde was on,' GE 1063; 'For swinc and murning hem was on,' id. 3205, in each case rhyming with *don*. Comp. the Latin inscription, 'scire laboras, annos quod tulerim mecum.'

455. **xxx**: *çritti*.

456. Have I suffered *wo* here in the world, not, 'Have I suffered here in [this] world's woe'; for *dregen* generally takes an accusative in GE, and the intransitive use, as at GE 3235, is rare.

457. **offen** is very doubtful, while *ðor of* occurs frequently in the poem. The original had probably, *ðor of an fo*, answering to 'An hundred *ger*.'

460. Here among men, away from my true home: comp. 201/148; 'And uten erdes sorge *sen*,' GE 956. **uten erd** was suggested by 'Dies peregrinationis vite *mee*,' C., on which he comments, 'Peregrinationis dixit quia sancti vitam hanc pro incolatu habent,' words which are paraphrased in ll. 461-464. Comestor had in mind, 'Heu mihi quia incolatus meus prolongatus est,' Ps. cxix. 5 (actually quoted in Zainer's ed. of 1473).

461. **So** is explained by l. 464.

466. If **seli** represents OE. *gesælig*, happy, its use with **mel**, meal, is singular. But 'he seruede his fader wel | Wið wines drinc and seles[t] mel,' GE 1541 suggests *sele*, good, as the right word here.

467. **him**: corrected by Mätzner.

468. **sundri**: see 209/408: 'sciens gratum esse egyptiis separari a se pastores,' C.

472. **xiiij**: The Vulgate and C. say seventeen.

474. **Quile time**, at what time, when.

476. One thing whereof he should be right mindful. Mätzner inserts he after **ðat**: Schumann suggested the division of **offe**. But the line is still unmetrical, and the subjunctive mune for should remember is very doubtful; probably **og** has dropped out after **off**: comp. 'And for hise sinne oc (=og) he to munen,' GE 197, for the infinitive without to, 'Cristene men ogen ben so fagen,' id. 15 and for the infinitive in e, 'fare' 210/443 in rhyme as here.

477. **wurð** — **don**, was finished with him: NED quotes 'He knewe well that it was doon of him,' Caxton, *Sonnes of Aymon*, i. 56.

479. **witterlike**, definitely; that is, not merely in Hebron, but in the cave where Abraham was laid; 'in sepulchro maiorum suorum quod abraamium dicitur,' C.

482. **stille**, in secret: comp. 'And stille he dalf him [in] ðe sond,' GE 2718.

483. **fer ear biforen**, very long beforehand: comp. 'ðe was of hin fer ear biforen | Or ani werldes time boren,' GE 47; 'ear fear biforn,' id. 253. See 202/187.

484-486. **hem**: Jacob's ancestors, as in the frequent 'dormivit cum patribus suis.' C. has 'Cura fuit sanctis sepeliri in terra qua sciebant Christum resurrecturum · ut cum eo resurgerent' (in Zainer's text the last clause is 'vbi cum eo multa corpora sanctorum surrexerunt cum eo'). Accordingly Kölbing proposed to read for **hem**, him, referring to Christ, of whom our author says that he 'restede him after ðe ded,' GE 257. A further change of **reste** to **arist** would make the correspondence with C. complete, but it is more probable that the author omitted the clause.

489. This line appears to represent 'Cumque videret diem obitus sui imminere · vocavit Joseph,' C. which comes in the narrative before l. 415. There is a mixture of constructions, (1) when he felt his departure at hand, and (2) Before his departure. Mätzner proposed to substitute **migte** for **wiste**.

491. And prophesied of their future: Gen. xlix.

493. Comp. 212/526.

494. **strif**: 'Militia est vita hominis super terram,' Job vii. 1. Comp. 'He made on werlde al erue tame, | ðe sulde him her, in swinkes strif, | to fode and srud, to helpen ðe lif,' GE 174.

498. **bi waken**, 'waked,' watched by his body: comp. 'He was biwaked richeliche, | And wel faire browt on erthe,' *Seuyn Sages* (Weber), 2578.

502. **biqueðen**, 'bewail,' Morris, whom Mätzner follows. But this use is without parallel and is not a natural development of OE. **beeweðan**: possibly it descends from **cwipan**, to lament. In NED, **bigreden**, lament, or **bigreiðen**, prepare, make ready, are suggested. Perhaps **biwreðen**, representing OE. **bewriðan**, to surround with bands: the line would then mean, to anoint, shroud and enwrap.

504. **midt**, power, that is, means, wealth.

506. Not to bury it speedily with iron tool. For **wið yre**, comp. Minot iii. 102 note.

507. **riht**, properly, carefully.

510-522. This passage is based on 'Fideles modo quia mortuos suos fide et virtutibus conditos aiunt .xxx. diebus eos plangunt .i. speciales missas sub numero tot dierum pro ipsis celebrant. Quidam tertiam diem maxime celebrant pro spiritu anima et corpore. Alii septimam,' C.

510-512. Christian folk have other customs. They are anointed during their lifetime with chrism and oil; with chrism and the oleum catechumenorum at baptism, with the oleum infirmorum in Extreme Unction. **in trewðe geuen**: administered with faith in their efficacy: in Extreme Unction, the ministrant said, 'da fiduciam tui muneris exequendi.' 'Oratio fidei salvabit infirmum,' S. Jac. v. 15.

513, 514. For **ðon**, Morris read **don**, Mätzner, **ðor**. More probably it is a mistake for **ðo** induced by the ending of the next word, **ðan** also has been corrupted out of **ðam**. For acts of faith accompanied by charity, those are for Christians in place of all that watching of the dead: an idea repeated in ll. 519-521. Strunk, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxvi. 51, proposes for **ðon ben**, **don bet**, with meaning, For truth and good deeds therewith avail more than that vigil. For **mide**, see 177/57, 212/532.

515. **Sum** is subject of **don**, l. 519. **on**, the first day. The *Officium Mortuorum* and masses of requiem ('chirche gong,' l. 519) were celebrated for thirty days and with special solemnity on the day of the deposition, the third, seventh, thirtieth (the month's mind) and the anniversary; these or some of them were accompanied by doles ('elmesse gifte,' l. 520). See Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, ii. 315, 516-519.

517. Mätzner explains **wurðen**, 'accomplished,' that is, completed: which is the sense required, but such use of the participle is hard to parallel, although '**þenne weoren heore iwil**,' allunge **iwurden**,' L 19656, comes near it. **Awurden**, ended, would present less difficulty, and would

improve the verse. A participial expression with the same meaning is seen in 'fowerti winter vten led,' GE 3348.

526. **laiges** was corrected by Morris. See 211/493 and comp. 'Clense ðis folc wel ðis to daiges, | And bidde hem leden clene la[i]ges,' GE 3453.

529. **bode**: 'Significauit autem Joseph Pharaoni per intercessores quod iurauerat patri de sepultura,' C. **bōda**, messenger.

531. **ðor** — **dede**, wherein he (Joseph) acted well, his pious act.

533. **wis of here**: neither in OE. nor in ME. does **here** mean war, battle, but only army, devastation. Morris reading heren, translates, 'skilful in armed expeditions,' which seems forced. Probably were is to be read: comp. 'Als it were wopnede here, | Redi to silden him fro were,' GE 1787. A similar phrase is 'witter of figt,' GE 864. In l. 534 read dere.

535. **rad**: comp. 'And iacob was of weie rad,' GE 1783.

536. **abuten**, making a detour: 'timentes bella deuiauerunt a recto itinere veneruntque ad aream azad,' C. **adad**: 'atad,' Vulgate and LXX; not in Codex Amiatinus.

539. **numen**, proceeded: comp. 13/28, 178/78, 179/113, 187/369; 'And ðeðen he nam to mirie dale,' GE 745, and often. There is an ellipsis of wei; comp. 206/305. So 'his weige ðeðen ches,' GE 2736, compared with 'Anon of lond he ches,' Sir Tristrem 2221.

541. **ouer pharan**: not in Comestor or the Vulgate; comp. GE 1248. The desert of Paran on the west side of the Dead Sea is meant.

542. **biriele**: this form without final s is suspect.

544. **sent**: s added by Morris.

549. 'nos quoque oramus vt patri tuo dimittas iniquitatem hanc,' C.

550. **Wið ðan(ne) ðat**, inasmuch as, seeing that: differently at 208/389.

552. This line is corrupt: Holthausen's 'To bidden meðe and beden bot' gives a good sense and restores the rhyme. He compares 'Moyses bad meðe,' GE 3011: see 36/126 note.

556. This line is unmetrical and otherwise difficult: **kin** should be *sing.*, **wexen** is *pl.*, **manige fold** for **manigfeald** is strange. Perhaps we should read, His kin was waxen manig fold.

557. Mätzner adds his before **sibbe**, which makes the line too long; perhaps **cumen** is in excess.

559. **biforen** qualifies **hað . . . sworn**.

561. **in**: comp. 'Tac ðin sune ysaac in hond,' GE 1287; 'An .vii. kinge-riches lond | Ic sal hem bringen al on hond,' id. 2789.

564. Fulfil it then, promise it now: so, 'ðat ic ðe haue hoten wel, | Ic it sal lesten euerilc del,' GE 2905.

568. **seli red**, happy counsel, possibly in the sense of what is advantageous, helpful; but 'seli sped,' 200/192, GE. 240 suggests a simpler reading.

570. **egipte like**, after the Egyptian fashion.

571. Add he before **biried**. **hem**, his bones, l. 566.

572. **late**, after many years: 'nec motus donec egressi sunt filii israel de egypto,' C.

573. **on and on**: comp. 206/320.

578. **soules** is *sing.*, comp. 'for liues helpe and soules red,' GE 496; 'for sowles frame,' id. 626.

579-590. Not by the author.

580. **engel tale**: 'on engleis speche,' GE 14; 'on engleis tale,' id. 450; 'On engle speche,' id. 814.

582. 'May God help him kindly,' Morris; this involves helpe, mot, where we should expect helpen, mote. Mätzner suggested wel e mot, God help him, well he may.

583. **sorge j grot**: see 199/74.

584. **cold j hot**: see 44/232-236.

586. **spilen**, disport themselves.

589. Comp. 'And to alle cristene men | beren pais and luue bitwen,' GE 7. After **us**, Holthausen adds **be**: perhaps, **ben ús** | **bitwén**.

XXIII. KENTISH SERMONS

Manuscript: Laud Misc. 471, Bodleian Library; on vellum, 188 × 130 mm.: consists of two manuscripts bound together; the former, mostly Latin, has at f. 65 r, 'Man may longe liwes wenen' (see p. 308). The second manuscript, of the end of the thirteenth century, begins at f. 92 with Grosseteste's Château d'Amour; on f. 128 r is Maurice de Sully's sermon for January 1st in French, then follows the present article. Other sermons in French by Sully begin on f. 138 v², but they do not include the originals of these English translations.

Facsimile: Skeat, W. W., Twelve Facsimiles, Oxford, 1892; plate v gives ll. 19-78.

Editions: Morris, R., An Old English Miscellany, pp. 26-36. Kluge, F., Mittlenglisches Lesebuch, pp. 19-25.

Literature: Danker, O., Die Laut- und Flexionslehre der mittelkentischen Denkmäler, Strassburg, 1879; Heuser, W., Zum kent. Dialekt im Mittelenglischen, Anglia, xvii. 73-81; *Konrath, M., Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre des Mittelkentischen, Archiv, lxxxviii. 47-66, 157-180,

lxxxix. 153-166; Reimann, M., *Die Sprache der mittelhochdeutschen Evangelien*, Berlin, 1883. Of the French original, Manuscripts and Text: Meyer, P., *Romania*, v. 466, xxiii. 178, xxviii. 245; Documents manuscrits, Paris, 1871, pp. 157, 158, 244; Boucherie, A., *Le Dialecte poitevin au xiii^e siècle*, Niort, 1873; the Author: Mortet, V., Maurice de Sully, évêque de Paris, in *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris*, xvi. 105; Bourgain, L., *La Chaire française au xii^e siècle*, Paris, 1879; Lecoy de la Marche, A., *La Chaire française au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1868.

Phonology: Oral *a* is *ɑ*, hadde 75, last 212; awakede 172 has its form from *āwacian*, its meaning from *āweccan*. *a* before nasals is *ɑ*, fram 35 (5 times), man 120 &c., þan *conj.* 34, þanne 47, 160, wanne 21 (4); *man* indef. pron. is man 112, me 34; apparently lengthened in naam 237, from the plural. *a* before lengthening groups is *o*, belongeth 86, fond 206 (3), hond 138, londes 31, longe 246, 275, but shortened and 10, answerden 18, and amenges 217, influenced by *gemengan*. *æ* is divided between *e*, efter 22 (3), hedde 41 (8), hedden 11 (12), nedden 242, hest 101, smeche 50, 53, þet 10 (47), wet 42, 151 and *ɑ*, hadde 173, spac 20, 87, þat 54 (23), uastinge 57, was 6 &c., wat 26, 86, 174, 221, watere 91 (6), stressless at 84 (6), ate 229; from OE. forms in *a*, almichti 5 (6), fader 48, hadde 67; flexion form bak (biteres) 111; iheed 248 represents OE. *gehæfd*. *e* is *e*, be *prep.* 39 &c., iþenche 282, wrench 275; before lengthening groups ende 161, strengþe 267; but bi 54 &c., swiche 127 (4), siche 179, wiche 145, wyche 112; *e* is raised to *i* in sigge 53 (11), togidere 95 from the umlaut form togedere, wrichede 59, comp. *wrecca*; with bie *prep.* 94, 228 for bi, comp. 'beo' for be, Reimann § 18. 2 f; in angles 150 *ɑ* is probably due to French influence, although *ɑ* for umlaut *e* before nasal is characteristic of the South-Eastern area, see 439/9-13, 269/25-27. The isolated *o* in ongel 28 beside angles may be set down to the representation of OF. *a* before nasal + cons. in Southern ME. indifferently as *ɑ* or *o*, so in Ayenbite, chambren, chombre, chongi (Behrens 78), but the scribe of KS writes always sergant, serganz. *i* is *i*, wille 22, finde 24, often written *y*, especially in contact with *m*, *n*, agyn 212, hym 13; here 85, her, is an early instance of the spelling with *e*. *o* is *o*, dorste 87, wolde 23, but an 71, ane 242 (*an*), a 192 through loss of stress; þane 175, 274, 281 is LWS. *þane*. *u* is *u*, icume 216, 253, to cumene 284, luue 74, hifunde 21, undren 205 (3), but *o* in awondrede 177, come 60, comme 55, cometh 22, 159, icomen 215, ffolvellet 90, fonden 208, ifonden 27, louue 243; see 269/31. *y* is *e*, spusbreche 110, chereche 149, dede 205, euee 107 (12), ferst 96 (7), uulueden 93, manken 41, senne 61 (14), þenche 245, werm 55, berdene 219,

but forþingketh 221, due to palatal influence, kinges 7, mirre 11, 54, as in French original, niste 98, analogy of wiste, formeste 134 (formest). $\bar{a}$ is *o*, aros 169, holi 5 &c., no 55, none 156, on *art.* 202, one 134, 199, o 14, one *numer.* 117 &c., doubled in aróós 171, hool 137, hóót 74, 280, noon 148, 221, 282; before two consonants, *o*, bitockned 107 &c., gost 48, onlepi 48; but the indef. article is mostly an, ane, a, so too anoþer 30, anopren 34; askede 13, 17, haleghen 146 have shortened *a*, contrast 'oxi,' Ayenbite 114/1; with namore 87 comp. nammore 231/14. $\bar{æ}_1$ is regularly *e*, anhet 115, wreþe 188, doubled in anhéét 116, 124; before two consonants, clensed 139, euerich 122 (5), leuedi 83, leuedis 31, but aueriche 69, lauedi 6, 87, goth 51, with *o* from the plural. $\bar{æ}_2$ is also *e*, euen 206 (5), þer 60 &c., wer 13 (4), were 91 (4), ofdred 16, werefore 69 (3), but war 26 (*hwār*), ware 91, waren 215, 216. $\bar{e}$ is *e*, akelp 108, deþ 70 (3), he 15 &c., se *art.* 13 &c., wenden 216, but doþ 179, with *o* from the plural, ha 20 &c., a 250, 264, mostly stressless. $\bar{i}$ is *i*, hwilem 19, niþing 121, wyn 84; doubled in hij 248; before two consonants, wyman 87, winyarde 203; the only exception is bleþeliche 182, comp. 'blethliche,' Seuyn Sages 503 (Kentish), 'bleþeliche,' Ayenbite, 20/26; according to Konrath (p. 172) $\bar{e}$ in MK. had a very close sound approaching $\bar{i}$, which led to their interchange, but there is also 'bluðeliche' 119/80, OEH i. 31/4 which needs accounting for. $\bar{o}$ is *o*, comen 35 (4), into 12, to 22, sothfast 38, doubled in good 120, 183, 281, goodman 202, but *a* in kam 12 (4) and reduced to *e* in te 7, 20, 256, te dai 5 (4), euerte 135, neuerte 248, inte 250, 251. $\bar{u}$ is *u*, bute 279, ut 239, upward 51, doubled in uut 202, but *o* in bote 244, don 170. $\bar{y}$ is *e*, bredale 80, fer 112, uerée 51, here 203, herde 208, iherde 228, iherede 232, iherd 248, prede 188, wée 207 (*hwȳ*); before two consonants, bredgume 99, but iherde 236 where *ie* may be a writing for $\bar{e}$, or equivalent to [je], litte 143 (litel).

ea before *r* + cons. is *a* in art 124, 125, winyarde 203 &c., to . . . ward 51, but *e* in forewerde 203, 204 in syllable of minor stress. *ea* before *l* + cons. is *a*, al 8 &c., and its compounds, falle 155, halt 283, before *ld*, *a* in chald 109, schald 108, *o* in chold 124, itold 67, 222 (as bold, bolde in Ayenbite), but before *lde*, *ia* (as for *ēa*) in ialde 39, ihialde 101; this alternation of *a* (not *o*) and *ia*, as short and long, is specifically Kentish. The *i*-umlaut is *e*, elde 260, 268, 270. *eo* before *r* + cons. is *e*, verrene 35, herte 45 (6), sterft 154, sterre 7 (4), werkes 50 (8), werkmen 203 (3), before lengthening groups, erþe 82, 135, erþliche 65, husberners 111; Kentish absence of *i*-umlaut (Bülb. § 187) in ismered 55; uerste 223. *eo* before *lf* is *e*, selue 115, seluen 123, 183. *eo*, *u*- and $\bar{a}$ -umlaut of *e* is *e*, fele 224, 270, heuene 29 (9); after *w*, *o* in wordle 191, world 228. *eo*, *u*- and $\bar{a}$ -umlaut

of *i* is *e* in *beneme* 186, *clepie* 181, *clepeþ* 262, *selure* 64, *here* 11 (10), but *hire* 27, 30, 185. *ea* after palatals is *a*, *sal* 34 (4), *yaf* 158, 214. *ie* after *ġ* is *e*, *yeue* 210, 251, *yef* 35, *yefþ* 272, *yeue* 71, 159, *yef* 213, *yeld* 211, *yefte* 37. EWS. *gief* is *yef* 24 &c. *eo* after *só* is *o*, *solle* 271, *sollen* 200, 254, *solde* 14 (5), *solden* 250, but *sulle* 223. *eom* is *am* 184, *heom*, *hem* 10 &c.

ēa is *ia*, *beliaue* 41 (6), *diadlich* 41, 264, *diadliche* 143 (7), *diath* 41, *diaþe* 274, *griat* 201, *griate* 234, 272, *ya* in *yare* 282, but *ea* in *beleauē* 45 (6), *great* 141, 169, *greater* 267, *a* in *belaue* 67, *e* in *gret* 171, *grete* 143: *slon* 24 is from a form with *ā*. The spelling with *e* [*ē*] is not Kentish, that with *a* is probably meant for *ea*, which is historic spelling of the same import as the specifically Kentish *ia*, *ya*. The phonetic value of the latter is in dispute. Sweet says probably [jaa], that is, with accent shifting; Konrath [jæ̃] for the initial, [æ̃] for the medial position; Heuser maintains that the symbols must have the same value wherever placed and suggests for it [eæ̃]. The *i*-umlaut of *ēa* is *e*, *beleue* 47, 250, *bileue* 75, *bileued* 242, *beleued* 103, *iherde* 14, 19, *iherd* 62 (4), *ihere* 282, *ihereþ* 106, 224, *onlepi* 48, *onlepiliche* 65, but *ie* in *ihiereth* 42, *niedes* 181, 185, *nyede* 180. *ēo* initial is *ye*, *yede* 12 (7); medial, *ie* *bien* 18, 192, *bieth* 59, 68, *bieþ* 152 (10), *bied* 116, *biedh* 143, *dieule* 61, *forbiet* 73, *liese* 16, *liesed* 114, *liest* 145, 153, *forliest* 154, but *e* in *betuene* 9, *deuel* 187, *deueles* 241, *frend* 221, *helden* 235, *iuel* 84, *prest* 40, and *i* in *sike* 58, *sikman* 136; final, *ie*, *ye*, *bie* 178, 223, 156, 207, *ibye* 219, *hie* 207 (*hēo*), *hye* 87, *þrie* 7 (5) and *i*, *bi* 14, 71, 139, *si* 6 (10), *hi* 87, but *e* in *be* (*swo*) 263, *ibe* 238, 239, 241, 246, 247. The medial *ie*, which is characteristic of Kentish, has, according to Sweet, the value of diphthongic [jee], according to Konrath, of the monophthong *ē*; final *ie*, *ye* is *ī*. The *i*-umlaut of *ēo* is *e*, *þefte* 144. *ēa* after *ġ* is *e* in *yere* 66, *ēo*, *e* in *yemer* 114, *yemere* 113, *yemernesse* 56, but Morsbach (*Anglia*, *Beiblatt*, vii. 326) regards it as umlaut *e*. *giēt* is yet 118.

a + *g* is *agh*, *daghen* 252, *laghe* 17 (3), but *ai* in *daies* 66: *mowe* 53, 260, *moue* 72, *muee* 33 represent the subjunctive form *mugon*: *seith* 183, 242, *seiþ* 184, *seyth* 201, *seid* 113, 274 come from *segeþ*. *æ* + *g* is *ai*, *dai* 5 &c., *day* 33 (5), *mai* 148 &c., *may* 58 (5), *maidene* 237, *vaire* 177, but *deai* 219: *seide* 20 &c., *seyde* 88 (6), *seiden* 172, *seyden* 217, *iseid* 19 represent *segde* &c.: *sede* 86, *seden* 230 descend from *sæde*, *sædon*. *e* + *g* is *ei*, *ileid* 170, *weye* 30: *ayen* 30, 206, *agenes* 269 descend from *ongēn*, so *toynes* 235; *tojanēs* 8 (influence of *n*), from *tōgēanes*, comp. 428/37. *i* + *g* final is *i*, *bodi* 60, *mani* 118, *peni* 251; *lauedi* 87, *leuedi* 83 represent *hlāfdī*; the spirant is lost in *bodie* 158. *u* + *g*: *mowe* 75. *ā* + *g* is seen

in oghe 112, $\bar{a}e_1 + h$ in tachte 249 (shortened $t\bar{a}hte$), $\bar{o} + h$ in ibrocht 99, nocht 23 (5); in cróós 90 the spirant has been absorbed; nacht 65, 104, 146 comes from shortened $n\bar{a}ht$. The i -umlaut of $ea + ht$ is e in the specifically Kentish manslechtes 111 (Bülb. § 180 b), but i in almichti 5, nicht 137, michte 24, nīcht 28. $\bar{e}o + ht$ is i in bricht, brichtnesse 44, richt 209, unricht 221: wesse 92 is $w\bar{e}oscon$. $\bar{e}o + g$ is e in legheþ 275; $i\bar{e} + ht$, i in licht 46. $e + w$: iseghe 176 comes from $gesegen$. $\bar{a} + w$ is au , saule 159, saulen 191: seghe 105, seghen 25, 215 come from $s\bar{a}gon$. $\bar{i} + w$: newe 134. $\bar{e}a + w$ is seen in feaue 224, seaweth 199, seawede 37, 39, seauede 237, seaude 249, seauinge 8, seywinge 32, miswriting, perhaps for sewinge. $\bar{e}o + w$ occurs in biknewe 8, furti 266 shortened, yure 64, final yu 89, 210, yw 174, 251. Accents are more sparingly used than in piece v, 275/40; they appear to emphasize the length of a vowel already doubled to indicate length in anhéét 116 (anheet 124), aróós 171 (aros 169), cróós 90, hóót 74, 280 (hot 88, 279), wéé 207; in beleauéé 230, icornéé 224, ueréé 51, séé 169, 175 short inflectional e is doubled and accented, possibly to point out that it is not silent, but muee 33 is without accent; similarly iléke 61 (ileke 72, 73, ilke 59), offréde 38 (offrede 38): in galiléé 78 (Vulgate Cana Galilaeae) separate pronunciation of the vowels is indicated.

In godespelle 5, 32, 199, haleghen 146, iherede 232, ileke 61, leuedis 31, leuedi 83, lauedi 6, moreghen 202 a glide e has been inserted, a final e added in ate 229, ofte 275; e is lost in icornéé 224, mor 34. For e , ie is written in sollie 160, o is e in sikerliche 187. The prefix in akelp 108 is a - intensive; in agyn 212, alast 236, anhet 115 &c., an -, on -; in astrēngþed 179 a - from ar -; in answerden 18, and -; in awondrede 177, of -: be - is mostly bi -, but betekned 116 (3), ge -, i -, ihende 55, iwil 114, but it is lost in bore 71. The suffix in sothfast 38 is $-f\bar{a}st$ (in the Ayeþbite it appears as $-uest$), in felarede 147, $-r\bar{a}eden$, in childhede 262, $-h\bar{a}ed$; the termination of verbal nouns is $-ing$, as in ME. gaulinge 144; in bapieres 92 the suffix is Fr. $-ière$.

w is written u in betuene 9, suo 135, uilleth 200; it has disappeared in siche 179, so 59: vrefore 246 is miswritten for werfore. Metathesis of r is seen in undren 205, in loruerde 103 the scribe has added r by anticipation. ll is simplified in ffolvellet 90, uuluelden 93, godspel 242, iwil 114 &c.; Kentish wordle 191 &c. alternates with world 228. m is doubled in comme 55; mm simplified in wyman 87. The preposition in is reduced to i 5 &c.; nn is simplified in clenesse 92, cumene 284, done 191, heþenness 8; n is lost in heueriche 252, 256, 281. bb is simplified in habep 259. Initial f is u , v in vaire 177, uastinge 57, velaghes 218, ueréé 51, verrene 35,

uerste 223, uuluelden 93 and medially between vowels and vowellikes, ffolvellet 90, iuel 84, over 26, senuulle 142, with exceptions before 25, 104, underfonge 254, þefore 254, werefore 238, vrefore 246, otherwise *f* occurs under all conditions. *f* is assimilated in hedde 41, lost in hest 101, iheed 248, lordes 32, lordinges 31. For *t*, *th* appears in wath 102 (comp. ethe in Ayenbite), and *td* in hotestd 266: *t* is doubled in yeftte 37, lost in beste 100, last 212 and finally in þa 82, 180, þe 39, 280. *d* is doubled in risindde 8; *dd* simplified in ofdred 16. For *þ*, *th* is often written in verbal terminations, *t* occurs in habbet 62, 64, 85, maket 121, *d* in bied 116, bitockned 107, bitokned 142, betokned 116, 143, 152, 266, drinked 115, hatied 278, *th* in habbetþ 219, *dh* in biedh 143, clepiedh 185, hatedh 73, mudh 113. Initial *þ* is *t* twice, to 58, 175 after and; the scribe must have had ant in mind or in his exemplar. A parasitic *þ* has been inserted in alþer 266, OE. *ealra*, an early instance of a form common in the South. For voiced *s*, *z* occurs in sechez 21, serganz 88, 89, signefiez 142, but it is not used initially. *ss* appears as *sc* in blisce 70. *sc* is *s*, sal 34, seawede 37, solle 271, sulle 223, srifte 159, flesliche 43, fles 237, but ssiþe 168 (4), wesse 92, flesce 56, flessce 59. The stop *c* is *k* before *e*, *i*, akelp 108, wakie 57, before *a*, *u*, kam 12, kuþe 17, in combination with consonants, biknewe 8, tokningge 141, folk 135, except *cl*, *cr*, clenesse 92, croos 90: it is *c* before *o*, cometh 22. Finally it is *c* or *k*, spac 20, bak 111, tok 139, 175: *c* is written *ck* in betocknep 225, bitocknep 268, bitockned 107, and *gk* in forþingketh 222. The graph *xp* (= *χp*) is used in xpisteneman 107 &c., xpisteman 109: the Latin text has chana 78 for Cana. *č* is *ch*, besech 125, bisecheth 182, chald 109, chold 124, chereche 149, child 21, euerich 122, -lich 41 &c., michel 15, kingriche 16, seche 36, speche 33, swiche 127, techinge 231, þenche 245, wiche 145, wrench 275, *sch* in schald 108, but hic 22 &c., besekeþ 68: *čč* is *ch*, smečh 50, wrichede 59. Palatal *g* is written *y*, ayen 30, toyenes 235, (wyn)yarde 203, yaf 158, ye 21, yemer 114, yere 66, yeue 210, yeftte 37, the doubling in winyyarde 272 was without intention: *y* is lost in iyue 133, gegiefen. It has developed to *w* in mowe 53, moue 72 and is lost in muee 33; other spellings are seen in tojanes 8, hye 64: yu 89, yure 64 have imitated ye, *gē*. *g* is lost finally in words ending in -ig. *čg* is *gg* in sigge 53 &c. The guttural stop is written *g*, gold 11, king 15, doubled in tokningge 141: for *ng*, *nk* appears in kink 38, offrinke 34, 36, þinkes 74, 112. The spirant is *gh*, daghen 252, haleghen 146, laghe 17, legheþ 275, oghe 112, seghe 105, moreghen 202, sorghen 185. Similarly the guttural spirant *h* is represented by *ch*, ibrocht 99, nacht 65, nocht 23, þurch 119 &c., but þurh 188; palatal are bricht 44, licht 46, michte 24, nicht 28, richt 209. *h* is added

in hac 87, hic 66 &c., hifunde 21, his 218, hure 178, 198, hut 279, hye 64 : h is lost in i 43, 250, is 232, ise 168, 246. hr is r, rape 140, as already in OE., hw, w, wee 207, wer 13, vrefore 246, wiche 145, wo 48, wylem 38, but hwilem 19, 258, hwylem 117.

Accidence: Strong declension of *masc.* and *neut.* nouns. In the *s. n.* sune 48 represents sunu. *Gen.* -es, domes 192, liues 275; heueriche 252, 256, 281 is a composition form: *d.* -e, bodie 158, with short stem vowel, daye 69, daie 220, 227, gode 49 (10), marcatte 206, uerée 51; exceptions are god 47, gost 72, iwil 157; peny 203 is probably accusative: the time words dai 5 (11), midday 205 (3), euen 235, moreghen 202 (5), undren 205 (3) are treated as accusatives, as occasionally in OE. *tō-dæg*, *on mid-dæg*, *on undern*. In the *acc.* bodi 60, peny 213, 215, 216, peni 251, 255, 281 have lost final g. The *pl. n. a.* of masculines ends in -es, bakbiteres 111, lordinges 31, daies 66, but husberners 111, croos 90; neuters are *n.* pinges 59, 61; *a.* pinges 73, 74, pinkes 74, werkes 50 (5), faten 91, 93. *Pl. d.* -es, angles 150, londes 31, 36, werkes 68 (4), writes 183, but daghen 252, wyntre 266 (comp. *nom.* *wintru*). All feminine nouns of the strong declension have -e throughout the singular, except *n.* lauedi 87, leuedi 83; *d.* lauedi 6, world 228, 238, 258, 263, wordl 230 (but wordle 191, 236, 243); *a.* hond 138. Plurals are *n.* deden 111, saulen 191, sennen 145, leuedis 31, tides 227; *d.* hertes 72, niedes 181, 185, offringes 63, wordles 259, sennen 147, sorghen 185; *a.* sennen 142, 143, 160. Nouns of the weak declension have -e throughout the singular, *n.* sterre 7, tunge 282, yare 282; *d.* bredgume 99, sunne 44, time 168; *a.* beliaue 41; plurals are *d.* haleghen 146; *a.* time 228. The minor declensions are represented by man *s. n.* 123, sikman 136, xpistenman 69, goodman 202, wyman 87, mannes *s. g.* 147, cristenemannes 45, men *s. d.* 260, manne 46, 120, cristenemanne 52, 69, man 265, 267, 268, *s. a.* 120, men *pl. n.* 15, *pl. d.* 153, *pl. a.* 142, werkmen 203; fader *s. n.* 48; frend *s. n.* 221; child *s. a.* 21; nicht *s. d.* 28. The French nouns have -es in the *pl.*, except geus 15, gyus 13, paens 245, 247, serganz 88, 89.

Adjectives which in OE. end in e retain it throughout; those in -ig lose g and are invariable in the singular, so stille, newe, holi, onlepi 48. Weak inflections are *s. n. m.* euele 107, 109, gode 44, 45, vaire 177, *f.* gode 52, *s. g. m.* gode 45, *s. d. m.* euele 120, gode 46, 52, *f.* griate 272, ialde 39, *neut.* wrichede 59; strong, *s. g. neut.* longe 275, *s. d. m.* gode 67, 230, *f.* diadliche 150, 153, 154, 157, 189, 278, griate 234, *neut.* euele 157, *s. a. m.* gode 173. Not inflected are weak *s. a. neut.* hepen 239; strong, *s. d. f.* diadlich 264, *neut.* good 183, yemer 114, *s. a. m.* god 234, good 120, hool 137, *s. a. f.* gret 171, griat 201. French words have no inflection.

The plural ends in *-e*, *bitere* 59, *diadliche* 143, *euele* 109, 156, *senuulle* 142, *verrene* 35, but *hepen* 252 and the predicative *idel* 207, 238, 241, 246 are uninflected. *litel* is *litle*, *s. d. m.* 174, *pl. d.* 147, *pl. a.* 143; *āgen*, *oghe*, *s. n. m.* 112. *ān adj.* is *n.* *an* before vowel 28, *a* before consonant 80, 136, 169, *o* 14, *d. ane f.* 81, *neut.* 168, *a. ane* 203, 213, 214, 216, emphatic form on *n.*, *a* certain, 202, *one d.* 134, *a.* 199: the numeral and pronoun is *d.* *one* 117, 118, 168, on 221, *a. on* 218: *nān adj.* is *s. n.* *no* 55, 148, 273, *noon* 282, *d. f. no* 263, *neut.* *none* 157, *a. neut.* *noon* before vowel 221, *no* 85, *pl. d. none* 156: the pronoun is *n. s.* *noon* 148, *non* 247, 274. Adjectives with inflection used as nouns are *euele s. d.* 126, 138, *gode* 126, *eueles pl. d.* 190, *godes* 65, *gode pl. a.* 58; *euel* 186, *good* 281, *unricht* 221 are *s. a. neut.* Comparatives are *greater s. d. f.* 267 (2); *more* 217, *namore* 87 used as nouns: superlatives, *formeste* 134, *beste* 100, 102; used as nouns are *ferste pl.* 213, *uerste pl.* 223, *laste pl.* 218, 224; predicative are *hostestd* 266, *ferst* 224, *last* 223.

The personal pronouns are *hic* 22 (8), *i(ne)* 104, 221, *me*, *we*, *us*, *pu*, *pe*, *ye*, *hye* 64, *yu*, *yw* 174, 251. The pronoun of the third person is *s. n.* *he m.* 15 &c., *ha* 20 (21) often stressless, *a* 250, 264, *ha* in *has* 69, *hi* 26 for *he*, *hi f.* 87, *hye* 87, *hit neut.* 18, with *m. f.* nouns 50, 175; *d. him m.* 11, *hire f.* 86; *a. hine m.* 172, 283, *hyne* 10, *hin* 27 before vowel, *hym* 13 (possibly dative), *hit neut.* 21; *pl. n.* *hi* 8 &c., *hie* 207, *i* 43, 250; *g. here* 216; *d. hem* 10; *a. hi* 185, 204, *hij* 248, *hem* 17 (possibly dative), *is* in *has* 69, *his* 218. Reflexives are *hine* 148, *him* 170, *him seluen* 123, *hem pl. d.* 217, *pl. a.* 25, 92, 177; definitive are *himselue s. d. neut.* 115, *himseluen* 183: possessives, *mine s. d. m.* 209, 250, 251, *f.* 137, *neut.* 138, *min s. a. neut.* 222; *pine s. d. m.* 219; *his s.* 211 &c., *is* 232, *pl. hise* 15, 83, 171, *ise* 168, 246, *his* 103, 146, 150, 233; *here* 85; *ure* 5, 68, 280, *hure* 178, 198; *yure* 64; *here* 11 (10), *hire* 27, 30, 185. In the following account of the article and demonstrative the translator is assumed to have taken the genders of French nouns from the French original. The definite article is *s. n.* *se m.* 13 (15), *pe* 211, *pe commencement* 102, *pe miracle* 140, *po* 265, *si f.* 31 (6), and with *masc.* nouns 6, 12, 45, *si miracle* 31, 177, *pe* 141, 255, *pe custome* 93, *pe nature* 266, *pet neut.* 32 (12); *g. pes m.* 214 (perhaps miswritten for *his*); *d. po m.* 9 (17), *pe* 50 (13), *po f.* 8 (18), *pe* 45 (6), *pe cite* 6, *po neut.* 5 (12), *pe* 33 (8); *a. pane m.* 175, 274, 281, *pan* 206, 235, *po* 25, 269, *po miracle* 176, *pe* 44 (7), *se* 107, *po f.* 70 (11), (and) *to* 175, *pe* 53 (7), *pet neut.* 21 (8); *instrumental* *pe* 105, 178: *pl. n.* *po* 24 (17), *pe* 226, 247; *d. po* 7 (11), *pe* 183; *a. po* 56 (12), (and) *to* 58, *pe* 58, 89, 228, 229, 245. *Pet* is demonstrative *adj.* 42 (3), 49, 54 (2), 281, also *pa s. d. m.* 82, *s. d. neut.* 82, 180, *po s. d. m.* 267;

the plural is þo 59, 72, 73, 74 (2), 145, 147, 176, þa *d.* 252 : þet is demonstrative pronoun 22, 68, 281, þat 150, 152, 161, þe[t] 280; for þet 15, 23, 24 means because, be þet 37, by that that : the plural is þo, mostly with relatives, þo þet 108 &c., those who, 231, those to whom, 283, for those who : other pronominal uses of the article are seen in se þet 96, 154, 180, he who, for þan 272, on that account, er þane 171 (read þan), before. The compound demonstrative is *s. n.* þes *m.* 225, þis, þis commencement 102, þis miracle 140, 177, þis *f.* þis signefiance 122, þis tempeste 171; *d.* þise *m.* 210, *f.* 152 (4), þis 229 (6), þise *neut.* 84, 97; *a.* þise *f.* 204, 222, þis *neut.* 20 : *pl. n.* þos 210, 217, *a.* 90, 91. The relative is þet and þat; it means that which in 43, 209, 243, 278, 279, 280, in which 82, anyone who 208. Interrogative are wat 86, 174, 221, wet 42, 151, wiche 145, wyche 112; the correlative is swiche *s. d. m.* 179, siche *s. a. m.* 179, swiche *pl.* 127, 191, 262 : ilca is ilke *pl.* 59, ileke 61, 72, 73, ilek 74. Indefinites are wo so 48; me 34, 38, 58, 145, man 112, 274; oþer 188, oþre *pl.* 111, 121, 210, oþer 100, 153; anoþer *s. d. m.* 30, anoþren 34; euerich 122, 216, eueriche *s. d. m.* 213, 260, aueriche 69, euerich 214; mani 118, 234; fele 224, 270; feaue *pl.* 224; al *s.* 243 &c., alle *pl.* 15 &c., *pl. g.* alþer 266.

Verbs in -an, except the contract slon 24, have infinitive in -e, bidde 75, bileue 75, yeue 251 and twenty-five other examples; those in -ian with short stem vowel have -ie, luuie 74, hatie 72, makie 34, 137, wakie 57, with long stem vowel, -i, loki 148. French verbs with consonant stems follow the latter, acumbri 187, anuri 22, onuri 24, serui 75 (3), somoni 16, suffri 41, targi 273, uisiti 57, with these is associated offri 10. The *dat. infinitive* is inflected in to cumene 284 only; it has -en in to siggen 123, 152, 231, otherwise -e, with prefixed for te, habbe 256, here 203, liese 16, wende 273; with to, seche 36, sigge 90 (3), slepe 170; Fr. for to anuri 10, to serui 273. Presents are *s. i.* beneme 186, habbe 67, sigge 104; Fr. sucuri 185; *2.* makest 218, syncopated hest 101; *3.* belongeth 86, betockneþ 225, luueþ 279 and twelve others in -eþ, bitockned 107, betokned 116, 143, 152, 266, bitokned 142, luued 74, maked 119, hatedh 73, loket 60, maket 121; Fr. ofserueth 112, signefieth 40 (4), turneþ 265, amuntet 52, defendet 54, ofseruet 70, signefiet 55, 57, signified 50, 113, signefiez 142; syncopated are akelþ 108, anhet 115, forbiet 73, forliest 154, liest 145, 153, halt 283, hath 48, hot 88, 279, hóót 74, 280, licht 46, seith 183 (4), seid 113, 274, sent 264, sterft 154, telþ 32 (5), yefþ 272; the syncopated forms are thus as numerous as the full forms : *pl. i.* bisecheth 182, habbeth 219 (3), redeth 5, habbetþ 219, hopieþ 256 (verbs in -ian with short stem vowel have -ieþ in *pr. pl.*, -ie in *subj.*); Fr. perisset 173; *2.* habbeth 21, 106, habbet 62, 64, 151, luuieþ 278, hatied 278, syncopated

dret 174; Fr. ofserueþ 281; 3. betockneþ 226, habbeþ 100, 218, dranked 115, liesed 114, habbet 85, luuieþ 283, clepiedh 185, syncopated yest 35; Fr. defendet 60: *subjunctive s. 3.* helpe 182, loke 122, wende 126, yeue 71, 159, yef 191 before vowel, luuie 244; Fr. deliuri 190, granti 284, serui 244, sucuri 181; *pl. 1.* beleue 47, loke 152, grede 186, 189, offre 42, 47, sigge 189, clepie 181; Fr. perissi 190; 2. falle 155: *imperative s. 2.* agyn 212, besech 125, yef 213, yeld 211, clepe 211; Fr. saue 172, sauue 189; *pl. 2.* bereth 96, cometh 22, 159, ihiereth 42, lokeþ 155, offreth 65, ffolvellet 90, forleted 159, greded 158, sechez 21; Fr. anuret 22, moveth 95. Past of Strong Verbs: I a. s. 3. spac 20, 87, yaf 158, 214; *pl. 3.* seggen 25, 215, seghe 105, speken 13: I b. s. 3. kam 12 (4), naam 237; *pl. 3.* comen 35 (4), nomen 9: I c. s. 3. fond 206 (3); *pl. 1.* fonden 208: II. s. 3. aros 169, 174, aróós 171: IV. s. 3. tok 139, 175: V. IV. *pl. 3.* wesse 92: V. s. 3. het 29, inel 84; *pl. 3.* biknewe 8, helden 235. Participles present: II. risindde 8; past: I a. iseghe 176, iyue 133: I b. ibore 6 (4), bore 71, icume 216, 253, icomen 215: I c. idrunke 97, hifunde 21, ifonden 27: III. icornéé 224: V. behote 19, ihialde 101, underfonge 254, ofdred 16. Past of Weak Verbs: s. 3. ansuerede 220, answerde 86, clepede 89, makede 118, made 103, 135, offrede 38, seauede 237, seaude 249, hedde 97 (5), iherde 14 (5), iherede 232, seide 20 &c., sente 204, tachte 249; Fr. aperede 28, apierede 7, aresunede 245, failede 84, onurede 136, sucurede 180, paide 214; *pl.* askede 13, awakede 172, beleuede 103, offrede 40 (4), seawede 37, 39, hadde 173, hedde 41 (3), seyde 208, answerden 18 (3), hedden 11 (9), nedden 242, maden 63, seiden 172, 217, seden 230, uuluelden 93, wenden 216, wenten 25; Fr. anurede 27, gruchchede 217, seruede 88, 230, serueden 258. Participles past: astrengþed 179, bileued 242, clensed 139, icleped 81, *pl. 1.* iclepede 91, 224, imaked 81 (3), maked 119, imad 204, ioffred 64, ismered 55, istrengþed 106, ipoled 219, iheed 248, iherd 62 (5), ileid 170, iseid 19, 259, itold 67, 222, anheet 116, 124, ibrocht 99, iwent 94; Fr. anud 15, anured 71, aparailed 11, asoiled 160, deseiuurd 147, deseuerd 156, deseurd 148, 149, ientred 254, isauued 192, iseruud 96, itravailed 218, iwarisd 140. Minor Groups: wot *pr. s.* 274, wiste *pt. s.* 173, *pt. pl.* 98, niste 98; kuþe *pt. pl.* 17; dorste *pt. s.* 87; sal I *pr. s.* 210, 251, *pr. s.* 34, 178, sollen I *pr. pl.* 200, 254, sollie 2 *pr. pl.* 160, sulle *pr. pl.* 223, solle 271, solde *pt. s.* 14 (4), *pt. pl.* 30, solden 250; nicht 2 *pr. s.* 137, mai *pr. s.* 148 (3), may 58 (5), mowe I *pr. pl.* 53, 260, moue 72, muee 2 *pr. pl.* 33, mowe I *pr. pl. subj.* 75, michte *pt. s.* 24; mote 2 *pr. s. subj.* 127, *pr. pl. subj.* 192; bi *inf.* 14, 71, bie 178, 223, bien 18, 192, am I *pr. s.* 184, art 2 *pr. s.* 124, 125, is *pr. s.* 31 &c., his 122, nis 146, 148, bieþ I *pr. pl.* 152 (3), 2 *pr. pl.* 155 (5), bie ye 207, bieth *pr. pl.* 59 (5), biedh 143, bi 2 *pr. s. subj.*

139, be (swo) *pr. s. subj.* 263, bie 2 *pr. pl. subj.* 156, be *pr. pl. subj.* 263, bieþ 2 *pr. pl. imp.* 160, was *pt. s.* 6 (6), were *pt. pl.* 91 (3), weren 176, ware 91, waren 215, 216, ibe *pp.* 238 (5), ibye 219; wille 1 *pr. s.* 22, 139, wilt 2 *pr. s.* 137, wille *pr. s.* 182, 187, wile 180, nel 55, uilleth 1 *pr. pl.* 200, wolde *pt. s.* 23 (3), wolden *pt. pl.* 10; do *inf.* 58 (6), misdo 62, don 200, to done *d. inf.* 191, for to done 241, to do 58 (*nominative*), do 1 *pr. s.* 221, 222, deþ *pr. s.* 70 (3), doþ 179, 2 *pr. pl.* 279, 280, *pr. pl.* 100 (3), do *pr. s. subj.* 125, 126, 2 *pr. pl. subj.* 279, doþ 2 *pr. pl. imp.* 89, dede *pt. s.* 16 (5), deden *pt. pl.* 235, ido *pp.* 50, 101; go *inf.* 22, 57, gon 10, 192, goth *pr. s.* 51, go 2 *pr. s. imp.* 212, goþ 2 *pr. pl. imp.* 20 (3), yede *pt. s.* 12 (5), *pt. pl.* 210, yeden 252, igo *pp.* 239.

Noteworthy adverbs are al 8, 11, 212, alast 236, euerte 135, neuerte 248, ihende 55, 60, onlepiliche 65, also in Ayenbite; prepositions, the alternatives an 71, ane 242, a 192; at 84, ate 229; for 41, fore 67, 105; in 81 (11) mostly before vowels, ine 18 (33) mostly before consonants, inne 154, i 5 (5) followed by the definite article; to 22, te 5 &c. stressless, inte 250, 251, and amenges 217, an early instance, wath 102; conjunctions, ase so 110, 144 translating si cume, al wat 26, þe 39 for þet, þo þet 242, 246 meaning inasmuch as.

Vocabulary: Scandinavian are velaghes 218, fela(rede) 147, scab 142, and probably bakbiteres 111, as a compound. French are †acumbri 187, †age 265, †amonestement 61, †amuntet 52, †anud 15, †anuri 10, onuri 24, †anvie 188, †aparailed 11, †aperede 28, apierede 7, apostles 246, †aresunede 245, †asoiled 160, auenture 84, †bunte 272, chaste 120, cite 6, †commandement 214, †commencement 102, †compainie 149, conseil 9, †contrarie 101, †cors 55, custome 93, †cuuenable 37, deciples 84, †defendet 54, deliuri 190, †deseiurd 147, deseuerd 156, deseurd 148, †diuers 259, †ensample 35, failede 84, folies 121, geus 15 gyus 13, †glorius 31, glutunie 144, grace 72, granti 284, gruchchede 217, †hasteliche 94, †hentred 254, †iwarisd 140, large 121, lecherie 110, lechur 120, lepre 137, leprus 136, †maladie 140, manere 188, merci 158, miracle 98, montayne 134, †moveth 95, †nature 267, †naturel(liche) 115, nature(liche) 108, offrendes 12, 27, (of)serueth 112, †orgeilus 120, †paens 245, paide 214, †painime 71, †pardurable(liche) 148, patriarches 229, †pelrimage 57, peril 180, †perissi 190, poure 58, prechur 249, profetes 19, prophete 249, religiun 92, roberie 110, †sacrefise 39, sarmun 135, saue 172, sauue 189, seinte 6, sergant 211, serui 75, seruise 200, †signefiance 62, †signefieth 40, somoni 16, spus (breche) 144, †sucuri 181, suffri 41, †targi 273, †tempeste 170, †trauail 212, †travailed 218, †umble 120, ure 218, urisun 67, †verray 39, uertu 126, uisiti 57, tydres 90. The words marked † appear for the first time in

English. *marcatte* 206 is probably a post-Conquest borrowing: *offri* 10 is French in form, but its meaning is the restricted one of OE. *offrian*. Latin are *Architriclin* 96 (pre-Conquest), probably *clerekes* 17, the French original has *clers*, possibly *religiun* 92. The French borrowings are often Anglo-French in form. The prefix in *acumbri* is *en-*, in *oferuēt*, English *of-*, with meaning for the compound, gains by serving; *anud* (*enuier*) and *ensample* for *essample* show an exchange of prefixes; in *anvie* *a* is written for *e* before a nasal; *anuri* is a contamination of *aorer* and *honor*; in *contrarie* the affix is AF. *-arie* for OF. *-aire*, in *manere*, AF. *-ere* for OF. *-iere*, so *-ur* for *-eor* in *lechor*, *prechur*; OF. *-ee* (Latin *-āta*) is *e* in *contre*. In *grant*, OF. *graanter*, *a* is lost, in *age*, *e* initially, and after *ai* in *painime*, also between *l* and *r* in *pelrimage*. In *sarmun*, *e* becomes *a* before *r* + cons., but not in *serganz*; *ie* for *e* in *apierede*, as often in AF. texts, is probably here Kentish interchange of *e*, *ie*; *u* for *o* before *n* appears in *amuntet*, *bunte*, *religiun*; *urison*, but not in *commandment*, *commencement*, the same substitution takes place in *suffri*; *ai* before *s* is phonetic *e* in *aresunede*; *ai* followed by *e* is *ae* in *paens*; *ai* + *n* *mouillé* is simple *ai*, *ay* in *compainie*, *montayne*; *ei* before *vr* is *e* in *deseuered*, *deseur[e]d*, but *deseiur[e]d* 147; *ei* before *l* *mouillé* is *ai* in *aparailed*; OF. *juiu*, later *giu*, is represented by *geus*, *gius*, as in MS. A; OF. *ue* is *o* in *moveth*; the regular representation of L. *ō* + *l* *mouillé* is seen in *asoiled*, but *orgeilus* is an isolated spelling, the usual diphthong being *oi*, *ui*, perhaps the writer was influenced by English *orgel*. OF. *üi* is *u* in *anu[e]d*. *ch* for *c* before *i* is doubled in *gruchchede*; *n* is lost in *cuuenable*, as in MS. A; *r* is doubled in *verray*; *z* has the value of *ts* in *serganz*; the spelling *deciple* is in MS. A.

Dialect: A scribe, not Kentish but probably South Midland, has copied with tolerable fidelity a Kentish manuscript, but alien forms such as *aueriche* 69, *lauedi* 6, *war* 26, *ware* 91, *waren* 215, *spac* 20, *yaf* 158 intrude; *chold* 124, as a compromise between *chald* of the exemplar and *cold* is significant.

Introduction: Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris from 1160 to 1196, composed in Latin a series of sermons on the gospels for the Sundays and other festivals of the Christian year, which were intended for the use of the priests in his diocese. The French versions of these are, in the opinion of Bourgain and Lecoy de la Marche, free reproductions by various preachers. That they were exceedingly popular is shown by the large number of manuscript copies which have survived. These have been classified by Meyer in two redactions. Our translator has used a manuscript of class A, and indeed one differing little from MS. Douce

270, Bodleian (D), written in England early in the thirteenth century. It has, however, a *plus* not represented in the English translation, which occasionally rather resembles MS. Ashmole 1280, Bodleian (A) also of the thirteenth century.

The translator gives a very literal rendering of his original; it influences his idiom, order and choice of words, even to the borrowing of an occasional inflection, as in *sechez* 251/21 (= *querrez*) and probably in *signifiez* 218/42 (= *signefie*). As the French sermons are not easily accessible, the fourth is here printed from D, with some variants from A. 'Nos trouon lisand (lisons) en saint euangille dui .ke n·s· dex entra une fiez en une nef 7 si disciple le siurent. Et si *cum* il furent en la mier .si leua un *grant* tōrment 7 *nostre* sire se esteit cochiez dormir .en la nief .deuant ceo ke li tormenz comencast. Et si disciple eurent *grant* pour 7 del torment .sil esueillerent .7 si li distrent .Sire sauue nos 7 ke (*kar*) nos *perisons* .7 il estoit chose de ce .kil nauoent *creance* (bone fiance) 'i' oi *creance* ne fiance en lui .7 il lor dist .Que *cremez* uus gent de petite fei? si leua sus .si chosa deliurement les uenz .7 la *mer* .sempres se furent appeisie. Et cum li hom *qui* erent en la *mer* (nef) eurent ueu le miracle .si sesimerueillerent mout. Ceo 'est' li *bons* (beaus) miracles ke leuangille dui nus recontre .si en duit estre afferme *nostre creance*. Car bien deit len *creire* en celui seignor *qui* tel miracle pot fere .7 fet quant il uent. OR nus besoigne *que* cil *qui* securut ses desciples en icel *peril* 7 quil nus *sucurre* en noz perilz .7 il le fra uolentiers se nus len *crion* merci .*par* bone uolentie. Si cum il meisme dist par la sainte escripture .Je sui fet il la saluetie del pople .quant il mapeleront en lor besoigne .7 en lur angoises .Jo les orroj .7 serrai lur deu *pardurables*. Prion lui donc merci seurement se diable nus uout enconbrer .*par* peche .*par* orgoil .7 *par* enuie .o *par* ire . . . *crions* li merci .7 si li disons .Sire saluez nos .ke nus ne *perisons* . . . 7 *que* il nus deliure de tuz mals .7 quil nus doinst tot bien .7 nus dont tels oures a faere en cest siecle *que* les almes 7 les cors (cors de nus) poisent estre sauue . al ior del ioise.'

The French quotations without reference are from the Douce MS.

1. The text is from the beginning of the gospel for the feast of the Epiphany, S. Matt. ii. 1, 2. D has a wrong heading, *In die nat. domini*.

5. *ase*: 'ke quant.'

6. *pet*—*apierede*: 'ke lestoille ki est demustrance de la nissance apparut.' Supply *pet* after *sterre*.

8. *hepenesse*: 'paenime.' *tojanas*: 'uers,' towards. *al swo* . . . *swo*: even as . . . so; 'com . . . si': similarly in ll. 11, 12; 215/26, 27.

11. *hedden*—*offrendes*: 'ourent apparaillees lor offrendes.'

12. **kam**: apparently the translator read uint. D has 'siuient'; A, 'siwerent': Boucherie's text, 'se mistrent apres.'
13. **hym askede**: an order of words like 'li demanderent,' so at 215/17.
15. **anud**: 'trublez.'
17. **þe laghe**: 'les escriptures': see 182/213 note.
18. **Hi — ierusalem**: 'cil respondirent · ke en bethleent.'
23. This sentence is in D, but not in A. **he . . . herodes**: see 119/77.
25. **hem wenten**: 'sen alerent'; appears to be used as the past of go; elsewhere the writer has yede, yeden.
26. **al wat hi kam**: 'iusquil uint.' For **al wat**, until, see 15/84. For **hi** read **he**, i.e. the star.
27. For omission of the subject before **hin**, see 6/18.
30. **ayen wende**: 'alassent,' D; 'returnassent,' A. **wende**: 'sen repeirassent,' D; 'returnassent,' A.
35. **verrene**: 'lointenes.'
36. **offrinke**: 'offrendre,' D, A.
37. **be þet hi**, by the fact that they, inasmuch as: 'por ceo quil,' D; 'par iceo quil,' A. **cuuenable yeffte**: 'couenables dons.' **seawede &c.**: 'demostrenterent kil auoent uerraie creance quil esteit reis uerrais': there is a similar shortening in the English at l. 39.
39. **to here godes sacrefise**: 'au sacrifice damlede.'
42. This interpretation of the gifts is as old as Irenaeus and is a medieval commonplace. Comp. 'Monstrant auro regem esse, | praesulem designant thure, | mirram signum tumuli | tribuere domino,' MSD i. 41/28-30.
43. **Gostliche**: 'esperitielment.'
44. **glareth**: 'resplendist.'
46. **licht**, lights, lightens.
48. **he is**: an addition, not in the French.
50. **werkes**: D has, 'Li encens signifie bon oure. (ure A) ⁊ bone preiere;' Boucherie, 'bone oure e bone prière.' Our writer has translated 'oure,' but not 'preiere,' on the other hand in l. 52 he mentions prayer, 'biddinge,' but not good works. **ido — ueréé**: 'mis el fu del encensier,' D, but A has only 'mis el fuz.'
55. **ihende**, near: OE. **gehende**.
56. **is**: due to the French, 'la bon oure · ki est amiere.' **to þo yemer-nesse**, to the wretchedness: 'a la chiche ⁊ a la maluoistie de nostre char,' to the stinginess and the evil disposition of our flesh.
57. **uastinge &c.**: 'ieuner pur deu · ueiller · alier en pelerinage.'
59. **so**, in the same way as myrrh is bitter to the taste: 'Jces choses si sunt âmeres a nostre malueise char,' A.

60. **loket**: 'defent.'

61. **amonestement** is conveyed directly from the French original.

66. **i po yere**: 'de uostre uie,' DA.

67. **fore Gode belauue**: 'par ferme creance:' similarly **for** and **for** in the next line are mistranslations of 'par.'

69. **po cristenemanne**: dative, from the christian, 'requiert tuz iors a son crestien.' **werefore** &c.: 'ke (par qui, A.) li crestien se il le faeit desert 7 conquiert la glorie perdurable.'

76. **Quod** — **dignetur**: supply, qui vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

77. **euangelica**: drawn from the gospel for the day, S. Joh. ii.

81. **cite**: 'cithe'; A has 'uile.'

82. **flesliche**: 'corperelment:' comp. 217/103. **To** &c.: 'A cel noces fud madame saint Marie,' A.

84. **so iuel auenture**: 'si auint par aventure:' per or by may have fallen out in the English, but the expression in the text occurs elsewhere with **fell** and **befell**.

86. **Wat** &c.: 'Que appartient a mei 7 a tei femme;' 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier,' S. Joh. ii. 4.

88. **Serganz**: 'serganz.' of: partitive; comp. 'and of þe cupe serue,' KH 234 note.

90. **ffol vellet** &c.: 'Emplez fist se il les ydres de eue.' **pet** — **faten** is an addition of the translator's.

92. **bapieres**: 'bognoeres,' D; 'baignur,' A. **for religiun**, ceremonially: 'pur religion.'

94. **was**: for omission of the subject see 6/18 note.

95. **Moveth togidere**: D has 'Puissiez ore,' A, 'Espucet,' and the Vulgate, 'Haurite nunc.' The translator probably read *esprucet* (with AF. u for o) = *esprochez*; his rendering would then mean, Draw nigh, approach.

96. **pat** — **iserued**: apparently from *Comestor, Historia Euangelica*, c. xxxviii, 'architriclino .i. primati inter conuiuentes in triclinio;' the French is quite different.

97. Possibly he has dropped out before **hedde idrunke**, but A has 'e cume out guste.'

99. **ibrocht**: 'puissie,' D; 'espuce,' A. The word seems to have puzzled the translator here, as at l. 95.

100. **dop forþ . . . ferst**: 'mettent auant.'

101. **ihialde**: 'estuie,' stored up.

102. **wath nu**, until now: 'desque aore.' See 15/84.

103. **þo beleuede**: 'Et si crurent en lui si disciple.'
107. This interpretation is singular. In Bede, vii. 205; Alcuin, ii. 464, Ælfric, Hom. Cath. ii. 56, the water is knowledge of holy scripture.
109. **chald of**: 'froid del amor;' comp. 218/124.
110. **Ase so** here and in l. 144 appears to be an attempt to render 'si cume,' A.
111. There is nothing in the French for **husberners**. In CM 26234, 'Fals wijtnes and trouth breking, | Mans slaghter and hus brening' are sins reserved to the bishop's absolution: see Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, ii. 492. **bakbiteres** is the compendious equivalent for 'tuz cil ki despeisent ȝ clamnent lur pronie,' A.
112. **ofserueth**: 'deseruent.'
115. **naturelliche**: 'naturelmen.' **anhet**: 'eschaufe.'
117. **ine one time**: comp. 128/1.
119. **gostliche**: 'esperitelment.'
121. **of—large**: 'Del auier large,' of the covetous, generous. **and—folies**: there is nothing in the French corresponding to this: probably so has dropped out before **of**.
122. **Nu &c.**: 'Or esguard chescon uer sei meismes.'
126. **of &c.**: 'de mal en bien.'
130. S. Matt. viii. 1, 2, as adapted in the lesson of the missal.
133. **iyue**: 'liure.'
135. **euerte**: comp. 11/190; 'neuerte,' 221/248: compounds of **æfre**, **næfre** + **te**, to, like hitherto, heretofore: mostly Kentish. 'le premier sermon quil onques feist en terre.'
136. **a sikman**: the translator's gloss on 'leprus.' **onurede**: 'aora.'
137. **of mine lepre**. **of mine euele**: the last three words are added by the translator. 'de ma lepre,' D; 'de male lepre,' A.
138. 'n. s. si li dist · si estendi sa main ȝ tocha sa liepre.' **tok**, touched: comp. 'If erf or man ȝor one take,' GE 3456.
139. **al so rape**, as quickly as the word was spoken. 'isnelepas,' on the spot.
141. **tokningge**: 'signefiance.'
144. **Gauelinge**: 'usure.'
146. **haleghen, saints**: the French has 'amis.'
147. **þet—loki**, against which no man can guard himself: 'dont nuls ne se pot guardier.' For **þet** = **wið þet**, see 46/292 and comp. 153/56.
148. **pardurableliche**: 'perdurablement.'
149. **for lepre**: The French has, 'Por le lepre est deseurez hom de la compaignie dautres genz . car cil qui moret en pecchie criminel . . . cil pet

la compaignie de deu . ʒ de ses amis . ʒ de ses angles perdurablement.' Probably the translator's eye wandered from the former 'compaignie' to the latter; he then added 'þat is to siggè' &c., and afterwards in l. 153 he returned to the omitted sentence.

159. **forleted**: 'guerpissez.'

164. S. Matt. viii. 23, 24; the last sentence altered from S. Mark vi. 48, 'erat enim ventus contrarius eis.'

168. **one time**: 'une fiez.'

169. **so . . . so**: 'Et si cum il furent en la mier . si leua un grant torment.'

170. **was ileid him** &c.: 'se esteit cochiez dormir.'

173. **ha wiste wel** &c.: 'il estoit chose de ce . kil nauoent creance,' D, it was a fault that they had not faith; 'il les chalenga de ceo qui il naueient bone fiance en lui,' A. The translator had in mind choisi.

174. **wat dret yw** is usually explained as, what terrifies you, a very rare meaning for dreden, or possibly as an impersonal construction, which is without parallel. The French has 'que cremez uus,' the Vulgate, 'quid timidi estis.' The usual construction in ME is reflexive, comp. 208/397, 'ne drede ʒe ow nawiht,' SK 1393; 'Ne dred te, Zacariʒe, noht,' Orm i. 2/151; 'him ne dret naxt to do zenne,' Ayenbite 34/14, and if dret may be taken as a syncopated plural, that construction would be exemplified here. Syncopated plurals are rare, and where they occur, they are usually said to be scribal mistakes; such are 'yest,' 215/35, 'spekþ,' Ayenbite 58/15, 'brekþ,' id. 16/21, 'zeneʒþ' id. 155/3. Perhaps they are specifically Kentish. If this view be accepted, **wat** is an acc. of reference like quid and practically equivalent to why.

175. **tok**, rebuked: 'chosa.'

177. **so awondrede hem**: 'si sesmerueillerent;' see 54/27.

180. **þet se þet . . . þet**: 'que cil qui securut . . . quil nus succurre.' For the repeated þet, comp. 220/200; 'sitteð al stille, þ̃ hwon he parted urom ou, þ̃ he ne cunne ower god,' AR 64/20.

183. 'Salus populi ego sum, dicit Dominus: de quacumque tribulatione clamauerint ad me, exaudiam eos: et ero illorum Dominus in perpetuum,' Introit for xixth Sunday after Pentecost, and for Thursday after the iiird Sunday in Lent. The French version ends, 'serrai lur deu pardurables:' in l. 186 the English translator has deserted, as he rarely does, his original.

187. **sikerliche**, with confidence: 'seurement.' **acumbri**, load, oppress; 'enconbrer:' apparently the earliest instance of its occurrence.

191. **yef**—done, grant us to do such works. **po saulen** &c., 'les almes 7 les cors de nus,' A.

194. **sexagesima** should be septuagesima.

195. S. Matt. xx. 1.

200. **pet** . . . **pet** repeated as at 219/180: 'ke si nus uolons faere le son seruise . ke nus en aurons loiers.'

202. **goodman**, head of a household; an early instance in this sense. 'pruzdom,' D; 'prudome,' A.

203. **for**—forewerde: 'au couenant dun denier.'

205. **undren**: 'tierce;,' 'circa horam tertiam,' Vulg.; about nine o'clock: see 74/209.

206. **ayen pan euen**: 'enuers la uestre.' Comp. 221/235.

210. **mid po opre**: 'ourer ensemble as autres.' **hi wel**: read hit was, as at l. 205. 'Quant uint au seir.'

212. **agyn to**: 'comence a cels.' **al**—ferste: 'iusquas premerains.'

214. **pes**—commandement: 'le comandement sun seignor.'

215. **hi** . . . **po**: 'Et com ceo uirent cil qui par matin esteient uenu:,' the clause **po**—icomen is in apposition to, and explains **hi**, just as 'cil—uenu' does 'ceo.'

217. **habbe**: the translator has left out 'Mes com li sergantz uint a els paer . si ne dona a chascun ke un denier.'

219. **berdene**: 'le fes de la peine,' A; 'les feissels 7 la paine,' D.

221. After **unricht** there is a considerable omission. **Wat** &c., What displeases you in my doing as I will: 'tei ke peise se io faz ma bunte' ('uolunte' A).

227. **tides**, hours: 'diuerses ores.' Comp. 38/137.

228. **time** &c.: 'les diuers tens de cest siecle.'

234. **pet** &c.: 'qui par grant amur a lui se tindrent . 7 firent le suen seruise.' to him depends on **helden**.

236. **alast of pis wordle**, towards the end of the world. **alast** is an adverb and its use with a dependent noun here is remarkable. 'uer la fin del siecle.'

237. **seauede**: 'se demonstra:,' him has probably dropped out before **ine**.

238. **Werefore**, because: 'car.'

241. **for to done** &c., so far as concerned the doing of the works of the devil, they had been industrious enough at that. But that is idleness in God's sight. 'Il nauient mie estie oiseus damier le diable . 7 de fere les lecheries 7 de feire les mauues enginz de gahannier (cultivate) lor terres . de faere lor uignes.'

243. **For—man is**: the French has, 'Car ce que home faet (fet, A)

en cest siecle, desque il deu nen aime.' ne ne sert.' tote deit estre recontie pur oiseyse.' Apparently the translator has read seit for fact.

244. **al** &c., he may count it all as loss and idleness. **for**, as; comp. 27/304: 'tote deit estre recontie pur oiseyse. 7 tot reuient a nient.' But Bülbring, Ablaut 25, takes for lore for past participle.

245. **aresunede**, called to account; 'chosa.'

246. **po þet**, inasmuch as, so in l. 242; lit. when that: 'quant,' A.

248. **neuer te**: see 218/135. Restore the MS. iheed in the text. 'Ceo est a dire. que il nauient onques eu ne prophete ne apostre.'

256. **al so . . . ase**, just as.

259. of diuers wordles: 'del diuers tens del siecle.'

260. **elde**, age, period of life: 'aez,' D; 'age,' A.

262. 'quant il apele de tels ia a son seruise.' **þer bieþ** appears to be a false translation of 'ia,' already, as if it were i a.

263. **beswo þet**, provided that: an early instance of the phrase.

264. **At undren** &c.: 'Et cels met il en sa uigne a tierce. quil torne en son seruise en la hie (= ae, L. aetas) de xx anz.'

267. 'issint est humene nature de greinor cholor en cest aage.'

269. **agenes þo euen**: 'uers le uespre:' see 220/206.

270. **fele**: 'les plusors.' **As so . . . ase**, just in the same way . . . as: 'issint . . . si come.'

272. All the same no man should put off turning to God, trusting to His forbearance. 'Nepurquant ceste grant buntie. damledeu quil done as ous com as autres. ne se deit nul asseurer (asurer ne targer, A) de sei torner a deu. ne targier de lui servir.' With **Nocht for þan**, not on that account, comp. 25/240.

274. **þane dai**: 'le ior ne lore,' probably a reference to 'Vigilate itaque, quia nescitis diem, neque horam,' S. Matt. xxv. 13, but **þet holi writ**, 'lescripture', is applied to other books than the Bible. **for Man--wrench**: see 21/108, 29/1, 2 note: there is nothing corresponding to it in the French, but after 'servir' (note on l. 272) 'quil ne seit suspris de mort dementres.'

280. **and**, if: comp. 176/2.

283. **halt alle þo**, keeps in reserve for all those; 'quae praeparavit Deus iis, qui diligunt eum,' 1 Cor. ii. 9: 'pramet 7 estore a ceus qui lui aiment.'

THE END.

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